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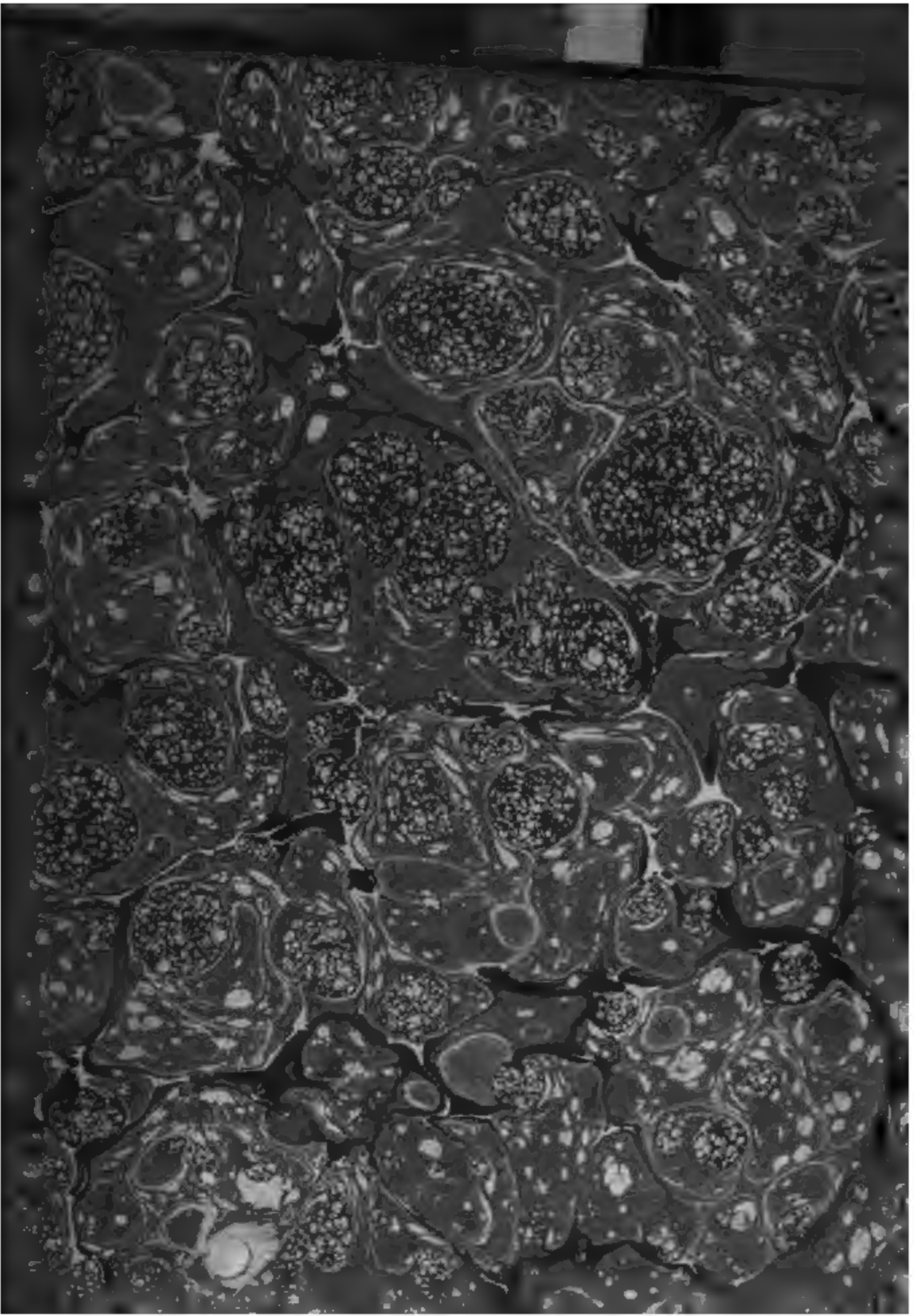
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John Trotter Breckett



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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,

AND

LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

“—FIAT JUSTITIA.—”

VOL. III.

LONDON:

**PUBLISHED BY LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN,
PATERNOSTER-ROW: SOLD ALSO BY J. HATCHARD, PICCA-
DILLY; TAYLOR AND HESSEY, FLEET-STREET; AND J. ASPERNE,
CORNHILL.**

1812.



**T. DAVISON, Lombard-street,
Whitefriars, London.**

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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
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LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

MARCH, 1812.

ART. I. *Historical Reflections on the Constitution and Representative System of England, with Reference to the popular Propositions for a Reform of Parliament.* By James Jopp, Esq. London: J. Hatchard. Oct. 1811.

2. *Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq. M. P. on the Subject of Reform in the Representation of the People in Parliament.* By William Roscoe, Esq. Liverpool. 1811.

3. *Letter addressed to John Cartwright, Esq. Chairman of the Committee at the Crown and Anchor. On the Subject of Parliamentary Reform.* By the Earl of Selkirk. London: Constable, Hunter, Park, and Hunter.

IF the constitution of England had been planned and perfected by one extended effort of thought, like an epic poem; if it had been the bold creation of genius accomplished at its very birth, and at once displaying itself to the world as a fair, original, unblemished pattern, to adhere to the model would be the duty of succeeding ages; and the friend of his country could scarcely be more nobly and beneficially engaged than in bringing before so decisive a test the laws and practices of his own time, and in exposing and condemning each aberration from the great exemplar. But history denies the existence, at any time, of such a standing monument of political perfection; and however true it may be, that the first rudiments of what Englishmen call their constitution are to be found in the manners of our primitive ancestors, yet those perfect forms of liberty and law which some have seen, or pretended to see in that part of our history which preceded the conquest, we venture to class among the absurdities of visionary politics; unless some of our readers may think,

with which opinion we are not much inclined to disagree, that party prejudices and factious designs have helped greatly to promote these interesting discoveries of ancient privileges lost, and imprescriptible rights forgotten.

Now all this antiquarian research into the foundation of our liberties, we cannot help considering as productive of little advantage. What we have, we hold by a title older than antiquity itself; what we have not, are not shewn to be desirable in the present state of things by proofs that they once existed. Present institutions, if they fall short of speculative purity, are easily brought into discredit with the multitude, by being accused of wandering from a fictitious model, assigned by dreaming ignorance to unknown and unrecorded antiquity.

That there was something in the circumstances of our ancestors of the earliest age, which gave the first start to our liberties, which put them into a train of involuntary progression, and imparted to them strength to survive occasional and frequent interruptions, is not meant to be denied. Still less are we disposed to deny the credit which belongs to a succeeding generation for meditated improvements of this original patrimony; though more is undoubtedly due to the operations of events evolving consequences unforeseen, independent of human contrivance, and perhaps contradicting all contemporary speculation. The price at which many of our most valuable rights have been purchased, ought never to be forgotten; but we cannot join in opinion with those who consider the struggles of our forefathers in the support of liberty, as having always in view the maintenance of a settled derivative constitution, and the restoration of definite rights. Those who through the vista of ages discern this integrity of system, called by them the constitution of England, in the composition of the Saxon Wittenagemot, deserve to be complimented as much for their perspicacity, as for their strong political faith. We admire their faculty of tracing objects with accuracy in the dark; but as our own views are confined within ordinary limits, we must found our love of the laws and institutions of our country on a narrower principle, consoled by the reflection that this narrower principle is found in practice to produce as much political integrity and public usefulness, as appears in the conduct of our reformists upon the Saxon model. It is agreeable to history and reason, to look into remote times for the elements of our national character; the research is gratifying to intelligent curiosity; but the spirit of faction must be blended with the superstition of the antiquary, to produce a politician of the nineteenth century wild

enough to search through the loose memorials of an age of comparative barbarity, for the standard of our present policy.

The ancient Germans, and indeed all the northern nations that were instrumental in overturning the old fabric of Roman despotism, brought with them a constitution, if such it could be called, in which the character of the people, as fierce as it was free, was vigorously expressed. The rights of humanity were recognised in the outlines of these military establishments, and the characters of freedom and independence, have never been wholly obliterated in any of the European governments. The real state of the Anglo-Saxon establishments rests in great obscurity; an obscurity greatly increased by the studied misrepresentations of controversy. According to appearances it was subject to frequent vacillation, and varied essentially in the different kingdoms of the heptarchy. That the power of the monarch was subject to great limitations, there is abundance of proof in the events of those times, but that it was limited more by custom than settled law is inferible from its fluctuations and inconsistencies;—on some occasions despotically overbearing, on others obsequious to the will of the aristocracy. A similar mutability is displayed in the condition of every class of the community in those desultory times, which disclose a general view of affairs in which power, but little defined or coerced by positive law, was left to run into the vagrant channels of property and personal ability.

It is probable that circumstances were more favourable to liberty among the Anglo-Saxons than the other invading nations of the north. They appear to have been the rudest and poorest of the Germans; and the advancement of their conquest over the natives was so slow and difficult, that the accumulations of property and individual aggrandizement were somewhat delayed in their progress, and a larger measure of their ancient privileges were preserved to the conquered. Besides which, the smallness of the original allotments in the allodial distribution of lands, would be likely to occasion an earlier combination of petty proprietors into confederacies for mutual protection; and to these rude associations of free men, we trace with probability, the origin of towns, vills, and burghs. These confederacies were, doubtless, in their incipient state, rather martial than civil; and nothing probably was remoter from their first contemplations than the acquisition of the immunities and privileges, to which subsequent events and opportunities opened the way. The division of vills into decennaries, and the formation of those again into larger districts, as hundreds and counties, with their respective courts for the distribution of justice, were alone sufficient to

prevent the sense of freedom from being lost in the inequalities of condition. The date of the origin of juries has never been fixed with any certainty, but as the method of deciding causes by a plurality of voices would soon be found extremely inconvenient, it is not improbable that the adoption of a select number for the dispatch of justice, was an innovation of very remote antiquity.

Thus in a very early period of our history, there are undoubted vestiges of political liberty. It is abundantly proved by the bare existence of these political arrangements upon so popular and equitable a plan. As the freeholders were fined for non-attendance at these courts, and as a variety of civil transactions both of a public and private nature were there attested, ratified, and promulged, the attendance would naturally be great, and the fermentation of mind with mind the inevitable consequence. The constitution of these assemblies, therefore, it must be owned, were well adapted to mitigate the ferocities of the times, and to cherish the seeds of liberty; nor could a people, capable of comprehending the value of such privileges, and of struggling for their preservation, be said to be in a condition of political degradation. The question respecting the powers and constitution of the Wittenagemot has been incessantly agitated, not as a mere question of curiosity, as it really ought, but as a point materially affecting our title to the constitution we enjoy, and as the standard to which it is to be recalled from its deviations. The controversy was at its height soon after the accession of the Stuarts. Monarchical zealots were anxious to prove that this council was a vassal appendage to the crown, summoned only for advice, or taxation, with a nominal independence, but in truth and fact under the king's immediate influence and controul. The favourers of popular ascendancy have gone into as wide an extreme. They have ascribed to it the supreme direction of affairs, and clothed it with the character of a pure representative body; the organ at once of the nobility, the priesthood, the yeomanry, the merchants, and the manufacturers. These propositions equally violent, and probably at equal distances from the truth, have been respectively supported with more zeal than knowledge. Each party has endeavoured to establish its point by a garbled selection of incidents, affording, as is commonly the case in unsettled times, contradictory inferences; and by straining the interpretation of vague and general terms used by ancient writers, who, not anticipating these disputes, were little circumspect in their language; while both have overlooked the plain conclusions from those undisputed facts, which hold up to view the actual situation of the country.

That none had seats in this assembly, at least during the greater part of the time of its continuance, but persons having a free property in land of a certain extent, is pretty plainly indicated by the testimonies which have come down to us; and this supposition agrees with the general descriptive appellation given to the constituent members, who are usually designated as the bishops and abbots, together with the aldermen, chiefs, and nobles,—terms unadapted to any but the persons then called the Greater Thanes, or landed proprietors with full allodial property. This, at least for a great length of time, may be most rationally supposed to have been the case; and as in the early times of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, these allodial proprietors of land were probably very numerous, it may be inferred, that the constitution of Wittenagemot admitted a pretty considerable portion of the people; though it cannot be supposed that the less wealthy members, in times when possessions gave so much rank and importance, could have enjoyed any great political weight in a council so composed. It is yet more improbable that the manufacturing and trading part of the community formed any part of it. Before this can be rationally supposed, we must imagine them assembled in towns, and invested with corporate capacity, and collective privileges.

It must be admitted that mention is made (though by writers posterior to the conquest) of the *people*, as being part of this general council. But when the latitude and ambiguity of this term, as politically applied, is recollected, it will appear absurd to lay much stress upon it. If it is to be taken in the vulgar sense, it must include the whole body of the nation, unless we assume the fact of a representative system, which no where appears in terms, and which is opposed by every fair inference from analogy, when the state of the country is properly taken into view. Who can suppose that when Canute, in the fifth year of his reign, is said to have held a great council of his archbishops, dukes, earls, and abbots, “*cum quamplurimis gregariis militibus, ac cum populi multitudine copiosâ*,” that the persons comprehended under the latter part of this description, were admitted to any share in the deliberations or resolves of this great national assembly, or were present at it in any other character than that of mere spectators. In frequent instances we find the word *people* used as a correlative to the clerical order, as in a record of a Wittenagemot, held in the time of King Ethelbert, where the words are “*cōvocato igitur communi concilio tam cleri quam populi*,” a circumstance indicating in a striking manner, the numbers and importance of the ecclesiastics in that day. To extend the term “*wites*,” or “*wise-men*,” to the common people, at a time

when commerce and the arts had scarcely begun their progress, is an expansion of courtesy which we candidly confess we do not feel, and to which we are so uncharitable as to think that neither truth nor probity can condescend. That the real importance and efficiency of the Saxon Wittenagemot, during the greater part of this period of our history, was considerable, is a point universally admitted. Hume holds it to be quite clear, that its sanction was material in the enactment of laws, and for ratifying the public acts of administration. Other authors of weight and research, have considered the power of making peace and war as an indisputable part of its great office; from which it seems to result, in the opinion of the author of the historical view of the English government, that the members were all allodial proprietors of land; since, if they had been vassals of the crown, they would have been bound by their tenures to have attended the king in his wars, and consequently that their consent could not have been requisite to any military undertaking.

As the kingly office was ill defined, and varying in its pretensions and practice, according to the varying postures of the kingdom, something of a similar vacillation is, with reason, attributable to the other departments and classes of the political system. Without doubt, the competence of this council was varied in extent in the different states of the heptarchy, and after the consolidation of the empire under a single potentate, was continued down to the era of the conquest, declining in authority in proportion as the accumulations of property created an aristocracy above the controul of the law.

Upon the whole, although the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Edward the Confessor, and even of Canute himself, carry undoubted evidence of a limited and legal government; yet even in the best times of this obscure period, the science of legislation seems to have been so rude and undigested, so ineffectual a rampart was raised against civil disturbances, and private wrongs; and there prevailed so many tyrannical distinctions destructive of that natural equality which must be the acknowledged basis of every legitimate system of polity, that when the firm and temperate government under which we live, is traduced by a lying comparison with a state of things so far behind us in whatever appertains to the felicity of man, or the perfection of his nature, honesty, gratitude, and common sense, are all equally outraged.

According to the very sensible author of the "*Historical Reflections*," whose work stands first at the head of this article,

and whom we have much pleasure in introducing to our readers, as a very candid, rational, and accurate writer on the subject he has undertaken to elucidate, "whatever might be the political arrangement of society previous to the conquest, it was then established on a foundation in a great measure new." It was then that the feudal system, to which the state of the country had been fast tending for some time before this event, was thoroughly established; accompanied by that technical distribution of society, and peculiar cast of sentiments and manners, which have produced so extraordinary a revolution in the character and circumstances of mankind. Very little can now be known of the details of government in the first ages of this new era. The class of historians to which we are driven for information, is above all others dry, deficient, and obscure. There was little, indeed, to encourage or reward their efforts. The minds of men were bent towards objects foreign to political speculations: martial enterprizes, reciprocal dues and claims of service and protection, the decision of private quarrels by the arbitration of the sword, the discharge of superstitious obligations, and the struggles between civil and ecclesiastical authority, engrossed the time and thoughts of men so entirely, as, for a long time, to hide from their contemplation, and even from their curiosity, the genuine forms of liberty and protecting justice.

The want of all historical exposition of the maxims of government, and the methods of legislation, in the times to which we are now alluding, is, however, somewhat supplied by the knowledge we are furnished with of events and practices which afford indubitable inferences of the weakness of the laws, and the unsettled limitations of power: and upon the whole, one thing is most clear,—that if a representative system of legislation had really existed in the times preceding the reign of Henry the Third, so marked a feature would have left no necessity for proving its existence by conjectures founded upon dubious expressions, and bits and scraps of testimony threaded inconsequentially together, with a contemptuous disregard of their true bearings, and the general tone of the context. Mr. Jopp very pertinently urges upon the modern sectaries of reform, who refer us to these early periods for the true model of our free constitution, the propriety, in the absence of all direct evidence, of shewing the fitness of the people for their supposed representative privileges, and that their habits and political condition was such as to back the hypothesis with some probable inferences from collateral facts. These facts are, however, so wanting to the argument, that the very sensible and well-informed writer of the "*Observations on the ancient Statutes*"

was induced to remark, that "no one who reads the old historians and chronicles will discern any strong allusion or trace of it (i. e. the interference of the commons in the legislation), if he does not sit down to the perusal with an *intention* of proving that they formed a component part of it." The last mentioned author, indeed, in the face of all Mr. Tyrrel's learning, to which he had just been referring his readers for the display of the arguments on both sides of the controversy, considers the question as reduced to little more than a point of mere speculation for the discussion of the antiquary.

It is rather amusing after these considerations, to turn to the volume of Lord Lyttleton, where we find him, much at his ease, talking of "the presence of the people in the great council of the Saxons, and from thence continued after the conquest, in parliament, nearly as now understood, down to the present time." What is apt to perplex enquiry, and confound the judgment, in investigating the political condition of the people, during the period which intervened between the reign of the conqueror and that of Henry the Third, is the incongruous mixture of boldness and submission, of arbitrary encroachment and sudden relinquishment, which characterize the events of those times, both in relation to the prince and the people. The feudal system is very remarkable for these contrary tendencies. Its genius at once proud and obedient, combined loyal service with martial independence, freedom with fidelity, and the principle of honour with the spirit of disorder. So that the speculative politician, to whatever side he inclines, may select abundant instances from those times to prove his favourite theory. The error, or the imposition, consists in assuming insulated facts, or extraordinary crises, as the ordinary condition and constant attitude of the country, neglecting that underworking process which alters by degrees the constitution of society, and silently developes a new arrangement of property and power. For it is worthy of remark, and the fact involves a curious problem in politics, that while this nation has appeared to be going on in a rapid course towards arbitrary power, and the will of the prince has threatened to be triumphant over law, liberty has been secretly accumulating strength; not unlike, if on such a subject a simile may be allowed us, those contrary currents of air, which in a direction seemingly opposed to the wind, conduct in solemn stillness the majestic march of the thunder-storm.

Before the invasion of William the First, the civil state of this country appeared to be tending towards the feudal constitution. It was the immediate operation of that event to establish it in its full perfection. Of all complex and unna-

tural schemes of government it was best adapted for duration. Too aristocritical to be consistent with pure despotism, it was still well calculated to uphold arbitrary domination. But it had its weak and fallible parts. The machinery was nicely framed, but without sufficient allowance for wear and tear. It was held together with too much tension, being so rigidly constructed as to be sooner broken than bent. The truth is, that whatever opposes itself to the natural order of things, must of necessity be unsafe. Two things were required to be stationary to secure the permanence of that system—property and mind; which by the appointed order of things are flux and mutable. Where human beings are in a moral state, that is, so circumstanced as to be capable of evolving and improving their faculties, their appetites are sure to lead them on in a career of advancement. The exercise of one faculty develops another, discoveries are stimulated by wants, and wants are created by discoveries, the individual draws from the collective competence, society becomes a great partnership, enjoyment is multiplied into itself, and increased to each by being shared by all; social intercourse and the temptations of commerce, at length burst the barriers to the diffusion of property; its great masses are broken down, and its real value is found to consist in the facility and freedom of its transmutation and conversion. The mind keeps pace with this progress in the use and application of wealth, extends its views, contemplates its dignity, and demands its rights. This blessed tendency in human affairs was the slow and silent subverter of the feudal constitution. A multitude of accidental particulars in the circumstances of this country helped forward this tendency here, and ripened it into operation. And to these peculiar advantages we owe, under Providence, that clear and ultimate demonstration of tempered liberty, which belongs to our present condition.

Under the auspices of the feudal system, and the dazzling conjuncture of his affairs, William the First established an arbitrary if not an unlimited monarchy. But his power was derived at least as much out of his princely domains, as his sovereign prerogatives. His will was nearly a law, while his possessions maintained him in independence upon his people. In the territorial division of the kingdom, the demesnes reserved to the crown consisted of 1422 manors and lordships, besides detached possessions, and some share of the four northern counties. The crown also originally possessed all the towns and ports, though these were occasionally granted out to different barons. It enjoyed the profits of wardships, marriages of heirs, reliefs, and fines, which last were very numerous, and many of

which, especially those for offences, were unfixed and discretionary. There were besides a vast list of tolls and customs for passage, postage, markets, protections, besides duties on merchandize, and on permits to quit or enter the different ports. To these may be added the great revenues from estreated estates, and ecclesiastical benefices. Mr. Hume considered the conqueror's revenue to have been ten millions annually. Mr. Carte carries it to eleven millions. Other writers have differed very much from this computation. It seems indeed very difficult, if not impossible, to come to a conclusive estimate, by adjusting the comparative values of the ancient and modern denominations; but enough is ascertainable to manifest the enormous revenues of the crown in those days, and to shew its sufficiency for all its exigencies. The necessity for preserving whole these two great constituents of power, was either not understood by, or neglected in the ambitious ardour of, the succeeding monarchs. Their prodigality, enthusiasm, and lust of power, all encouraged by their continental connections and possessions, increased the expences of the crown even beyond its vast resources. The fund of ambition decreased in a ratio inverse to the extension of its objects. While the sovereigns appeared to themselves to be enlarging their power, they were really employed in providing for its permanent limitation. Prerogative and financial independence were together an overmatch for liberty and law; but when prerogative was left to its substantive vigour, and the ambition of the monarch was to be fed by the bounty of the nation, reciprocity, and the basis of compromise, were established between the king and the people: and though the career of government went on for some time with a sort of habitual impulse, or, if we may so say, with its acquired velocity, at length perpetual efforts became necessary to supply its decays of strength, and every effort brought with it an accession of debility. This was pretty nearly the posture of things when the Stuarts succeeded to the crown, and the sharp struggle between the habitual claims of prerogative deprived of its real strength, and the wealth and grandeur of the commons produced by the commercial prosperity of the nation, ended in the dire catastrophe of the king's execution, and the temporary dissolution of the monarchy.

The above is a very rapid sketch of a very slow revolution in the early history of our constitution; for such was the strength and solidity of that mass of power which the first William had heaped together, such was the productiveness of the fund which he had provided for the support of his feudal sovereignty, and so cheap a military apparatus was supplied to him out of the system of tenures which he had brought with him, that had it not

been for foreign wars, to which the feudal military establishment was ill adapted (the obligatory service being only for forty days), it scarcely seems possible for the crown, without considerable mismanagement, to have fallen into a state of pecuniary dependence. It was long, therefore, before it felt itself in this new situation; very long before it felt itself under the necessity of drawing the supplies for its ordinary expenditure from regular and constant impositions on the people. With this massive and momentous power, the monarchy in the hands of the first feudal sovereigns was hardly susceptible of limitation or definition. It is not surprising therefore, that, as the very discerning and manly writer of the "*Historical Reflections*" has observed, during the space of time from the conquest to the accession of Edward the First, there is no appearance of the existence of any representative system in such assemblies as were convened. There seems, indeed, according to the clearest evidence produced by this writer, to be the best reason for doubting the exercise of any independent deliberative power, even by the barons and great men, of which the grand councils of the nation were then composed.

The three great national alterations made in the reign of the conqueror, viz. the subjecting of the lands of the clergy to military tenures, the forest laws, and the separating of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions anciently exercised by the county courts, were, as Mr. Jopp observes, pointed acts of legislation, effecting important changes; yet in none of them does there appear any trace of deliberate legislative sanction in a general national assembly. He admits, "that some of these momentous regulations were promulgated at the councils of the state festivals," but he contends, with the clearest reason, that "there is no evidence of the concurrence of a council having been obtained, or even of the matter having been transacted there, otherwise than as it was announced as an edict of the king."

The context of the famous charter of William the First, for the disjunction of the old jurisdictions of the county courts, imply nothing beyond the mandate of the prince, depending on his own authority, accompanied with the advice of his council. The words of the charter, as far as they are connected with any references to authority, advice, or consent, are as follow: "*W. Dei Gratia Rex Anglorum, sciatis vos omnes et cæteri fideles mei, qui in Anglia manent, quod Episcopales leges, quæ non bene, nec secundum sanctorum canonum præcepta, usque ad mea tempora in regno Anglorum fuerint, communi concilio, et concilio Archiepiscoporum, et Epis-*

coporum, et Abbatum, et omnium principum regni mei, emendandas judicavi; propterea mando, et regia auctoritate præcipio, ut nullus Episcopus de Hoc etiam defendo, et *mea* auctoritate interdico ne nullus Vicecomes," &c.

The reign of Henry the First was arbitrary and cruel. The nation was mocked with a charter, which is only important as being in some measure the model of the great charter. It emanated from the sole undisputed authority of the prince, and as Mr. Hume says, was "unfit to be the deed of any one who possessed not the whole legislative power, and who might not at pleasure revoke all his concessions." In this and some of the succeeding reigns, the regulations respecting the church and its rights were discussed in the national councils, of which the ecclesiastical dignitaries became a component and very prevailing part after they became subject to military service, but no account exists of any legislative measures or debates in these councils on the subjects of taxation, or any civil concerns.

No material change as to legislative authority took place during the reign of Henry the Second. As Mr. Jopp observes, "in the celebrated assembly at Clarendon, we see more distinctly than before, the power which the king possessed either of putting his will into the practical form of a law, or in altering that law as it suited his purpose, by his own sole authority." This reign abounds in instances of the exercise of the power of legislation by the prince, without the surmise of any sanction, or concurrence of a national council.

In the short reigns of Richard the First, and John, the government was carried on by the same arbitrary measures,—many of them cruel and oppressive to the greatest degree. In respect to the great charter itself it may safely be observed, that it contained no express provision for an improved system of legislation. And after all the applause which has been bestowed upon it, by the multitudes who are ignorant of its contents, sound sense finds but little in it that secured the liberty or improved the actual condition of the people, and recognises its most beneficial results in the spirit it diffused, and the example it afforded. It was a precedent for limiting the prerogative; and though Mr. Jopp may be right in saying, that it was not difficult to make oppressive laws without infringing any of the *articles* of this charter, yet it must be acknowledged that its *spirit* was intended, and has really operated, as a guide to the policy of legislation and practice of government in succeeding times. The words of the charter denouncing injustice, favour, or any coercion unsanctioned by law, are general without being vague, and have put upon record the privilege of an Englishman whatever

may be his condition, to live secure under the shade of the law, and, beside the law, to fear no other authority but that of God and his conscience. As it was deficient in all specific regulations for enacting laws, we cannot deduce from it any positive improvements in the system of government, arising out of its immediate operation. It stood like a standard measure for others to be modelled from, but was ill contrived itself for ordinary application and use; and how little its particular provisions were attended to we have evidence more than enough.

In the reign of Henry the Third, according to some, but as others, and perhaps with greater reason, contend, in that of his son Edward the First, the form of a representative house of commons first disclosed itself; an event for which the changes in society had been gradually preparing it. Upon the accession of William the First, the great council called the Wittenagemot, had expired. All the independent proprietors had been then converted into feudal vassals, in various degrees of ascent to the king, in whom as the great paramount superior, the property of the whole kingdom ultimately resided. The great court-baron of the king as the paramount superior, which took the appellation of parliament from its French original, with privileges very different from those now implied in that name, naturally assumed a jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, but its early constitution in a legislative view, was, as has been observed, very much restricted. It may indeed be reasonably doubted whether, thorough several reigns, it attained to any higher consideration than that of nominally advising the king, and authenticating his decrees. It is put beyond doubt that this feudal parliament was composed of the immediate vassals of the crown and the dignified clergy, and as these vassals were possessed of territorial property of a vast extent, their number could not, for some time, be very great. Possessing such power, they would naturally be disposed to turbulence, in a state of society little calculated to harmonize and subdue the passions: instances of boisterous independence would never be wanting among an order of men, rich, unlettered, licentious, and inflated with the barbarous privileges of their nobility. So circumstanced, and with this disposition, nothing seems so much attended to by them, and so carefully adjusted, as the rights and obligations of their feudal possessions. The great maxims of steady government, and the permanent security of freedom, seemed very little to interest either the high or the low. The people, indeed, whose immediate grievances arose from the oppressions of their feudal superiors, counted their advances in political freedom by the alleviations they, by slow degrees, ob-

tained, of the burthensome duties of their tenures. Meanwhile from behind this unpromising exterior, a more cheerful order of things was slowly coming on, and a careful observer may discern in the very abuses of power, the first developement of a better system.

As the crown became impoverished by military undertakings abroad, or profusion at home, it was gradually reduced to the condition of a suitor to the people; and, in some measure became a dependent upon their bounty. From these necessities arose a series of charters, which, though frequently broken and neglected, were nevertheless the groundwork of greater acquisitions, and raised at length the minds of the people to the firm contemplation of their legitimate rights, and the proper means of securing them. Some of our princes, indeed, whose titles were dubious, may be said to have purchased their kingdoms by their charters. While in France the succession was uninterrupted from father to son for a period of three hundred years; in England during the same period there were five deviations from the lineal course of descent; and it is well known that disputed successions are fruitful in arrangements of conciliation and compromise.

During the reign of Henry III. the number of the crown vassals, or tenants in capite, had, from various causes, greatly increased. Among these causes, forfeitures and regrants, the consequences of civil contentions, were principally operative. The policy of the crown, more afraid of the refractory opulence of the nobility, than of the growing importance of the people, was glad of every opportunity of breaking down the great baronies, by splitting the tenures; whereby they obviously multiplied the number of the persons entitled to seats in the national council. It is well known how much the diffusion of property was promoted by the expeditions to the Holy Land. Commerce in the mean time had begun to expand itself, and to strike against the barriers which restrained the alienation of land. These barriers were in part opened by the great statute of *Quia emptores terrarum*, 18 Edward I., which by permitting the sale of lands, while it forbade the creation of new and subordinate feuds, opened the condition of society, and gave vent to overgrown estates. And it is no improbable supposition that the multiplication of the tenants in capite gave birth to the representative system. The smaller barons would doubtless find their attendance in the council burthensome, while their inferior weight and importance was mortifying to their pride. The expedient, therefore, of appointing one out of a number to represent the rest at the common expence, would naturally suggest itself; and this seems to have been the real origin of the

delegation of knights of shires. The grandeur of the county courts seems to have declined with the multiplication of the tenants in capite. When a number of inferior barons came to attend these courts, the great lords would naturally be less inclined to give their personal attendance. This secession would tend to raise this inferior order to greater consequence in their counties, and to lay a foundation for further innovation: till in the time of Henry IV. the new attendants at these courts, and at length those landholders who did not stand in the relation of vassals to the crown, were probably admitted to vote for the knights of shires.

This power was carried still further down by the same prince, (whose defective title made him very complaisant to the people,) by whom it was caused to be enacted, that *all who should be present at the county court next after the delivery of the writ to the sheriff* should be entitled to vote. And the disorders consequent upon this extension of the privilege, induced the *commons to make their complaint* under Henry VI., which produced the famous act of the eighth year of that prince, for fixing the qualification of the electors. To a similar source we may trace the representation of those towns, which had at an earlier period been invested with immunities and privileges by those royal patrons, within whose demesnes they were situated. Many of them were probably raised by their charter of incorporation to the rank of crown vassals, and as such, in consonance with the feudal establishment, intitled to a place in the council of the nation. In the great charter they are expressly mentioned, and provision is there made for exempting them from taxation unless by their own consent. In those that were incorporated, the deputies were chosen by the corporations: while the suitors in the king's courts or those of the lords, and who were the better class, were in all probability the only electors in the ancient boroughs, or towns of ancient demesne.

The exact time of the admission of burgesses into parliament, and of the subsequent union of the knights and burgesses in one assembly, distinct from that of the great barons, cannot be fixed with any precision. It is equally unknown at what precise time the vassals of the subject-superior, or as they are sometimes called the rear vassals, were embraced within the expansion of the privilege of sitting by their representatives in the national council. That they originally had no seats in parliament is clear. This was the privilege of the tenants of the king alone, while the vassals of the subject were bound to an attendance in the court of their immediate feudal superior. Happily, as a system of greater equality advanced, these rigorous distinctions were softened, and at length melted down, till in about the mid-

dle of the reign of Edward the Third the representative model which had begun near a century before, was firmly established, and in a manner identified with the constitution of England. From the earliest records, therefore, to the period of our history last alluded to, there certainly existed no such perfect system as corresponds with the visions of our modern reformers. But we do not stop here.

If the true state of the nation be regarded as it is really portrayed by the transactions of succeeding reigns, the references now made to former enviable predicaments of our constitution will be perceived to be of the same family of sottish ignorance, and declamatory bombast. It is apparent that long after the parliament was placed upon the representative footing, it was seldom summoned for any higher purpose than that of granting aids to the prince. It appears, indeed, that long after the first attendance of the burgesses in parliament, they were very irregularly summoned, and sometimes altogether omitted, and *that*, even for some time after they became a constituent part of the council.

The changeable form of representation during the reign of Edward the First is very perspicuously and accurately shown by Mr. Jopp, whose correct catalogue and spirited delineations of the successive parliaments, from the beginning of this reign to the revolution, prove to demonstration the gradual and progressive perfection of the present system of our liberties, and that the notion of any certain point of time, to which we may recur as exhibiting a practical model of constitutional purity, as it exists in the brains of reformers, is either a fond imagination, or a fraudulent pretence.

After a series of happy conjunctures had invested the commons with the *power*, they acknowledged themselves incapable of the *task* of legislation. It does not seem that they felt the importance of extending instruction to the lower orders, in a view to the security of the liberties of the subject. In the 15th Ric. 2. they petitioned that no villain of any bishop, or other religious persons, do purchase lands, upon pain of forfeiting the same to the king; or put their children in school.—“Answer—the king will thereof be advised.” Cotton’s Abr. See Jopp, Hist. Refl. 200. And although the complimentary demeanour of Edward the Third often put their modesty to the test, by asking their advice in matters to which they declared themselves unequal, it must be owned, that, in general, they were treated with very little ceremony by the prerogative monarchs down to the accession of the Stuarts. For a long time after their becoming an acknowledged part of the legislature, their cooperation seemed to be looked for rather as occasional than essential;

—the sheriffs sometimes summoning them, sometimes pretermitt-
ing them, and sometimes garbling their attendance in obedience
to the directions of the monarch*. This attendance was long felt
as a burthen by themselves. When assembled, their humility was
often abject, and their obsequiousness pusillanimous and servile.
So great a point, however, had been gained by them, or rather
for them (for it appears to have been the work rather of the
barons than the people themselves), in the reign of Edward the
first, by the statute de tallagio concedendo, which gave the death-
blow to the royal power of taxing the demesnes of the crown
independently of parliament, that from that occurrence may be
observed a gradual and almost involuntary enlargement of their
dimensions, and the silent accumulation of that fulminating
force, which, when exploded by the events of a subsequent
period, found no stay or security in the empire capable of re-
sisting the shock. Mr. Jopp produces a series of instances to
illustrate the state of election from the time of Edward I. to
the end of Henry VI. by which it incontrovertibly appears, that
the gross irregularity of the proceedings relative to the choice
of representatives was such, as to afford no colour for assigning
the perfection of our constitution to this period.

As the permanent and independent revenue of the crown be-
came gradually reduced, and as the nobles declined in opulence
and power, the grandeur of the commons advanced. In the
reign of Richard II. the habit of presenting petitions upon
grievances became frequent, and, as Mr. Jopp observes, “they
naturally formed the groundwork of such laws as were made
upon the points they noticed.” The same author very judi-
cially adverts to the use that was made by the nobles of this
channel for originating their own measures, in preference to a
personal and direct introduction of them in the upper house,
which seems to have been very obviously the source of that
great and formidable engine of popular jealousy,—the right of
impeachment. In the reign of the Tudors, the Commons lost
something in dignity of character, while they continued to ad-

* In 12 Edward III. the sheriff of Wilts returned for Sarum, Wilton, and
Downton only, and concludes the return by saying there were no more cities or
boroughs in his county; yet Badwin, Calne, Malmesbury, and Marleburgh, had
frequently returned before in the same reign. Mr. Prynne and Dr. Brady give vari-
ous instances to the same effect. Dr. Brady, indeed, states that on some occasions
boroughs might either be so poor as not to be able to pay the wages (which until
the 17 Ed. II. amounted for a burgess to five groats a day, and after that time
to two shillings, the wages of the knights being double), of the members, or that
there might not be, at particular times, in certain boroughs, two persons fit for
the trust, the persons then chosen being really townsmen or burgesses.

vance in the substance of power. In the mean time the crown was making a wasteful display of its energies, and condensing by its pressure the column of resistance. It is rather curious to observe, during the reigns of the Tudors, the different powers of the state girding themselves for the ensuing contest, and preparing to descend into the amphitheatre to dispute the prize of sovereignty. It was the misfortune of the monarchs, however, for a long time either to mistake the enemy, or the politic method of attack. They managed with some address to reduce the nobles, who, by the numerous creations by patent, had already lost their prescriptive ascendancy, while they contented themselves with frowning at the presumption of the Commons, and accepting their cooperation for breaking down the old aristocracy. Thus the author of the *Oceana* well observes, with his accustomed bluntness, that “the jealousy of Henry VII. lest the dissension of the nobility, as it had brought him in, might throw him out, made him travel in ways undiscovered by them, to ends as little foreseen by himself; while, to establish his own safety, he, by mixing water with their wine, first began to open those sluices that have since overwhelmed not the king alone, but the throne.”

While the sovereigns were vacillating between a system of terror and cajolment, the Commons, in the guise of apparent humility, were amplifying their permanent resources and substantial privileges. Exemption from arrest, the jurisdiction of elections, the postponement of the royal veto to the end of the parliamentary discussion, were among the progressive steps of their power; while the monarchy, with equal celerity, was declining in its ancient resources. Its nominal powers, its conscious greatness, its habitual grandeur remained, but its *natural* means, its hold upon the interests and fears of men, had, when Charles I. began his reign, become comparatively weak. The people were irritable, erect, eager for change, full of sour fanaticism in religion, and false persuasions in politics;—the king was unprepared for the change, unacquainted with the real weakness of his throne, without dexterity in the management of faction, full of a stately reliance on the sanctity of his cause, to which conscience and habit had bound him, and amidst the wreck of his resources, vainly clinging to the staff of his prerogative. After the melancholy end of this unequal contest, majesty recovered its usual splendour; its orb was again filled; but its radiance was borrowed, and its place in the system was changed.

The abolition of military tenures, which took place shortly after the restoration, despoiled the crown of the remains of its feudal strength, and with it carried away a great body of *legal*

and *direct* influence. There appears to be sufficient proof that the feudal prerogatives of wardship and marriage produced an influence very great and very liable to abuse, and was not overlooked as a method of warping the integrity of parliament*. "It appears," says Mr. Jopp, "that the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, also master of the court of wards, wrote to the sheriff of Surrey, requiring to suspend the return of burgesses for Gatton, until he should send instructions. The borough was probably then depopulated, and one Mr. Copley used to nominate the burgesses: this gentleman was dead, and his heir, being within age, was the queen's ward." Upon the whole, Mr. Jopp thinks, and he really appears to form no opinion without deliberation and enquiry, that this engine of influence, under able management, must have been eminently superior in effect to any power that has accrued since its abolition. "But no idea," continues this very sensible writer, "of the ancient power of the crown, or of the dependance of the people, will be competently formed, unless the unlimited discretionary authority of the courts of the star-chamber, and high commission, and the power of martial law be understood. Nothing that Blackstone has said, or that any one can say, of the influence arising from the collection and expenditure of the revenue, immense as it is,

* We will here introduce part of a note from Mr. Jopp on this subject. "Harleian catalogue, vol. i. p. 416, No. 703, &c. In this most valuable collection of ancient documents, and among the Cottonian MSS. there are frequent evidences of interference in elections by courtiers and peers, and of the disposal of wardships there are also many notices. Even so lately as the time of James I. they were objects of attraction to the greatest personages, as appears by a letter from Queen Ann to the Marquis of Buckingham, written for the purpose of obtaining the wardship of George Saville, grandson of Sir George Saville, *ibid.* vol. ii. 6986. Henry III. thinking himself peculiarly happy in his second marriage with Eleanor of Provence, had many young ladies brought from that country, whom his majesty caused to be married to his wards. *Andrews's History.* Wardship and marriage seem to have been disposed of perfectly ad libitum. Celestia, wife of Richard, son of Colborn, gave xl. for the wardship of *her own* children. William, Bishop of Ely, gave ccxx marks that he might have the custody of S. de Beauchamp, and marry him to whom he pleased. Alice Bertram gave xx marks that she might not be compelled to marry. See a variety of similar transactions in the reign of Edward I. in Madox, apud Stuart, *View of Society.*"

"In later times there is an account of the character of Lord Burleigh, or rather a panegyric on his conduct as master of the wards, which represents him as keeping but few wardships, either for himself, or to give. And in illustrating that part of his praise, the writer observes, that of a number between 60 and 80 which he granted in a year, 'he never tooke benefit but of twoe or three, or, perhaps, foure in a yere, or very fewe more.' That in two years and a half he gave in about 200 wards, of which 180 were conferred on courtiers, and that 20 only remained in that space of time for him to give and sell, upon which, it is added, he could not raise much.—Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa.*"

or from the command of the army, or from any other modern source, can outweigh the extent of undefined power exercised by the crown, by means of these jurisdictions."

Mr. Jopp furnishes us with an ample detail of instances of direct influence by the crown, in elections, from the reign of Philip and Mary to the revolution, and shows indisputably, that the House of Commons, during that period, was exposed to every species of influence; and it should be observed also, that at this time, and until the 7th of King William, the purity of elections "was unguarded by any direct law against that most pernicious of all artifices, bribery."

We have principally followed the line marked out by Mr. Jopp, in giving to our readers the above very hasty sketch of parliamentary and constitutional history. And we presume to think, that enough has been said to shew the tricking mistatements, or the specious ignorance, of those popular leaders, among whom the "perfect equality of representation, as supported by the ancient practice of the constitution," is an eternal theme of declamation*. The obvious truth is, that what these persons recommend has no precedent or model in the history of this country; but must be considered as standing on its own intrinsic merit, or the authority of its grave projectors. Their schemes of reform are all their own, their ancestors have no posthumous share in them. Antiquity is in no wise implicated in them. The question is, whether the untried projects of a few individuals, such as the Rev. Mr. Wyvill, Major Cartwright, Mr. Wardle, Mr. Roscoe, and Sir Francis Burdet, or others of still inferior capacity, are to weigh against the whole system of representation, as it stands at present, which, however defective in theory, has been a source of so many practical benefits to the country, and has raised so high the standard of our felicity. We are far from entertaining an ungrateful sense of the virtues of those who have lived before us, and which are the stock from which we have derived our present happiness. We have a reverential regard to the lineage and pedigree of our rights, but our reverence arises from our considering them as transmitted to us marked with the progressive improvement of each succeeding æra. We endeavour to shew our respect for the parent source, not by discarding the derivative accumulations, but by a sober mistrust of all sudden changes, and conventional reforms. We shrink from disturbing arrangements, into which the constitution has imperceptibly been mellowed by its own

* See First Address to the Electors of Great Britain. Wyvill's Political Papers, vol. 1. p. 316.

inherent principle of adaptation to the condition of society, and the state of public opinion; we had almost said, by a sort of appetency of its nature, conducting it instinctively to the means of its own preservation. We are not ignorant, that to maintain in activity the principle of improvement, which belongs to our constitution, perpetual exertions are necessary; and that the different departments of our political system cannot be too watchful of each other. What we mean to impress as our firm opinion, and from which we shall not hastily depart, is, that without any thorough systematic reform, there is good reason to expect, that by the constant exercise of enquiry into abuses, and the temperate application of suitable remedies, political liberty, which consists in personal security, and depends upon the stability of the laws, may reach a still higher state of improvement, without in the least deranging an economy, which balances, though not upon geometrical principles, the opposite tendencies of our constitution—balances them on principles belonging to the nature, but transcending the contrivance of man.

The loss which was sustained by the monarchical part of our government, of its *avowed legal direct* influence, by its unsuccessful struggles with the people, produced a new description of influence, less honourable than that which had before subsisted, as not proceeding from the abuse of *acknowledged* authority; less honourable also, and less safe than that which has since grown out of the patronage and riches of the state, and which began to shew its crescent form and secondary power in the system as the sun of prerogative was setting. The first careless and profligate displays of this new art of governing brought an increase of odium on the family of the Stuarts; but since the reign of William, when the monarchy was further retrenched by a new maxim of the constitution, which made the legislative prerogative of the veto in the prince unsafe to be exercised, necessity, and a sort of natural struggle for life, have been gradually perfecting the economy of *indirect* influence, and changing a government of force into a government of favour. The stream of politics, checked in its ancient current, has worn itself a new channel, and continues to keep “the noiseless tenor of its way.”

The reformists must excuse us, if exercising that liberty of speech for which they contend, and for which we will as boldly contend, we tell them, that their favourite phrase of “the genuine theory of liberty,” is perfectly sickening to us. Liberty has no theory, but is virtually and truly that which produces the largest practical amount of human felicity, with the least

liability to disturbance from the passions of our selfish nature. That "boroughs, in their present state, are a public nuisance," that "the gross abuse in the representation originates chiefly in royal innovation," that "the ancient practice of our constitution ought to be restored," that "the statute of qualification was truly a statute of disfranchisement," that "the continuance of the same parliament beyond a single session is a virtual annihilation of the Commons of England," that "the fabric of the present House of Commons ought to be utterly abolished," though these, and a hundred other dogmas of the like tendency, composed the creed of the committees and sub-committees of reform, the proceedings of which are to be found in Mr. Wyvill's collection of political papers; and though these declarations were thought worthy of adoption by the general committee, whose resolutions received the signature of C. J. Fox, we must beg leave to enter our protest against them, as a senseless, unfounded, impracticable, hypocritical jargon. We doubt not but that Mr. Fox, at the time he adopted these opinions, was very well satisfied that they were in reality such, that even if the ministers of the day had been disposed to carry them into practice, the good sense of the nation would have risen against them: but the pliable integrity of a party-man has already been enough discussed; it is a disgusting and distressing theme.

There is a variance between the reformists of 1782, and the present political purists, which is worthy of notice. At a meeting of the electors of Westminster, in 1782, Mr. Fox animadverted with severity on the sentiments of the Earl of Shelburne, who, while he promised to promote parliamentary reform, professed an opinion, that in lieu of the influence which this reform was to destroy, it might be necessary to restore the obsolete and "dangerous practice of giving the royal negative to bills, which have received the consent of the two other branches of the legislature." In the course of his animadversions upon this occasion, Mr. Fox plainly intimated not only the necessity of destroying indirect influence, and that his precious expedient, as he was then minded at least, was universal suffrage, but, at the same time, of practically abolishing the veto.

Now the modern reformers affect an anxiety for the preservation of the prerogative, equal to their antipathy to the influence of the crown. Is there a man in the country that does not laugh at this pleasantry? Will not the manager of the company, when he shall retire from that public stage on which he has played so many parts, in reviewing the various mysteries and arts of his gainful career, shake his easy chair at the recol-

lection of this piece of humour, more than at all the impositions upon the people, to the success of which he has contributed.

We differ from Lord Shelburne in this, that when the influence of the crown is gone, we know of no power in the state that can guarantee the exercise of the royal veto. No man can think this to be practicable who duly reflects upon the cause of its long desuetude. Is it not the consequence of a gradual change in the circumstances of the nation? Is it not the consequence of a public feeling, which has settled into a maxim? Can this be restored at the will of any minister, or the fiat of a prevailing party in the country? That it cannot, is plain to every honest and reflecting mind; and, therefore, any theory of reform which supposes this to be practicable, is built on no foundation of experience or analogy. Who shall take down from its place in the sanctuary this spear of Goliath, and put the unwieldy weapon into the hand of the sovereign? or who, while the prince is employing it, will answer for the security of the sceptre?

Still, however, our modern reformers contend for the necessity of replacing this influence, by the restoration of a proper proportion of the prerogative. By this they hope to avoid the dilemma of either proposing a vain thing, or advocating republicanism; since every man of sense, and almost every school-boy feels, that we must have active prerogative, or silent influence, if the kingly government is to be supported. If they take away the influence, they perceive that to leave the elements of monarchy standing, they must set up the prerogative. But in their endeavour to prove their constitutional orthodoxy, they have gone into an excess which plainly shews their ignorance of the consequence of political measures. Thus Mr. Cobbett has contended that the parliament has no manner of right to interfere with the king's choice of his ministers; and a popular commoner has argued for restoring to the sovereign the prerogative of settling what burghs shall be allowed, and what shall be excluded from the privilege of sending members to parliament. It would be a waste of room to comment upon the absurdity of either of these propositions. One thing is certainly to be said for them, viz. that they are not only reconcilable, but that the one is well adapted to support the other. For if the commons are to be no party to the choice of ministers, nor to interfere with their continuance in place, the king and his servants become insulated from the people, and must maintain the conflict together: majesty must put itself foremost and sustain every attack, till at length, as the author of the

Oceana has somewhere expressed it, there will be a perpetual wrestling-match between the monarch and his people. In this state of exposure, the proposal last alluded to comes in to the relief of the king, by enabling him to put all the burghs in the kingdom at the disposal of the treasury. To such absurdities are men driven when they seek to substitute speculation for experience in human affairs, and quarrel with what is practically good, because they can prove it to be false in theory. But we do not give to all who clamour for prerogative the credit of being real friends to it. We wish these professed friends of prerogative to reflect, if they are sincere, that if their point were carried the dilemma of the crown would be this,—either it must suffer all its power to be lost, or it must contend hand to hand with opposing factions.

It is a maxim of unquestionable verity, that power is attracted by property. The house of commons, therefore, which holds the purse, has acquired insensibly by far the largest share of the real power of the country. Theorists have amused themselves with the picturesque idea of the balance of powers, controuling each other by their opposite tendencies, and maintaining their allotted places in the system, without any blending or intermixture of operation. Many fine observations have been made by De Lolme, Blackstone, and Montesquieu, on this happy counterpoise in the parts of the constitution of this country. Their illustrations are perfectly agreeable to the theory of the state, and are therefore well pleasing to the lovers of symmetry and system. But as practical representations, they have little more to do with the case than the vortices of Descartes. The House of Commons is the mart of business, as it is the focus of power, and there is hardly a person in the country familiar only with the newspapers, who does not know that if this part of the constitution did not include in its composition the elements of the monarchy and aristocracy, it would soon set itself in array against them both, and prove too strong for their united force. This is not theory. The history of the country supplies the example. It is, therefore, a problem much too hard for our solution, to determine how the business of government can possibly be carried on, unless the king and lords are indirectly represented in the commons, and have their hands upon that only lever by which the state can be put into motion. This is to speak fairly out, but not with greater sincerity than the times demand.

But we are very far from meaning to deny that this influence, for the necessity of which, to a certain degree, we have ventured to contend, may exceed a proper measure, and be carried to a

greater extent than is wholesome for the state. It is always a very rational subject of enquiry, we will say, of jealous enquiry. Neither is it possible to deny that at the present juncture the existing sources of influence are great and spreading. But let it be remembered that extension of the revenue, which is always considered as one of the greatest of these sources, is in an equal, or perhaps a much greater degree, a source of discontent; and that if the patronage of the crown is doubled in a time of war, the sacrifices which it calls upon individuals to make require some augmentation of influence to support the continuance of public effort. But under all this pressure of influence, what has been the strength of the party in opposition to government? And how far has it been able to avail itself of an antagonist influence in the country? Has it, or has it not, been sufficiently strong to answer all the purposes for which an opposition is desirable? These, at least, are questions worthy of being considered and answered, before the mind of the politician is made up on the dangerous extent of the *existing* influence. If it be admitted to be at all necessary, as we trust we have given some reasons for concluding it to be, there can be no fixed, assignable quantity allowed, abstractedly from the circumstances of the country. The quantity necessary to answer that wholesome purpose, to the exigency of which it must be bounded, will depend upon the dispositions, or the difficulties, of the particular conjuncture. Such were the difficulties in which William the Third found himself placed by the reduction of the prerogative, without the substitution of that indirect influence which has since arisen from the debt of the nation and the collection of the national revenues to pay it, that he was reduced much against his inclination, (for he was an honest man,) to resort to secret influence of the direct kind, and perhaps of any kind; and this only served his purpose occasionally; for he was unable to secure a regular majority. His situation, therefore, was uneasy, and his reign embittered by the animosities of parties, and a sour opposition to his vigorous and seasonable activity. That the weakness of the executive forced this *secret direct* influence into action for the greater part of a century after the revolution, appears plainly enough from the history of that period. But with the gradual change in the circumstances of the country, DIRECT influence seems to have given way to a system infinitely less exceptionable, and, in the opinion of many wise men, not exceptionable at all. It is the nature of this sort of influence, last alluded to, in some measure to rise and fall with the exigency for its

application; and if the case were better sifted than we have room or leisure, or perhaps ability, to do, it might be discovered that the average exertion of this influence is regulated by reference to the actual necessities of the state and the true interests of the country.

It is curious, and would be entertaining, if all frauds upon the understandings of the people did not lead to dangerous consequences, to observe how the same political facts are twisted into directly contrary inferences by different reasoners, as their general wishes or feelings prompt them, or by the same persons as their places in the political system may happen to be shifted or reversed. In the year 1809 (and it is material to attend to the situation of parties at that time) a writer in a very distinguished journal, who had been accustomed to treat all subjects of political discussion with that self-complacent decisiveness which cuts through every difficulty, felt himself on a sudden embarrassed with the extreme delicacy of the great question of parliamentary reform, and more peculiarly as it stands connected with the topic of the influence of the crown. Professing still, in terms, to be the strenuous friend of parliamentary reform, he proceeds with his usual didactic solemnity, to an examination of all the grounds of popular expectation of specific benefits to result from it, and shews them to be, one and all, miserably fallacious. He shews, for it is easy to shew it, that it is a piece of wretched quackery. Will it ease us of our taxes? No, says this omniscient reviewer. "To expect this is in the highest degree chimerical. The greater part are actually levied to pay the interest of the debts which we have contracted, and a vast proportion of the remainder is required for the maintenance of the war in which we are engaged." The war, as almost all the other wars by which our debt has been created, has hitherto been most unquestionably popular; and it is reasonable, therefore, to presume, would have been carried on to at least as great an extent by a legislature more immediately under the influence of popular feelings. The same writer then remarks on the subject of influence, that it has greatly accumulated, (and who can deny it?) but then he allows that the burthen of taxation being so great, it can never be the interest of a minister to increase it, with any view to an increase of influence, which would be more than counterbalanced by the loss of popularity. "The most effectual bribe which a minister can now give, is in the form of a remission of the taxes." He concludes this branch of his subject with very properly observing, that the great body of the people never yet engaged eagerly in the pursuit of an un-

attainable object without throwing the frame of society into disorder. He then takes a view of the state of patronage vested in the executive, upon which he remarks that all our present vast establishments are now a part of our existence, and can neither be abandoned nor diminished; and though we are transformed into a nation of public functionaries, yet so we must remain. And though he declares it to be a grievance, yet it cannot be removed. Neither can the salaries of the public officers be diminished. They are rather inadequate than excessive. Therefore, he concludes, that he sees no prospect of removing or even alleviating the evil by any alteration in the House of Commons. The only remedy that occurs to him, is to break down this patronage, as much as possible, into separate and detached portions, and to vest them in local assemblies.

But then, he says again, that this remedy would be very inadequate and very inconvenient, and there he leaves us, to extricate our intellects out of these labyrinths as we can. He then complains of the monopoly of all posts of importance, which he seems to think are engrossed by a few great families. But this appearing, probably, to be no very tenable proposition, he lets loose his hold, and soaring again into a *metaphysical* elevation to take an ampler ken of the *real* mischiefs which he has undertaken to point out, he settles at length with all his vengeance upon the heads of the present administration. He concludes with a panegyric upon the government of influence as succeeding to that of prerogative, and decides that the reign of influence and freedom began together. Now it is rather singular to find in this same journal, this same writer (for it is pretty clear, from the internal evidence of the composition, that it is the same writer), about two years afterwards upon the same subject of parliamentary reform, declaring that "the prerogative is the measure and ultimate support of the legal authority;" and that "a government of influence is necessarily the government of a faction, which has made itself illegally independent both of the sovereign and the people:" a little afterwards "he states that there is no ground for any jealousy of popular independence, where all the powers of the crown are acknowledged to exist for the good of the people:" "It is evidently," says this writer, "quite extravagant to fear, that any increase of union and intelligence, any growing love of freedom and justice in the people, should endanger or should fail to confirm all those powers and prerogatives."

Now surely there cannot be two opinions more completely at variance than those which we have extracted from the same

publication. In the one place the reign of freedom and the reign of influence are said to be coincident, in the other the people are persuaded to be reconciled to the full exercise of the prerogative; and the monarch is told that, as all the powers of his crown are given him for the good of the people, he may rest assured that the growing intelligence of the people will not fail to confirm all his powers and prerogatives. But this writer must know that the monarch is in the frequent exercise of all his prerogatives, except that of the rejection of bills which have passed both houses of parliament. This is the only prerogative about the safety of exercising which there is really any question. How much more plain and manly, therefore, it would seem, if this writer had at once asserted (what must have been his meaning, if he really was conscious of any specific meaning), that the present improved intelligence of the people is a pledge to the king for the safe recurrence to his veto as often as he finds it convenient.

Now with respect to this *improved state of spirit and intelligence of the people*, we shall perhaps be thought a little uncivil in declaring ourselves to doubt, whether, admitting the fact, (and we do not deny it,) all this spirit and intelligence runs so necessarily and directly, as this reviewer seems to think, into the channel of loyal submission to the government, and sober attachment to the laws. A portion of it may enter into the healthful circulation of the body politic, but no inconsiderable part, we will venture to suggest, will exert a morbid tendency; will surcharge the vessels, or stimulate too powerfully the action of the system. Produce, however, what it may, we hail the progress of mind in the mass of the English people. We entertain no favourable opinion of any government which stands in awe of the advancement of intelligence in the governed, or which does not move in harmony with the moral order of the world. But we do not know, that because a rising spirit and more active state of mind discovers itself in the people, the government may therefore relax in its vigilance and solicitude concerning the means of its own preservation.

The contrary ideas are so engaging, that it is a pity they cannot be acted upon. They have charmed the listening youth of Greece in the groves of Academus, and on the banks of the Ilyssus; but, alas! the rough and practical lessons of history inform us that no government has become securer, or freer, or better settled, as the people have advanced in intelligence. The truth seems to be, that as the minds of men advance, they are apt to diverge, and that disunion and intelligence are often found to

grow upon the same stock. Government is rarely the fruit of intelligence. Our own is eminently the creature of accident, and in this characteristic of its origin and progress consists its felicity and its excellence. It has been wrought out of emergency and occasional occurrences; and in very many instances its happiness has consisted in its contradicting by its results the good contemplated, and the object intended to be accomplished. As long as the *improved intelligence* of the people is soberly employed in tracing events to their proper causes; in improving their practical knowledge; in acquainting themselves with the value and advantages of their government; in preserving it from abuse and encroachment, and drawing maxims for the future from the experience of the past, it will be well employed; but if in the hope of having better ministers, a better parliament, and fewer burthens, they trust to their understandings for reforming the state, unravelling its confusion, simplifying its structure, and restoring its lost appendages, we shall soon be sick of our *improved intelligence*, and cry out with the poet,

“Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.”

That this *improved intelligence* is sometimes a little obstreperous and refractory, the reviewer seems to be aware. He is of opinion, that by its operation the people are “become too strong for their rulers.” - He affirms that “kings, and nobles, and ministers, and agents of government, are no longer looked upon with veneration and awe; but rather with a mixture of contempt and jealousy.” These are broad propositions, and the reader is to judge for himself how far they are efficaciously qualified by explaining them to have reference only to corrupt governments, and to weak and vicious administrations. But our own government is surely among the most corrupt, if it stands in need of the great reform for which the reviewer and his friends contend.

It has been observed by Mr. Rose, that although the influence of the crown has increased very greatly within the last fifty years, yet that it has not kept pace with the general increase which has taken place in the same period in the wealth, weight, and influence of the people. Over this observation, which really seems to us to be as sensible in application, as it is true in fact, the reviewer is very triumphant. And he answers it by saying, that though, it is true, there is far more wealth in the country than there was fifty years ago, there is not more independence; there are not more men whose incomes exceed what they con-

ceive to be their necessary expenditure. There is more extravagance, a greater craving, and consequently more ambition.—There are more persons practically needy, impatient of embarrassment, and ready to sell themselves for preferment. Now it is singular that this is a favourite argument made use of by Mr. Windham in his famous speech on Mr. Curwen's bill, in support of what he so strenuously contends for—the necessity of influence to maintain in their efficiency the executive functions of the state. And all this is the more singular, as the reviewer observes in quoting the argument of Mr. Rose, that he will do Mr. Windham the justice to say that he does not make use of the same argument. And true, he does not; but it would have been candid in the reviewer to have added, that Mr. Windham, in stating the fact in a manner similar to the reviewer, drew a conclusion from it diametrically the reverse of his. For this very inadequacy of our riches to satisfy our wants and our extravagance he points to as an active source of popular discontent; and though with some who are within the vortex of political temptation it may facilitate the overthrow of their principles, yet with the far greater part, who are beyond the influence of those expectations, it is more likely to excite the dispositions which are the usual offspring of a sour state of discontent. Our readers will forgive us for quoting a part of this passage from Mr. Windham's speech :

“ In seeking to embody the natural and unavoidable discontents of mankind for the purpose of overturning governments, which is the general description of what I should understand by jacobinism, it has become necessary to have recourse to something more solid and substantial than mere grievances of theory, and to take the discontents arising from real causes, whether the discontents themselves be reasonable or not, and then to connect them as effect and cause with something wrong, or said to be wrong, in the practice of government. The discontents you are sure of; they can never be wanting as long as men are men, and society is composed of various ranks and conditions, whereof some are higher and better than others. In a country like this, where a great portion of our immense riches is paid in contribution to the public service, no man will ever think himself as rich as he ought to be : for though the wealth has increased in full proportion, I believe, to its burthens, that is to say, to its expences ; and though there never was a time when that wealth was more evenly diffused through all ranks and classes of people ; yet as luxury has increased at the same time, not to say with equal rapidity, every man may, in some sense, describe himself as poor, inasmuch as his income and expenditure will, as a proportionate part, be less than it was before. It is, therefore, the singu-

lar and melancholy state of the poverty here described, that it is one which riches cannot cure."

With respect to the necessity for the existence of influence of some kind, we have sufficiently enunciated our sentiments: Concerning the *quantity* of influence necessary to the activity of the state, let us not be understood to hold a proposition so monstrous, as that it has no legitimate bounds. On all hands it will be allowed that this line is difficult, and perhaps hardly possible to be drawn. It appears to us, that it can only be ascertained whether it does or does not exceed these bounds, by recurring to actual experience, and the comparative degrees of it exhibited in different periods of the country. This will at least always ascertain whether or not it has been in a growing state. And it should always be recollected, that in its nature it is a relative thing, and is to be set off against the strength of the opposite influence which arises from the wealth, and weight, and eloquence, and imposition which draw the people the contrary way. It is to be remembered how great an influence the passions of men, under a keen sense of privation, are exerting in a counter direction to the interests of reason, and the support of a cause the benefits of which are faintly discerned, while the sacrifices it enjoins are sensibly felt and understood.

It is worthy of remark, too, that in the general estimation of the quantity of the subsisting influence, *every being in every office and department under government is commonly reckoned as a figure in the account*; as if every man who is fed by the bounty of another is of necessity attached to his interests; whereas, the real truth we believe to be, that government might well reckon among its bitterest enemies a great number of those who are nominally on the list of its dependents.

We have but little room left us, and cannot therefore go into details upon the actual state of the patronage and influence of the crown. We *know* it to be very great,—we *believe* it to be exaggerated. We do not conceive that a change in the constitution of parliament would go any way towards its reduction. We doubt whether this result is seriously expected from it by the best informed among its advocates. Of *one thing* we are very sure, viz. that it cannot stifle or resist the clamours or remonstrances of the people when they think themselves betrayed or abused. In the case of the Duke of York, though all the world expected a much greater development of misconduct to result from the inquiry, and the motives and manner of the prosecution have so curiously come out; yet, in the language of Mr. Windham, "such was the surprise excited in this country by a suspicion even of

corruption in persons of high rank and station, and such the commotion which any suspicion to that effect never fails to create, that the Duke of York, a member of the royal family, the king's own son, in full possession of his father's favour, was fain to quit the situation of commander in chief, which he had held for fourteen years before, and to withdraw into retirement, sooner than run the risk of the steps which parliament, it was feared, would otherwise be induced to take." Let us recollect the various inquiries which have of late been set on foot; the few instances of great delinquency which have been discovered, and the abuses which have been checked. Let us consider how many lists of ministers have been driven from the court by the influence of the public feelings. And last of all, let us not forget, that in point of fact, if we compare the amounts of the divisions of successive parliaments going with the ministers on trying questions, the members regularly supporting government are not greater than in former years.

On the great and perilous question of parliamentary reform, we are therefore, upon the whole, humbly though firmly of opinion, that nothing systematic, general, or radical, is at all called for by the circumstances of the country; and that nothing can be adventured in this shape without inconceivable risk to all the pillars of public happiness. We do not say that the wisdom of parliament may not, at an auspicious moment, make some alterations in the borough system, so far, perhaps, (but we speak with great timidity) as to remove some of those blemishes which afford a handle to the disaffected, and supply a plausible topic to the vulgar outcry. At the same time, we are satisfied that the representatives of these close boroughs are often among the wisest and honestest trustees of the public; and they are certainly the most firm against public clamour, which may often overrule the real judgment of those who represent large and populous places. To go back again to a fact, of which no one doubts, that the real power of the state is centered in the House of Commons, and that virtually and substantially the force of the executive resides in the majorities of that assembly, we surely cannot avoid seeing one clear advantage resulting from the close boroughs, the access they open to the influence of the great families of the nation, to the place where its counterpoise can be exerted with least violence to the machine of government. By thus intermingling the operation of the different sentiments, which different habits and stations inspire, we presume to think the country is more *diffusively* represented than it would be were the Commons entirely composed of persons

sent thither by the shopkeepers and artificers of the country; and it is also to be feared that were elections wholly popular, we should have few men either of business or knowledge in the house.

Now after all that we have written on this subject, we cannot find stomach for Mr. Roscoe's dish of reform, the great and fulsome ingredient in which is downright universal suffrage. Nor has he at all recommended it to our palates, by assuring us that it is made precisely after the receipt of Sir Francis Burdett. To drop our allegory, we seriously wish all the friends of reform to read Mr. Roscoe's letter. We think it will send them back with a sort of recoil nearer to the dictates of sound sense. It will be quite enough for our purpose to quote a few lines from the fifth page of the work.

“If I might use your own mode of illustration, I should say that this is not proposed to be done by changing the machinery of the state, further than such machinery is imperfect, decayed, or useless; and if the analogy might be pursued, it is precisely doing that which has been done in our principal manufactories, and by which we have in this respect obtained so decided a superiority over the rest of the world. That such a plan, if well digested, and passed into a law, by king, lords, and commons, would be carried into effect as easily as a turnpike bill, I have no doubt.”

We shall not trouble ourselves with answering this sort of reasoning or illustration; it would be abusing the patience of our readers, and squandering our own time. We shall do better perhaps by presenting them with a page or two from the candid letter of Lord Selkirk to Major Cartwright at the head of this article.

“I allude to the observations which I had occasion to make in the United States of America, where a system of representation is established, approaching as nearly as perhaps is practicable to the theoretical perfection at which you aim; and where that system is combined with a general diffusion of property, of itself calculated to check in a great degree the force of corruption. A very short acquaintance with the legislative proceedings of America may afford conviction, that universal suffrage and frequency of election prove no bar to the misconduct of representatives; and that a political adventurer, raised to power by popular favour, is fully as likely to abuse that power, as is the purchaser of a rotten borough.

“There is no ground for the idea, that in that country public affairs are managed with a higher regard to the public welfare than in our own. The parliament of England, with all its corruptions, cannot be accused of proceedings approaching, in disgrace, to the infamous and bare-faced jobs, which have been transacted in many of the legislatures of America. It is evident to the most careless

observation, that the state of public morals is there worse than in England—that political integrity is less respected—that corrupt motives have not the same degree of check from feelings of honour, as they have among Englishmen. To sum up all, there is no room for comparison between the two countries in that great test of a good government, the administration of justice.

“ When I consider that a country thus deficient in the most essential points of practical good government, has a constitution framed upon the very principles, to which the advocates of parliamentary reform look, as the foundation of every prospect of amendment in our own, I cannot avoid the conclusion that these principles are fallacious. The reasonings which have occurred to me, as to the source of the fallacy, would lead me into too great length; but I think the observations to which I have already referred sufficiently justify the opinion that parliamentary reform in England would not have the effects which its most sincere and zealous friends anticipate.

“ Fully as I am impressed with the opinion that parliamentary reform is not the road to any practical public benefit, I am very far from thinking that there is nothing which requires reform in our government. I am well convinced, that there are many corruptions of most pernicious tendency, which may and ought to be eradicated. But we have to consider, how that object is to be effected, without endangering benefits of still greater importance. The advocates of a radical and entire reform have not perhaps fairly considered the extreme difficulty of guarding every avenue to abuse, and how often the measures which are taken for repressing it in one quarter, serve only to open for it some new channel still more pernicious.—We have a government in which, with all its corruptions, there is much essentially good: though particular cases of hardships may undoubtedly be quoted, yet it would not be easy to find, either in the past or present state of the world, a parallel to the great mass of public happiness, which has grown up in England, under those institutions of which we complain.—The protection which our government affords to the personal liberty of the subject, the purity of the distribution of justice, and the security in which every man may enjoy the fruit of his industry, are surpassed in no country in the world:—hardly can we find one that bears the least comparison to our own. Let the value of that which we possess be fairly appreciated; and then—let us consider coolly, whether the blemishes of our government are of such magnitude, as to warrant the application of remedies, which, if they do not cure, may kill.” (P. 6.)

We will now dismiss our readers with once more taking the liberty to remind them that contemplative benefits, and practical advantages, are two very different things. If evils were not of indigenous growth, if they were not a part of the allotment of humanity, the business of reform would be a plain and simple operation, and little more would be necessary than sensibility to

feel, and vigour to remove : but unhappily the case is otherwise ; and as there is neither absolute good, nor absolute evil in life, it is the business of him who would reform our condition, not simply to separate the evil from the good, but to balance between evils of different magnitudes. It is essential to those whose concern is with the constitutions of civil society, to distinguish between adscititious and necessary ills ; between those which are compensated by no advantages, and those which grow out of our felicities, and cling to our blessings, as the badges of our imperfection. Without this thorough examination, we can never be the authors of a wholesome reform ; and haply the same arrow that was aimed at an evil, may strike through a benefit that lies beyond it, and sacrifice a substantial good to the removal of a diminutive sorrow. Every constitution, therefore, that is adapted to the circumstances of man, must have a portion of evil in its composition ; must be disposed rather with a view to convenience than grace ; must suit with man's condition, his character, his passions, and his self-love. It is not a mere holiday puppet, to be gazed at for the niceness of its adjustments ; but a solid machine for every-day-work, calculated to bear with rough mischances, and to survive the wear of vulgar usage ;—not an apparatus of exquisite contrivance ; not a political Venus, born of the froth of Platonic speculations ; but a hard enduring substance, worn into polish by centuries passing over it, and shaped by attrition and use to the purposes of life and society.

ART. II. *A Treatise on Isoperimetrical Problems, and the Calculus of Variations.* By Robert Woodhouse, A. M. F. R. S. Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge. Deighton, Cambridge. Pp. 154.

PROPOSITIONS of maxima and minima, which involve the properties of curves, are of two kinds. In one case the relation of the abscissa and ordinate is supposed to be given ; the fluxion of the ordinate is assumed equal to nothing, and a particular value of the abscissa is thus determined, by which the magnitude of the ordinate under the required circumstances can be readily found. This is the process of the ordinary calculus. In the other case, the relation of the abscissa to the ordinate, or of x to y , is not given, but must be determined from the nature of the problem. Thus, if y be some function of x , it may be

represented by $\sqrt{2ax - x^2}$, or $\sqrt{ax^n - bx^n}$, or various other ex-
D 2

pressions without number; and the form of the equation between x and y is the point to be determined. The first problem of this sort was proposed by Newton in the *Principia*, namely, the solid of least resistance.

The treatise before us relates to this latter kind of problems, which are evidently of a nature much more difficult and complicated than those belonging to the ordinary calculus. The attention of mathematicians was drawn to this subject soon after the invention of the method of fluxions, and some of the greatest names both upon the continent and in this country have been engaged in the prosecution of it. But it was not till after many years of patient and assiduous investigation, that a method was discovered sufficiently comprehensive for all the cases.

The object of Mr. Woodhouse in the treatise, of which we are now to give some account to our readers, is in a certain degree to combine the historical progress with the scientific developement of the subject, and to lay down and inculcate the principles of the calculus, whilst he traces its gradual and successive improvements. (See preface, p. iv.) The part of the work, however, which is assigned to narrative, refers almost exclusively to the improvements which led to the results of La Grange. "To history," says Mr. W. "we shall adhere no farther than is sufficient to preserve an unbroken series of methods, gradually becoming more exact and extensive; the series beginning with the first rude, though perfectly just, method of James Bernoulli, and ending with La Grange's exquisite and refined calculus of variations." (P. 14.)

The plan of combining history with science is much to be commended. It has been pursued with great judgment by Dr. Thomson in his system of chemistry; and it appears to us, that in all works of philosophical pretension, the advantages of this method, where it can be conveniently adopted, are great and obvious. The reason for its rare adoption in mathematical publications seems to be this: that few departments of science are limited in extent, and many of them have been advanced to their present maturity by a long succession of improvements, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

The work is divided into eight chapters. We are prevented by the nature of the subject from entering into a very minute detail of its contents; but we shall endeavour to furnish such a general view, as may enable our readers to form a tolerably correct idea of its manner and object.

In the first chapter we have the famous problem proposed by John Bernoulli, in 1696, which requires "to determine the

curve of quickest descent between two given points in a vertical plane." A solution of it was published in 1697, by his brother James Bernoulli, professor of mathematics at Basle, who determined the curve to be a cycloid. In this solution two principles are involved; the first, taken from the doctrine of the ordinary maxima and minima; namely, that quantities at or near their state of minimum, may be considered constant; the other, a new principle, assuming that if the time down the curve is a minimum, the time also down any element of it is a minimum; or, that ~~the~~ property which belongs to the whole curve, belongs likewise to any part of it. This principle the Bernoullis, and Brook Taylor, endeavoured to establish, as generally correct; but, though the application of it be just in the present instance, it is not universally true; and Mr. Woodhouse has, in a subsequent part of his work, mentioned both the exceptions to its universality, and the reasons of them. (See pp. 61, 62.)

In Bernoulli's solution the curve is determined to be a cycloid, without any regard to the relative position of the two given points, A and B, in the vertical plane. The same conclusion would be derived, if B had any other position in the plane; so that a farther problem arises, to determine that particular cycloid contained between A and the vertical line, down which the time shall be a minimum. This problem was afterwards proposed by James Bernoulli, and solved by his brother for any inclination of the line, and for any form of it; that is, for any line whether straight or curved. He demonstrated that the cycloid must cut the curve at right angles: but his method cannot be generally applied.

The next step in the developement of the new calculus is "the famous programma of James Bernoulli, which contained the problem, whence the title of Isoperimetrical, since applied to all problems of a like kind, is derived;" (Mr. W. p. 11.): and this forms the leading article in Mr. Woodhouse's second chapter.

The problem was the following: Among all isoperimetrical curves between given limits, to find a curve such that constructing a second curve, the ordinates of which shall be functions of the ordinates or arcs of the other, the area of this second curve shall be a maximum or minimum. This problem was proposed in 1697. The second case of it, that relating to the arcs, gave no little trouble to John Bernoulli, and excited considerable altercation between him and his brother. At length, in 1718, a solution was published by the former in the Academy of Sciences, of which Mr. W. justly observes, "considering what was then the state of analytical science it is very admirable, and

mérits the eulogium which he himself has conferred on it." (P. 13.) In illustration of his method, the present chapter supplies us with three examples. The first is to find the curve of quickest descent, when the length is given, and the second and third are the two cases of the problem of James Bernoulli, where the ordinate is a function, first of another ordinate, and secondly of the arc. The last example comprises the solution by John Bernoulli, in 1718, and the success of the present mode above his former attempts, arises from the assumption of the variation of three elements of the curve instead of two. The uniformity of his specific equations, was a considerable advance in the solution of isoperimetrical problems, and solutions of a more recent date have been founded upon a like principle of uniformity.

Here ended the researches of the Bernoullis.

"Towards the period of their close in 1715, Brook Taylor, in his 'Methodus Incrementorum,' solved the problem of the isoperimetricals, on principles not different from those of the Bernoullis, but with some alteration of symbolical notation. The most material alteration or rather improvement, consisted in representing the fluxion of v , when $\int v \dot{x}$ is the analytical expression of the maximum property, thus, $\dot{v} = M\dot{x} + N\dot{y} + L\dot{s}$ which mode of expression, Euler, as we shall hereafter see, skilfully availed himself of." (Mr. W. p. 29.)

The state of the science at this period will be seen from the following account.

"The methods of the Bernoullis, and of Taylor, were held at the time of their invention to be most complete and exact. Several imperfections however belong to them. They do not apply to problems involving three or more properties; nor do they extend to cases involving differentials of a higher order than the first; for instance, they will not solve the problem, in which a curve is required, that with its radius of curvature and evolute shall contain the least area. Secondly, they do not extend to cases in which the analytical expression contains, besides x , y , and their differentials, integral expressions; for instance, they will not solve the second case proposed in James Bernoulli's Programma, if the isoperimetrical condition be excluded; for then the arc s , an integral, since it $= \int \dot{a}x \sqrt{1 + \frac{dy^2}{dx^2}}$, is not given. Thirdly, they do not extend to cases in which the differential function, expressing the maximum, should depend on a quantity, not given except under the form of a differential equation, and that not integrable; for instance, they will not solve the case of the curve of the quickest descent in a resisting medium, the descending body being solicited by any forces whatever." (Mr. W. p. 30.)

The third chapter introduces us to the first memoir of Euler upon this subject, published in 1733.

“He there distributes his problems into classes. In the first are problems, like that of the brachystocrone, and the curve of least resistance, with the property of the minimum, but without the isoperimetrical condition, or any other. These are to be solved from the principle of the property of a maximum, belonging to the elements of the curve, as well as to the curve itself; and from the principle of the equality between two proximate states of a quantity, when near its minimum or maximum; and they require for their solution the variation of two elements only of the curve.” (Mr. W. p. 32.)

An example is given, where $\int x \, ds$ is a minimum.

Those of the second class have, besides the property of the maximum, some other property, as for instance, the isoperimetrical. These require the variation of three elements of the curve. After a manner not much unlike that of John Bernoulli, Euler deduces similar equations,

$$[c] \, P \cdot bg - Q \cdot ci = 0$$

$$[d] \, R \cdot bg - S \cdot ci = 0$$

one from the isoperimetrical property [A], and the other from the maximum condition [B]; and observing that Q and S are frequently so compounded, that $Q = P + dP$, and $S = R + dR$, or that the equations [c] and [d] take the forms

$$P \cdot bg - (P + dP) \cdot ci$$

$$R \cdot bg - (R + dR) \cdot ci,$$

he obtains the equation of solution $P + aR = 0$.

For convenience of solution this was a considerable step; and an important remark was made upon it by John Bernoulli, namely, that the properties [A] and [B] were commutable; thus whether we investigate the curve, which with a given length contains the greatest area; or the curve, which with a given area contains the greatest length, the resulting equation is the same.

The conclusions already obtained were generalized by their author, and arranged in a table containing fifteen forms. These were at that time very useful in practice, but are now superseded; a similar remark may be extended to nine additional forms, which he afterwards deduced.

The application of these forms was to the second class of problems, which involve only two properties. The third class contains three, and to this he now directed his attention. Of this sort is the following: Required the curve, which among all curves of the same length and the same area is such that the time down it is a minimum. Here four elements of the curve

must be assumed to vary, and the general form of the similar equations is $P \cdot bg - Q \cdot ci + R \cdot d\delta$, bg , ci , and $d\delta$ being similar variations of the ordinate; and the resulting equation of solution is $P + ap + b\pi = 0$. Hence if the quantities P , p , and π are contained in the table of forms, the problems of the third class will be solved in a manner similar to those of the second.

By this time Euler had left the Bernoullis far behind. "Several important objects had been attained by him; the solution of problems involving three or more properties; the reduction of such problems to a dependence on two or more similar equations; the solution of problems of the first class, and of some of higher classes, by a more general method, and by reference to a table of formulæ." (Mr. W. p. 47.)

These methods, however, were still defective.

"Problems, involving the differentials of x or y , of an higher order than the second, cannot be solved by them; for instance, that which requires, amongst all other curves, one in which $\int \frac{\pi^3 y}{dx \cdot dy}$ is a maximum or minimum. Secondly, problems cannot be generally solved by them, which involve integrals, such not being constant; for instance, that in which it should be required to find a curve, that amongst all other curves has its center of gravity lowest. Euler solves this problem, when another condition, that of the isoperimetrical property, is added; for then the arc s , the integral of $dx \sqrt{1 + \frac{dy^2}{dx^2}}$, is in all curves supposed to be the same." (Mr. W. p. 48.)

We come in the fourth chapter to the second memoir of Euler, in which he made very considerable improvements upon his former researches. In his former memoir, the analytical expression for the maximum being $\int v dx$, the resulting equation is deduced from the substitution of certain functions of x , y , &c. for v ; in the present memoir he follows the substitution of Brook Taylor, making

$$dv = Mdx + Ndy + Pdp + Qdq + \&c. \text{ where}$$

$$p = \frac{dy}{dx}, q = \frac{dp}{dx}, r = \frac{dq}{dx}, \&c. ;$$

and deduces a general formula

$$N - \frac{dP}{dx} + \frac{d^2Q}{dx^2} - \frac{d^3R}{dx^3} + \&c. = 0.$$

This formula supersedes the table, which contained his particular equations in the former memoir, and belongs to problems of all classes involving definite expressions. "In fact all problems, in which integral expressions do not enter, are solved by it; and

although Euler himself, and afterwards La Grange, very materially simplified and expedited its proof, yet, as a formula of solution, it still remains as a final result of all researches on this subject." (Mr. W. p. 58.)

The number of ordinates, which must be made to vary, depends upon the number of properties contained in the problem; and according to this number the problems are classed. But the number of terms to be used in the formula will depend upon the order of differentials, which the problem involves. If dx and dy alone be involved, two terms $m dx + n dy$ are sufficient. If dp be involved $= \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$, the problem is of the second order, and three terms are required, $m dx + n dy + p dp$. If dq be involved $= \frac{d^3y}{dx^3}$, it is of the third order, and four terms are wanted in the computation.

The preceding method is founded upon the principle, that if a portion of the curve possesses the property of maximum or minimum, the same property belongs to the whole of the curve. This is not true when the quantity v in $\int v dx$ contains the arc s or other integral quantities; in such cases the method cannot be applied, except when the integral is by the conditions the same in all curves, among which the required curve is to be found. Of the improved state of the science at this period Mr. Woodhouse speaks in the following terms:

"Very important objects were obtained by Euler in this memoir. The solution of problems involving differentials of any order; the invention of a formula including his former formulæ, which to the number of twenty-four he had inserted in a table; the partial solution of problems involving integral expressions; the establishment of his theorems and formulæ by easier processes.

"An author is usually, more than justly, fond of his last inventions: and Euler, by this memoir, thought he had nearly perfected the method of solving isoperimetrical problems; yet his methods were not without their imperfections. They afforded no general solutions of problems involving integral expressions; and erroneous solutions when the differential function depended on a quantity given solely by a differential equation not generally integrable; and the cause of these imperfections was the assumption of the principle, that the whole curve will be endowed with the property of maximum or minimum, if any portion whatever of it possess the same." (Mr. W. p. 63.)

The 5th chapter furnishes an account of Euler's tract, entitled "*Methodus inveniendi Lineas Curvas Proprietate maximi minime gaudentes.*" For a short view of it we shall again have recourse to Mr. Woodhouse.

“ This work appeared in the year 1744, about three years after the publication of his last memoir on the same subject. It was intended, and with a few exceptions it must be conceded, to be a complete treatise; containing essentially all the requisite methods of solution, with great abundance and variety of examples and illustrations. There is wanting, however, to make it a perfect work, and on the subject the best extant, a new algorithm; a more compendious process of establishing the theorems; and certain supplemental formulæ, that determine, not the nature of the curve, if a curve be the object of enquiry, but the conditions according to which it must be drawn. These desiderata were afterwards supplied by the fertile genius of La Grange.

“ The former memoir contained, as it has been already stated, abundance of valuable matter, but ill arranged. The distribution and arrangement, however, of the present work is extremely luminous and regular. Absolute maxima and minima are first treated of, which concern curves that are to be determined solely by the property of maximum or minimum; such a curve is the brachystochrone, which has the property of the least time out of all curves whatever that can be drawn between two given points. The curve, generating by its rotation round its axis the solid of least resistance, is another.

“ If $\int v dx$ be the analytical expression of the maximum or minimum, v may contain either determinate or indeterminate quantities, such as integrals. Euler first considers the former cases, that is, when v contains only quantities, such as $x, y, \frac{dy}{dx}, \frac{d^2y}{dx^2}, \&c.$ which are plainly determinate quantities, that is, of assignable value, when x or y is given.

“ After absolute, relative maxima and minima are treated of; these relate to curves that are to be determined not solely by the maximum property, but conjointly by that and other properties. Such a curve is the brachystochrone, when the property of equal length becomes an additional condition; that is, when the curve of quickest descent is required, not amongst all curves whatever, that can be drawn between two given points, but only amongst those that are of a given length: such also is the brachystochrone, when a third condition, that of equal area, is added.

“ In these cases of relative maxima and minima, the quantity v , when $\int v dx$ represents a property, may or may not include integral expressions; and since by an artifice, like that which we have stated, Euler reduces all questions, in which are involved two or more properties, analytically expressed by $\int v dx, \int y dx, \int x dx$, to this form,

$$\int v dx + a \int y dx + b \int x dx + \&c.$$

the determination of all cases is reduced, ultimately, to that of an absolute maximum or minimum.” (Mr. W. p. 65.)

In treating the first and simplest case, where $\int v dx$ is the maximum or minimum property, and v a determinate function of x ,

$y, \frac{dy}{dx},$ &c. Euler adopts a method of demonstration similar to one which he had formerly used, since the assigned property belongs equally to the curve and its element. He assumes $dv = m dx + n dy + p dp + q dq$; and by calculating the variations, which arise in the several successive values of this expression from a variation of the ordinates, he obtains an equation of this form,

$$N - \frac{dP}{dx} + \frac{d^2Q}{dx^2} = 0;$$

which formula, as Mr. Woodhouse observes, “ will solve all questions of absolute maxima that do not involve integral expressions, or differential expressions of a higher order than dq , or $\frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$; and by means of the principle and formula stated in p. 56”—[namely, that if $\int v dx$ be a maximum, and $\int w dx$ a constant quantity, instead of two operations we may substitute one, and deduce the resulting equation from $\int (v + a w) dx$ —“ will solve all questions of relative maxima, that neither involve integral nor differential expressions of a higher order than $\frac{d^2y}{dx^2}$.”

(P. 70.)

Our limits will not permit us to enter into the investigation of this formula; and we shall therefore not attempt to explain the principles which determine what quantities suffer variation by a change in the ordinates, or how many successive values of dv are to be taken in the demonstration. This subject is clearly explained by Mr. Woodhouse: and we shall content ourselves with stating, that as in the last case the general expression was deduced by assuming three values in succession, so if four be assumed, the equation will be

$$N - \frac{dP}{dx} + \frac{d^2Q}{dx^2} - \frac{d^3R}{dx^3} = 0.$$

Secondly, v may contain an integral expression, or be of the form $\int z dx$. In the solution of this case, the method of Euler, though similar to his last, is very tedious and complicated; and as it has been superseded by a better method of computation, no farther explanation of it is given in this treatise.

Euler had previously “ reduced problems of relative maxima and minima to a dependence on as many similar equations as the properties proposed; for instance, if the curve required was to possess two properties, the equations would be of the form $R . bg - s . ci$, in which $s = R + dR$.” (P. 74.) In the present work he gives a general proof of the principle; and it is illustrated by Mr. W. in a very satisfactory manner. It is further shewn by this process, that

“ All questions of *relative* are reduced to those of *absolute* maxima and minima : for similar reasonings and properties hold, when the curve sought, instead of two, has three, four, &c. properties : and if such properties be expressed by

$$\int v dx, \int y dx, \int w dx, \int u dx, \&c.$$

then we must solve the question as one of absolute maximum and minimum ; and enquire what the curve is that has the property expressed by

$$\int v dx + a \int y dx + b \int w dx + c \int u dx.$$

“ Euler, besides the cases already mentioned, solves also those, in which v contains quantities neither determinate, such as x, y, p , &c. nor integrals ; but expressed solely under the forms of differential equations. What we have given however is sufficient to explain and illustrate Euler’s method. The results of that method are, for the practical solution of problems, under a most convenient form. On that head there is nothing to desire. Neither is there any want of perspicuity in the principle or in the conduct of his method. It is the length of the operation attendant on his method, the want of mechanism in his calculus, that are objectionable. These inconveniences La Grange removed ; but as in such cases it not unfrequently happens, whilst he rendered the process of calculation more expeditious, he deprived its principles of their plainness and perspicuity.” (P. 78.)

In the 6th chapter we have some account of the calculus of variations as improved by La Grange. For the peculiar increment, which depends on the increase of the ordinate, he substituted the symbol δ . The use of this symbol is illustrated by Mr. W. in several instances. Like the symbol d of the differential calculus, it denotes either a quantity or an operation ; and the rules of the differential calculus apply with little alteration to the calculus of variations. Whatever be the function v ,

$$\text{if } dv = Mdx + Ndy + Pdp + Qdq + \&c.$$

$$\text{then } \delta v = M\delta x + N\delta y + P\delta p + Q\delta q + \&c.$$

In order to illustrate the use of the new algorithm, we are presented (p. 85) with another solution of the brachystochrone ; it is conducted on the same principles with the former solutions, but the process is less peculiar.

Another improvement, introduced by La Grange, was that of deducing the expression for the variation of $\int v dx$, by combining with the variation process an integral process. His method is shewn in finding an expression for $\delta \int v dx$, where v is a function of x, y, p, r , &c. the law of the formation of p, q, r being as before. The following is the form deduced.

$$\delta \int v dx = v \delta x + \int dx \delta w \left(N - \frac{dp}{dx} + \frac{d^2 q}{dx^2} - \frac{d^3 r}{dx^3} + \&c. \right)$$

$$\begin{aligned}
 &+ \left(P - \frac{dQ}{dx} + \frac{d^2R}{dx^2} - \&c. \right) \delta w \\
 &+ \left(Q - \frac{dR}{dx} + \&c. \right) d\delta w \\
 &+ \&c. + K,
 \end{aligned}$$

where K is the sum of the corrections introduced by the integrations.

If $\delta x = 0$, or x have no variation, the first part of this formula will coincide with Euler's; for the latter part we are indebted to La Grange, who further deduced the value of the variation, when taken between two specified limits. Euler's formulæ will determine the nature of the curve or the relation of x to y ; but other considerations sometimes occur in which they cannot be applied. For example: the curve of quickest descent between two given points, or between a given point and any other point in a right line or a curve, is a cycloid. This can be proved by the equation of Euler; but to determine the particular cycloid, down which the time is a minimum, or the angle in which the cycloid must cut the straight line or the curve, we must have recourse to the formula of La Grange.

The use of this formula, when adapted to the variation between two limits, is exemplified toward the close of the work in several cases, which may be considered as undetermined conditions, belonging to certain problems, in which the relation of x to y had been previously determined. The defectiveness of Euler's equations has thus been supplied, and the solution of isoperimetrical problems may be considered as complete.

The remainder of this chapter relates principally to the second and third problems of La Grange; and the variation of $\int v dx$ is determined according to different assumptions for the value of dv . These pages are so purely mathematical, that we despair of giving a very satisfactory idea of them without entering into detail; and we are unwilling to lengthen this already extended article by analytical disquisitions or the mere exhibition of formulæ. It may be sufficient to state, that among the expressions deduced is one adapted to the case, in which v contains an integral s , and that all the formulæ of solution to determine the nature of the curve were invented by Euler, with the exception of two; these two conclude the chapter.

The 7th chapter exhibits the general method of treating isoperimetrical problems, as given by La Grange in the "*Leçons sur le Calcul des Fonctions*." Mr. W. remarks of this method, that "it is distinguished rather by its mode of treating the question, than by any thing novel in its principles." (P. 100.) The

rules which it comprizes extend to all cases of maxima and minima, both absolute and relative.

The 8th chapter contains a variety of problems to exemplify the application of the principles already established. With a view to simplify and facilitate the solution of them, certain particular expressions are in the beginning of the chapter deduced from the general formula: they are for the most part easily remembered, and not difficult in application. The first eleven problems involve only one property, that of the maximum or minimum; "and therefore in strictness, as Mr. W. remarks, ought not to be classed amongst isoperimetrical problems, since they involve neither the isoperimetrical property, properly so called, nor any other equally affecting the theory and the analytical processes." (P. 121.) The remaining problems involve more than one property, and the author concludes his work with an illustration of the determinate formulæ of La Grange.

To those who are little conversant with mathematical studies, we are perfectly sensible that this account of Mr. Woodhouse's publication will at best appear somewhat obscure; and we are not quite certain that even all of our mathematical readers will follow out every part of it, unless their attention has been previously directed to this particular department of science. The subject certainly cannot be classed among such as are of very easy comprehension; but by those who have a taste for analytical pursuits, we think that the work before us will in general be read with pleasure.

To many the notation will be somewhat repulsive; and the question will probably be asked, why could not the author avail himself of the English notation instead of the foreign? where was the necessity for puzzling his readers by rejecting the language and the process, to which, if they understand the doctrine of fluxions, they are already accustomed, and involving his researches in the mists of *ds* and *deltas*? The advantages of a fresh notation ought unquestionably to be obvious, and such Mr. Woodhouse considers to be the case in the present instance*. Whether there was sufficient reason to justify the innovation we pretend not to decide; but we would certainly recommend to those who peruse the work to perform the differential operations in the differential language: habit will render the use of that language easy, uncouth and forbidding as it may at first sight appear.

It is frequently urged as an objection to analytical disquisitions, that their authors are in too great haste to generalize; hence it

* See preface, p. 6.

happens that some of their reasonings appear hardly conclusive, and some of the results not perfectly satisfactory. The force of this objection must be sometimes admitted; but it must be further observed, that general reasoning is often better comprehended when we see it applied in particular instances; and, unless we deceive ourselves, the former chapters of this treatise will be more fully understood after the perusal of the last, in which the formulæ are applied to the solution of problems.

Should it after all be demanded, what is the immediate use of these enquiries, and what practical purpose are they likely to answer, we venture to reply, that though the first place is undoubtedly to be given to those works of science which can be converted to the purposes of life, yet no science is therefore to be rejected because its application is not at first perceptible. The seasons would doubtless have observed their appointed periods, and the enjoyments of life would have suffered little diminution, though problems on isoperimetry had never existed; but it would be a new and a barbarous rule, which would fetter the laudable exertions of genius, and without any respect for intellectual excellence or the general improvement of knowledge, would look at practical benefits as the sole test and standard of utility. To combine practice with theory is unquestionably the higher praise; such was the praise of Maclaurin: "His peculiar merit as a philosopher was, that all his studies were accommodated to general utility; and we find in many places of his works an application even of the most abstruse theories to the perfecting of mechanical arts*." But he also must be considered as entitled to no mean commendation, whose labours are directed to improve the powers of the mind, and to extend the boundaries of liberal science.

In the prosecution of his enquiries Mr. Woodhouse has confined himself almost exclusively to the mathematicians of the continent. Among the reasons which induced him to pass over the researches of our own countrymen are these: 1. That he wished to arrive by the most regular process at the conclusions of La Grange. 2. That the chapters usually assigned to this subject in our treatises on fluxions are defective and inadequate. The chief notice which is taken of their labours we have in the following passage.

"The researches of Maclaurin, Emerson, and Simpson on this subject, may here be noticed. With regard to practical methods of solution, they do not extend so far as those of Euler, which we have been speaking of; and in point of perspicuity, if we except

* Life of Maclaurin prefixed to his Fluxions, p. xviii. second edition.

Maclaurin, the other two mathematicians are inferior to the learned foreigner.

“The methods of Maclaurin and Simpson (for Emerson’s is plainly taken from that of the former,) extend to cases, in which more than one property is involved; but they are inapplicable to the three cases, and the connected problems enumerated in p. 30.

“Maclaurin’s formula of solution is this: if x and z are functions of s , then if $x ds - z dy$ be a minimum or maximum, $x dy = z ds$. This result is included amongst Euler’s. For since $x ds$ expresses one property, and $dx = \frac{dx}{ds} ds$, or since x is a function of s , we have by form 111, the quantity corresponding to P (see p. 41,) $= d(x \cdot \frac{dy}{ds})$, and for $z dy$ expressing the other property, by form 11, the quantity, corresponding to $P = \frac{dz}{dx} \cdot dx$; consequently the resulting equation is $d(x \frac{dy}{ds}) = a \cdot dz$, and $x dy = a z ds$, the same result in fact as Maclaurin’s.

“Simpson’s method is equally restricted with Maclaurin’s; it rests too on the assumption of the principle, that the property of minimum or maximum, true for the whole curve, is true also for any portion of it. The want of generality, therefore, in this principle, would vitiate the method in its application to the excepted cases.

“The methods just described solve not problems of greater depth and intricacy than those of the Bernoullis; although it must be remarked, they are invested with greater analytical neatness and compactness. They are not however more perspicuous; and even if they did possess greater extent and clearness, it would not suit the purpose of the present tract longer to insist on them, since they conduct us not towards that formula and algorithm, with which the researches on this subject have been closed.” (P. 48.)

We must, however, be excused for thinking, that a little enlargement of the plan would have made this, at least in the estimation of Englishmen, a more perfect treatise. We would have recommended the addition of two chapters, each in fact independent of the plan, which the author has prescribed to himself. Of these the first should contain a distinct enunciation of the methods* proposed in the books of fluxions which have

* The following short account may give some idea of the methods adopted since the time of Maclaurin.

Emerson presents us with two rules. The first is deduced from the ordinates of a curve in arithmetic progression. The determination of the equation depends upon the position of the intermediate ordinate. The principle upon which his demonstration is founded is, that the maximum or minimum, which belongs to the whole curve, must belong to the part intercepted between the ordinates. Thus if

been published in this country, and a detail of the reasons why they are defective: the second should give the elements of the science, on geometrical principles. Many persons who shrink from the pursuit of abstruse enquiries, would read and understand the geometrical process, and make themselves masters of the elements. A very elegant and perspicuous chapter on this subject has recently appeared in the third volume of "A Course of Mathematics," by Dr. Hutton, who has reduced into system the chief propositions of L'huillier, Le Gendre, and Horsley, together with some additional propositions, which those geometers had not deduced. We should have recommended a geometrical chapter on the elements with the more earnestness, because with some writers it seems a settled principle, that geometry is never to be admitted, where analysis can by any contrivance supply its place.

If the length of this article appears to be disproportioned to the magnitude of the work under consideration, this circumstance

one given quantity $= A + B + C + D + E + \&c.$ and another which is required to be a maximum $= a + b + c + d + e \&c.$ and all the quantities be supposed constant except two, which correspond, we have $C + D$ constant, and $c + d$ a maximum;

hence $\dot{C} + \dot{D} = 0$; and $\dot{c} + \dot{d} = 0$; and the parts C and D , c and d , being expressed in terms of the same variable quantities, we can from the solution of the equation determine the nature of the curve. His second rule applies to cases

which are somewhat more complex. He supposes $Ax - Bx$ to be a maximum or minimum, and proves $Ax = Bx$, A and B being functions of x or z . This process merely reciprocates the functions A and B . The demonstration of Lyons is similar to Emerson's; the same remark applies to Mr. Vince's.

Simpson's theorem supposes that when $\int y^m u$ is equal to a given value, then

$\int y^r \cdot \frac{\dot{u}^2 \pm \dot{y}^2}{\dot{y}^{2n-1}}$ is a maximum or minimum; and his conclusion is that

$y^{r-m} \cdot \left(\frac{\dot{u}^2 \pm \dot{y}^2}{\dot{y}^{2n-1}} \right)^{n-1}$ is a constant quantity. Or more generally, if R and S

be functions of y , then in order to have $S \cdot \left(\frac{\dot{u}^2 \pm \dot{y}^2}{\dot{y}^{2n-1}} \right)^n$ a maximum or minimum

$\frac{S\dot{u}}{R} \times \left(\frac{\dot{u}^2 \pm \dot{y}^2}{\dot{y}^{2n-1}} \right)^{n-1}$ must be a constant quantity. This expression is to be

applied to particular cases, and the equation of the curve to be deduced by substitution. For the cases in which a new condition is introduced, and to which this

expression does not apply, he gives the equation $\frac{\dot{z}}{x} = \frac{pR \pm qS}{Q}$, where p and q are constant quantities.

The principle of uniformity is introduced by most writers in the solution of cases after the manner of John Bernoulli.

will at least serve to prove to Mr. Woodhouse, that we appreciate with due respect the labour and ingenuity which he has displayed in the compilation of his treatise; and will also, we hope, preclude the necessity of additional recommendation to the lovers of analytics. If there be any part of the volume which we could wish to expunge, it is the notice of the quarrel between the two Bernoullis; and we wish it merely for the credit of science. When liberal minds are engaged in mathematical disquisitions, and abstract truth is the only object of research, it might be supposed that acrimonious feelings would never intrude; or if the detection of occasional error did sometimes alarm the vigilance of self-esteem, that the pain would be slight and the recollection of it would soon pass away. Of the irritation which could induce John Bernoulli to treat with marked disrespect the memory of a brother, who had been dead for sixteen years, and against whom he had no reasonable charge, we trust there are few examples. The fact however must be recorded as an additional proof, where proofs in abundance exist already, that no attainments in science can supersede the necessity of religious principle; that philosophical speculation is unable to purify the mind, and that we must look to christianity alone for the conquest of the passions and the reformation of the heart. If it could be made out, but it certainly never can be proved, that the love of abstract verities is fatal to those charities and affections which bind man to man, and form the harmony of social life: if every mathematician in short were of the temper of John Bernoulli, we should consider attainments in science as purchased indeed at an extravagant rate; and the mildest observation which we could bring ourselves to pass upon such learning would be in the words of the poet,

“ When I weigh this seeming wisdom well,
And prove it in the infallible result
So hollow and so false, I feel my heart
Dissolve in pity, and account the learn'd,
If this be learning, most of all deceived.”

COWPER.

- ART. III. *The West Indians defended against the Accusations of their Calumniators; or, Facts versus Prejudices.* By a Gentleman. Meyler, Bath. Mawman; Robinson; Hardy; London. 1811.
2. *The present ruinous State of the West India Islands submitted to the People of the British Empire, with a few Remarks upon the Imposition and Oppressions, under which the Merchants and Planters of those Islands have long suffered.* By a Native of Jamaica. London: Sherwood and Co. 1811.
 3. *An Essay on the good Effects which may be derived in the British West Indies, in Consequence of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade; including an Inquiry into the present insular Policy of those Colonies.* By Stephen Gaisford, Esq. London: Baldwin; Hatchard. 1811.
 4. *Notices respecting Jamaica in 1808, 1809, and 1810.* By Gilbert Mathison, Esq. Stockdale. 1811.
 5. *Practical Rules for the Management and medical Treatment of Negro Slaves in the Sugar Colonies.* By a professional Planter. London: Vernor and Co.; Hatchard. 1811.
 6. *A Letter to the Governors, Legislators, and Proprietors of Plantations in the British West India Islands.* By the Right Reverend Beilby Porteus, D.D. Bishop of London. Cadell; Rivington. 1808.

EVEN in these extraordinary times it would probably excite some surprise, were the farmers of Great Britain to present a petition to the legislature, setting forth, that they laboured under great "*imposition*" and "*oppression*," inasmuch as it was found impossible for them to make large profits by their farms, consistently with their immunity from all personal superintendence; that their fields would not plough themselves, or their corn and cattle spontaneously proceed to the market or to the shambles, while their owners were enjoying the busy pleasures of the metropolis, or the vacant flutter of a *watering place*. Nor, supposing them to have succeeded by unfeeling, oppressive, or illegitimate contrivances, in rendering these opposite objects compatible, would their complaint appear more worthy of attention, should they fancy themselves injured by a legislative prohibition of these same contrivances. As well might the smuggler complain of the reduction of the duties on tea and spirits, or the band of midnight robbers and assassins, of those precautions of police which we trust will shortly deprive that numerous portion of the community of the vested interest which they have assumed to themselves in the acquisitions of industry.

That the complaints preferred in the two first of the above-mentioned pamphlets bear somewhat of the character to which we have alluded, we think will evidently appear from a brief summary of the contents of the third and fourth; while the two last afford experimental and convincing proofs, that the remedy for all the evils complained of has long been in the hands of the complainants; nay, that they have been solicited by motives of interest, of honour, of humanity, and of religion, by every sentiment in short which can influence the heart and the conduct of men, to hasten the application of it. Those who have been deaf to the solicitation, are very naturally suffering for their obduracy; and it is because we think that the skirmishing at the outposts, announced in these pamphlets, portends a grand attack upon the main citadel of the measure itself, that we have thought it incumbent upon us to investigate the merits of a subject which, amply as it was discussed for twelve years preceding the year 1807, is now reappearing under an aspect somewhat new, and supported by arguments which were merged in the supreme importance of the original question. The pamphlets before us are all (excepting the last), from the pens of persons of professional knowledge in West Indian affairs; their authority is therefore equal, and we think that a fairer mode of discussing the question can scarcely be adopted, than by first stating the evils which some of these gentlemen have felt, and after opposing to them the advantages *experienced* by others, to point out the *practical results* which have afforded complete satisfaction to the minds of the remainder. Thus may we hope to arrive at conclusions, which, however adverse they may be to the mistaken interests and the bad passions of some of the parties concerned, cannot with any shew of reason incur the charge of visionary humanity or morbid sensibility.

We have somewhere read that the characteristic qualities of an English gentleman are courtesy and courage. But the "*gentleman*" (Mr. Edward White)* whose lucubrations it is our duty first to notice, seems disposed to atone for any little deficiency in the former quality by a double portion of the latter. For in the very teeth of the recorded enormities of Messrs. Hodge and another planter whom we abstain from naming, to which the newspapers of the day gave enough of publicity to exonerate us from the painful task of detailing them, he actually sets out with the professed object of *justifying* the slave trade by proving "*that the condition of the negroes in the West Indies is preferable to their state in their own country.*" With this laudable

* See the title to the first pamphlet at the head of this article.

intent he proceeds to cite some authorities, to prove that slavery exists among some of the tribes in Africa; that the people are the property of the king, who may separate children from parents, wives from husbands, and tear asunder at his will all the ligaments of kindred. That human victims are offered up to the idols of the country, or sacrificed to the caprices of the chiefs, that certain English sailors were “seized, *cut in pieces, salted, and eaten*,” and that the natives boasted to some Portuguese gentlemen who upbraided them with it, “*that English beef was very good*.” Our readers are no doubt fully aware what a complete justification all this (supposing it to be true) offers of the flayings, parboilings, and lacerations, of the African slaves by the *Christian* planters of Nevis, and Antigua. It is evidently a refined deduction from the enlarged and philosophical principle, that the true object of *all law*, and therefore of the moral law, is not so much the punishment of the individual as to prevent the *multiplication of crimes*.

Nothing therefore can be more conclusive than that A. may with perfect innocence rob and murder B. provided he can prove that C. would have perpetrated the crime if A. had abstained from it; for clearly no *additional* crime is thus added to the *stock of public vice*, but merely the same crime transferred to different agents; public morality therefore is not injured; unless indeed C. should set about to console himself for his disappointment by robbing and murdering D., which seems upon the whole not improbable. Nor have we heard that the transfer of many of the abovementioned cruelties from Africa to the West Indies has at all operated towards their diminution in Africa. The wars, the murders, the flayings, the forcible separation of the most tender connections, appear rather to have increased than decreased in that devoted country; and as Mr. Wilberforce with no less truth than acuteness has observed, Africa exhibits the only instance of a country which has had communication with others more civilized than itself; where the regions on the coast are in a state of utter ignorance and barbarism, (which also are always found to be the greatest where the intercourse with the Europeans has been the longest and the most intimate,) while the interior countries, where not the face of a white man was ever seen, are far more advanced in the comforts and improvements of social life.

But our “gentleman” lays great stress upon the *protection* afforded to the slaves by the colonial laws; as if it was not notorious to every man at all acquainted with the actual state of society in the West Indies, that those laws are little more than a dead letter, unless where private pique or individual jealousy

among the planters may occasionally call them into action; and as one of the books before us plainly admits, were passed chiefly "with a view to silence the clamours for a reform at home." (*Practical Rules*, p. 13.)

We beg however that we may not be understood as intending to cast any *general* reflection upon the humanity of the *proprietors* of West India estates. We believe that the majority of those gentlemen would turn with horror from the sight of practices which are often perpetrated by their agents on their property; and that they are merely desirous, without much inquiry, to draw from it the same profits which were enjoyed by those through whose hands it was transmitted.

But it must be recollected that very few of these estates are under the immediate view and management of the proprietors, and that the agents have an interest in forcing the labour of the negroes in order to recommend themselves to their employers by procuring great present returns, without regarding the ultimate deterioration of the property. Casting aside however all considerations of this kind, we must strenuously insist, that where the power of abuse *such as it has been exhibited* in the long career of impunity through which the enormities of Messrs. Hodge and the other planter were carried, exists, it is more than ordinarily liable to be called into action by the passions of men emancipated from the checks imposed by religion, morality, or the decencies of society. Governor Elliott's dispatches are damning documents in proof of this proposition, nor can any "gentleman's" arguments or assertions concerning the tender treatment of the negroes, contradicted as they are by the admissions of "professional planters" themselves, at all weaken their effect. We shall therefore take leave of the work before us, after presenting our readers with one of the most refined and original morsels of biblical criticism which we will venture to say was ever offered to the world. "Slavery," says this enlightened christian writer, "is distinctly authorized in many passages in Holy Writ, and *positively enjoined* in others, particularly in the 25 chap. Leviticus, v. 44 and 45. 'Both thy bondsmen and thy bondmaids which thou *shalt* have, *shall* be of the *Heathen* that are round about you; of them *shall* ye *buy* bondsmen and bondmaids.' 'Moreover of the children of the stranger that do sojourn among you, of them *shall* ye buy, and they *shall* be in your possession.' 'And ye *shall* take them as an inheritance for your children after you to inherit them for a possession; they *shall* be your bondsmen for ever.' "Thus," he continues, "stood the old law, which" (to bring it home to christians) "our Saviour tells us he 'came not to destroy but to

fulfil.'” (P. 33, 34.) The deduction is really drawn with very logical precision, and the christian community owes great obligation to Mr. Edward White for the new light which he has let in upon us. We take shame to ourselves that we were not before aware of *the imperative obligation* under which we lay as Christians to purchase slaves and transmit them to our posterity; and we think that the circumstance throws considerable light on the causes of the aversion entertained by the planters to any attempt at converting their negroes to christianity. Those negroes would then of course be commanded by their religion to take slaves from among *the heathen*, and we fear that according to Mr. Edward White’s interpretation of the imperative law, there would be something like an absolute necessity that they should lead away their own oppressors into bondage.

We cannot however dismiss this subject entirely, without observing in answer to all those reasoners who profess to justify slavery from the Bible, that christianity has undoubtedly provided, though without express precept, a sure and inoffensive remedy for all oppressive customs, in the gradual operation of it’s mild and liberal maxims; these have in point of fact absolutely unloosed the bonds of slavery in most parts of the christian world; a fact honourable to christianity, and more conclusive to every man who believes that God turns the *hearts* of men as he wills, than the legal quotations of any gentleman whatever.

The next pamphlet treats the subject in a manner a little more consistent with common sense. According to this writer, “the present ruinous state of the West India islands” is entirely to be ascribed to certain “impositions and oppressions upon the merchants and planters of those islands,” which are thus enumerated. In the first place it appears, that the planters by forced importations of negroes into the old and newly acquired colonies, and by exclusively directing their labour to the cultivation of coffee and sugar (although by the healthy occupation of agriculture they might have supplied their colonies with much for which they are now dependent upon foreigners), have exceedingly overstocked the market with those commodities; having raised and exported an average produce of about a third more than the present state of the European demand can take off: and the legislature has actually *imposed* upon them the *abominable oppression* of refusing to force a market for this surplus produce *so acquired*, at the expence of the agricultural interests of the mother country, and of interfering with those laws upon which the actual subsistence of her population depends; and in the case of the coffee, at the expence of the fair

and old established profits of the East India company. We are not surprised that in all this “*obstruction to industry*” the native of Jamaica plainly foresees “that a torrent of anarchy will rush in upon these islands, *devoted*, from a want of foresight in persons at the helm of affairs, to certain destruction.” If the case be so, we are really very sorry for it; just as sorry as we should be to find that the farmers had raised more hemp than they could sell to a profit, or the breeders more cattle than the graziers could take off their hands. But we really can perceive but one effectual remedy for all this, namely, to reduce the supply to the demand, which in the case of the West India planter might be done with great political, and as we hope presently to make appear, with great moral advantage. We could never consent, for the sake of the farmers, to interfere with the Coventry ribbon-weaver, by enacting that ladies should wear hempen girdles; nor for the sake of the breeders to interfere with the cultivator, by enacting that arable land should be laid down in grass. We should certainly wish to afford them any reasonable relief; and in the case of the sugar planter we think that a diminution of duty might increase the home consumption of sugar for fattening cattle and other purposes, so as to take off a larger quantity of the article, and still to afford an equal revenue to the government. But we beg leave to suggest to the native of Jamaica, that to abstain from this measure is no imposition or oppression upon the merchant or planter, who has overstocked the market by methods, which we are certainly bound not to encourage in future; but that the granting of such a boon would be a very considerable indulgence to them.

But the grand “imposition and oppression,” in the eye of the native of Jamaica, is evidently the abolition of the slave trade, a proceeding, he says, “that will eventually ruin the West India islands;” and he proceeds to prove this assertion by immediately begging the question he professes to discuss. “We find,” he says, “a NECESSARY system of slavery existing in the West Indies, BY IMPORTING NEGROES FROM AFRICA for the agriculture of those countries;” and he then proceeds to the threadbare arguments, 1st. of the impossibility of cultivating the islands by white men; 2d. of the general condition of the negroes in Africa compared with their treatment in the West Indies; concerning which we think it quite superfluous to say another word; for it is as clear as the sun at noon, that the question concerning the NECESSITY of *importing negroes* does not rest upon the truth or falsehood of any of these propositions, but simply upon the question, whether or not it is possible, by a humane and enlightened system of treatment, to keep up the

population of the present labourers to an efficient standard. Upon this question the third, fourth, and fifth publications mentioned in the title, let in a flood of light that must remove every doubt; if any doubt can rest upon the mind even of the most ordinary political œconomist, that in a warm climate where the persons employed in tilling the earth have constitutions strong enough to resist the effects of severe labour,—just laws, sufficient food, and a fair attention to the precepts of morality and religion are sufficient not merely to enable these same labourers to keep up their actual population, but even to afford a considerable surplus for further cultivation, or for the pursuits of commerce and manufactures. Mr. Wilberforce's Letter on the Abolition of the Slave Trade, proves, (p. 105, 6. 7.) that in climates and situations extremely unfavourable to reproduction, in the cold latitudes of America, in Bencoolen, in many parts of the West Indies themselves, the negro slaves increase their numbers by breeding. We sincerely trust also that those who have read with attention the last article in our last number, on Mr. Malthus's work, will want no additional reason to convince them, that if any actual depopulation take place in such situations, it must arise from causes that will only be aggravated by artificial supplies of people; and that a government is bound by every consideration of justice and policy to strangle the vices which interfere with the natural and ordinary progress of population, and with the designs of Providence.

Previous to the detail of the particular measures which are necessary to apply this theory with success to the West India islands, we do, in taking leave of the "Native of Jamaica," feel bound to state, for the serious notice of the "abolitionists," a most heavy charge of inhumanity, which he lays to their consciences in the following words.

"This very abolition," he states, "which preaches humanity, destroys in the breasts of the poor slaves the cheering hope and expectation of ever meeting again their nearest ties. It was no uncommon thing in the West Indies frequently to see crowds of slaves who were already established in the islands, going on board of African ships just arrived, and strictly inquiring if any of their relatives had been *snatched*, and brought away, from the cruel fate which they knew their conquerors always made them suffer. I have often witnessed a brother, sister, or a particular friend, meeting one another. I felt my share of happiness in seeing them thus brought together, and to perceive the newly arrived negro with so much pleasure, when he or she heard *what a better change the leaving of Africa* would make in his or her happiness. How can ever the abolitionists (*Query?*

misprint for slave merchants) atone, and silence their own consciences, for the horrid massacres which the Africans are now committing upon one another?" (P. 36, 37.)

We have no doubt that this man of exquisite sensibility would bitterly inveigh, in common with his brother planters, against all methodists and missionaries, as being disgraced by cant and hypocrisy; and that he is a great champion against all whining pretensions to goodness and humanity.

We are indeed at a loss to conceive, how the "abolitionists" can sleep in peace, with the weight of this grave accusation upon their heads; the precise amount of which, however, we are unable now to appreciate, because we never happened to be present at the first ebullitions of delight of a person kidnapped by crimps or gypsies, when he found that other crimps or gypsies had kidnapped his "brother, sister, or particular friend."

It is necessary in recommending the three following works to the attention of our readers, to forewarn them that they are not to expect, especially from Mr. Gaisford, any of that impressive eloquence or admirable arrangement with which this subject has heretofore been treated. Our tastes, indeed, may be fairly supposed to be a little fastidious, after the exquisite repasts which the speeches of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, have so liberally spread before us. But the earnestness, the pathos, and the christian tenderness of the latter gentleman, have raised him in the scale of true eloquence, as far above all his fellow-labourers in the glorious work, as the sound sense, sober argument, and convincing facts, detailed in his several compositions on the subject, have depressed into comparative insignificance the efforts of all his opponents.

We scarcely need apologize to our readers for this tribute of justice, which the occasion has extorted; and proceed to observe, that of all the works which ever fell under our observation, professing to be written in English, that of Mr. Gaisford is, in point of language, (to use one of his own expressions) the most "suffocating to common sense." Nothing but a strict sense of our duty to the public, and the obligation under which we conceive ourselves to lie, to wade through every thing that can throw the smallest light upon the subject, could have induced us to proceed beyond the 9th or 10th page. But independently of all considerations of duty, we are really glad that we did persevere, for under the disguise of a language such as we have sometimes been condemned to hear from a sentimental grocer in a stage coach, are to be found many sensible remarks, which bear with considerable force on the subject before us. Mr. Mathison's pamphlet is written in a plain and tolerably per-

spicuous style; and we think that he has received rather hard measure, in being classed with the enemies of the abolition. He states in a forcible manner the inconveniences which have arisen from the operation of the measure upon the vicious system actually pursued in the colonies. But he evidently does this, not to advocate a repeal of the abolition act, but to show its incompatibility with the further continuance of that vicious system of management; thereby the more strongly to enforce upon the minds of the planters, the absolute necessity of reforming it according to the suggestions which he offers to their notice. The "practical rules" by "a professional planter," are connected with a history somewhat curious, which we are enabled to detail from private sources of information.

In the early stage of the discussions upon the slave trade, a certain Mr. Collins published a clever but violent pamphlet against the advocates for the abolition. He soon after sailed to the West Indies, and established himself in one of the islands as a slave jobber, i. e. a person who keeps slaves to let out for hire, as stable keepers keep horses in this country. He appears to have been an honest man, and possessed of some humanity; and to have been clear-sighted enough to perceive that his interest as well as his duty were concerned, in paying the minutest attention to the bodily and mental welfare of his slaves. Under a well considered course of treatment, to which we shall presently advert, he amassed a fortune of 60 or 70,000*l.* by the labour of his slaves, who multiplied and thrived so well under his management, that he had scarcely occasion at all to resort to the Guinea Yard, (the Smithfield for human cattle in the West Indies) to supply any diminution in his *gang*. This of course completely inverted his original opinions as to the necessity of the slave trade; and upon his return to England, his feelings of humanity prompted him to do as much as could perhaps be reasonably expected from one who had previously distinguished himself in print, as a prominent opposer of the abolition. He published the *anonymous* work, the second edition of which is before us, about two years previous to the passing of the act for the abolition; and it was never known till his death who was its author. Its intrinsic merits, however, attracted some attention from professional planters, although we do not believe that it ever spread widely among the public in general.

From these three works of undoubted authority, we shall now take the liberty of laying before our readers certain considerations, due attention to which we cannot but think necessary effectually to secure the real abolition of the slave trade. For although we cannot for a moment suspect that the British

legislature could ever be brought so far to derogate from its own dignity, and to belie its own most solemn act, as to consent even to any relaxation of the abolition law, or at all to remunerate those whose negligence or inhumanity have made them sufferers by its operation;—yet when we consider the facilities which an extensive coast affords to smuggling, and the various evasions which a supposed pressing interest will prompt subtle men to attempt; we shall never feel perfectly easy till the general conduct of the planters has been so far reformed, as to afford them experimental conviction of the truth of Messrs. Gaisford's, Mathison's, and Collins's views of their true interests.

The object which we have in view is very simple. It is not to enter into any retrospective discussion, whether a gradual abolition, diminishing the numbers of imported negroes in proportion as they might be replaced by the rising generation bred in the country, might not have been a fairer and more effectual mode of ultimate abolition: or whether, seeing that the absolute privation of even one recruit from Africa has been insufficient to work a due reformation in the domestic policy of the planters; any thing short of so decisive a measure would have produced even the partial effects which have resulted. These are objects of discussion, which, now that the decision has been made, are become rather of a personal than of a public nature, and are therefore perhaps worse than useless. Our sole and entire object is to state the real evil, and point out the real remedy.

The real evil is, that a great and increasing depopulation has been taking place among the slave cultivators of the sugar colonies ever since the abolition.—In Jamaica alone, it is stated by Mr. Mathison, to have amounted in 1809 to 10,031, on a population of 323,714;—the same gentleman also states, that in the year 1810 no less than 87,470 acres of land in Jamaica had been forfeited or abandoned by individuals, to escape the payment of land-tax, although it is no more than threepence per acre. We cannot help suspecting, however, that the greater part of these consists of mountainous and unwrought land, formerly belonging to the Maroons, and bought by auction at a very low rate, merely upon speculation. But the fact is a convincing proof, that scarcely a step has yet been taken in the right career; for these lands being peculiarly fitted for the purpose of raising provisions and timber, and constituting one of the most healthy and delightful regions in the world, it is here particularly that a thriving population might be raised; while the colonies would at the same time render themselves independent of their rivals or enemies for lumber and necessary food.

These difficulties and deficiencies constitute the *real evil*, and

the *alleged cause* is the abolition of the slave trade. But let us see what our three practical planters say upon this subject. Mr. Mathison, who has been accused of enmity to the abolition, states that,

“The immediate effect of the abolition has been to deprive every man of the power of committing abuses: while the more gradual effect of the previous discussions has been to introduce a system of great comparative mildness in the treatment of the old established negroes.

“The abolition law, by stopping the usual mart for labourers, has created the necessity of attention to the duty of keeping up the stock of negroes by breeding, which had never hitherto been sufficiently attended to. Under the old system it was a cheaper plan to buy, and one attended with quicker returns, than to breed labourers. Avarice is now in fetters; for there is no longer any alternative than that of attention to the system of breeding, or total ruin. The effect arising from this necessity is very striking. The care of negroes, the causes of increase and decrease, &c. &c. are becoming the subject of common conversation among a description of persons, who used only to think of the speediest methods of obtaining labourers. The preservation of lives is become a most imperative duty; and overseers are already beginning to discover that there is a degree of merit to be obtained in the management of a plantation, beyond the ordinary routine of making large crops of rum and sugar; but the progress of this discovery *is slow and very partial*, and by no means does (nor can be expected to) *keep pace with the pressing necessity of an immediate revolution* in the system of the planter.” (Notices, p. 12.)

Upon this last ground Mr. Mathison hints at something like a claim of the planters for remuneration from parliament. But such a claim, to be just, ought to be founded upon an injury received from those, against whom such claim is preferred; and since the discussions for twelve years previous to the abolition must have opened the eyes of the planters both to the political necessity under which they would labour, and to the moral enormity of their actual system of management, we cannot but cordially agree with Mr. Gaisford, who asserts, (p. 32.) “that surely the colonists cannot in future seek redress for this measure, unless they can shew that they have exerted every effort calculated to meet its exigencies.” It is most obviously true, that remuneration afforded without rigidly insisting upon such proof, would be nothing less than a profligate encouragement to vice, and a premium in favour of obstinate resistance to the plain and promulgated dictates of policy and morality. This may possibly appear a harsh and unbending doctrine: but on such occasions as the present, great public principles are not to give way to private commiseration. Mr.

Mathison observes, that, "pure humanity actuates many persons;—humanity, united to a belief that our true interests are best promoted by a faithful discharge of the moral duties of life, influences many more; but that it is '*self love, bare self love,*' that actuates the mass of mankind in the West Indies as elsewhere." We would ask him, therefore, what encouragement there would be to the humane and honest planter, were those, who against warning and conviction had injured their interests by stupid and vicious indulgencies, to be raised by public profusion to a level with the more virtuous of their class.

This part of the subject, therefore, rests upon the same grounds as the true causes of the depopulation of the plantations, and we proceed without delay to investigate them under several heads from the works before us, subjoining to each the remedy which would be effectual for its cure.

The first of those causes appears to be severity to pregnant women, and total neglect, not to say barbarous treatment, of their infant offspring.

There are few if any plantations where separate apartments are provided for lying-in women. The office of midwife is usually left to the oldest, most decrepit, and useless African female on the plantation; as a proof of whose skill and humanity it is only necessary to observe, that it is their practice to confine the infant in the same clothes, without change for the first nine days, during which time its fate is usually decided. (Mathison, p. 29.) But, as Mr. Collins admits, it was always considered, upon calculation by the planters, to be a cheaper plan "to buy new negroes, than to wait their tardy generation through all the stages of pregnancy;" it was frequently so determined upon the question being agitated in companies where he was present, and the practice regulated by that conviction. (P. 131.) He gently insinuates a hope that they have not merited the reproach of having used their endeavours *to prevent the* increase of their slaves by breeding, although it is admitted that the females are very prone to take measures for procuring abortion; to which they cannot be impelled by shame, because where promiscuous intercourse is common, and matrimony nearly unknown, fortuitous pregnancy is no disgrace; nor can their motive arise from the *general* inconveniences of gestation, because under a humane system of management, the necessary cessation from severe labour must more than counterbalance them; it can have arisen therefore from nothing but a system of conduct deliberately adopted, with a view to check the population by destroying the offspring; from overworking the pregnant women, and forcing them "to carry heavy loads down steep and slip-

pery hills," which leads to early miscarriages, or to a nine months state of misery and torment.

In certain dreadful enormities which were perpetrated in Nevis, and openly protected by a colonial assembly, a female sufferer cried out during her whipping that *she was with child*, but her punishment went on. It was not stated whether she was the woman who died in consequence of the laceration inflicted. But the following quotation from Mr. Gaisford (*himself a planter*) is we think conclusive. (P. 172.) "The *present manner* (A. D. 1811) of punishing both male and FEMALE slaves, is to order them prone upon the earth with their *breech bared*, and in cases where particular severity is intended, their hands bound, and *legs extended* are fastened to pegs stuck into the ground; so that nothing but a tortuous writhing to and fro of the victim's body be admitted, under the scourges of a whip of a *thong rope and handle*, between two and three yards in length, the sound of which blows in a plain or extended valley, often invades an unlistening ear at a distance of more than a quarter of a mile*."

"To a labouring slave," says Mr. Collins, "the evil admits of *no indulgencies* of any kind. During the first months of gestation her stomach is harassed with sickness, and in the latter stages of it, the weight and pressure of the child disables her from moving without uneasiness and difficulty. Upheld by no consolation, animated by no hope, her nine months of torment issue in the production of a being doomed like herself to the rigours of eternal servitude, and aggravating by its claims on maternal support the weight of her own evils." (P. 135.) Under such treatment of the mother and the babe, it is not surprising that the infant, should it by a miracle survive the first few days, is exposed to an endless variety of fatal disorders. Of these the tetanus, or locked jaw, seems to be the most destructive, killing a large proportion of the infant negroes. Mr. Mathison asserts, that where proper attention is paid to the cleanliness of the children, as it was on his plantation, this evil altogether disappears; and Mr. Collins, by a similar process, had not more than four or five cases in an experience of thirty years on his plantation. Can there possibly exist a more conclusive proof than these authentic facts afford, at once of the

* We wish here to remark, that there are many ladies and gentlemen in the West Indies, planters as well as others, who treat their slaves with great kindness and humanity; but while any can practise with impunity, nay with encouragement, such abominations as these, the character of the society must, and ought to be taken from the actions of persons less conspicuous for principle and humanity, which we fear constitute the majority of the residents.

criminal negligence of most of the planters and overseers, and of the facility with which a very slight attention would have obviated its effects. And let it be remembered, that this single cause of depopulation extends to one-fourth of the infants born on many sugar plantations.

Then if the infant struggles through this complaint in the first stages of life, and the measles, small-pox, and other disorders that attack it in more advanced childhood, its corporeal state is generally neglected by its master, and cannot of course be much attended to by its parents. The father is very probably unknown, and the mother more intent on the further gratification of her passion than on the cares of a family in which she has no helpmate. The consequence is, that the child is left neglected on the floor of a cabin, or in the corner of a field; is suffered to grow a distorted or deformed being; and if ever it attains strength to run alone, frequently meets a fatal end, by the numerous external accidents to which neglected children are always exposed. Again, if the peculiar providence which watches over the heedless steps of children should raise them up to puberty, there remain insuperable bars to their fulfilling the designs of Providence either in their moral or political capacities. Being suffered to grow up in disgraceful ignorance, uninstructed in the duties, the relations, and the charities of life, they are not raised above the level of their fathers in the scale of morality; and an early indulgence in promiscuous intercourse prevents the development of their prolific power. Nay, it may be added that the poor children are fortunate if they receive nothing worse during their infancy and childhood than the negative injury of neglect. The privy council reports exhibit cases of atrocious and positive cruelty towards them; of gagging, flaying, and torturing little boys and girls of six and eight years of age; and even state one case (that of Mr. Wm. Herbert of St. Kitts'), where a savage master was suddenly erected into a *suffering patriot*, because he was prosecuted by the governor for repeated and disgusting cruelties to children of the above mentioned age. His fellow slave-masters were highly indignant at this interference with the unlimited control *over their property*. After this picture of the general spirit which prevails, it is almost superfluous to add, that we fear there is scarcely a solitary instance where schools for the moral and religious instruction of the infant slaves are established in the islands. Nor can any thing afford a more true or disgusting idea of the degree in which absolute power over ones fellow men seals up the avenues to the heart, nor can any thing appear more unaccountable to a person conversant only with the polity and charities of England, than that a

large body of rich individuals should *almost universally* bring their minds to bear the daily contemplation of a crowd of innocent children, entirely dependent upon them for the welfare of their souls; and that they should by a deliberate and silent sentence of condemnation, in which their own interests are involved, inflict upon them the forfeiture of every hope.

It is very far from difficult for a plain understanding under the influence of honest feelings, to point out and apply the remedy of these evils. But we are aware that the aversion of the planters to any reform would immediately dismiss such recommendations from us with the easy and comprehensive evasion;—that it is more easy for an English philanthropist to point out theoretic improvements, than for a West Indian planter to execute them. It is therefore an invaluable privilege, that we can refer the sceptical to the stubborn facts detailed by the “professional planter,” Mr. Collins, who undertook the system with decided prejudices against the probability of its success, but was at length convinced of its soundness by the most forcible of all arguments;—the gradual, but not tardy accumulation of many thousand pounds. His splendid fortune was amassed by strict attention to the following humane and enlightened inversion of all the established practices.

But before we enter into the detail given in the following pages, we must forewarn our readers that it is of a very plain and simple nature, such as in any other case we should scarcely have ventured to submit to their perusal. But on a subject of such vital importance as that before us, we are resolved rather to incur the charge of tediousness than to omit one single fact, however minute, that rests on the undisputed authority and actual experience of a professional planter. This must be our apology for the following simple narrative, if there be any who do not find one yet more ample in the feelings of their own hearts.

During the whole period of pregnancy, Mr. Collins’s female slaves were treated with indulgencies in proportion to their advancement in that state, and were only obliged to do that moderate portion of work, which contributed to their health and to the cheerfulness of their minds. A house properly appointed, with all conveniences for the purpose, was set apart for them, and medical assistance regularly provided. Strict attention was paid to the cleanliness of the children when born, a nursery provided for their reception, to which the mothers were admitted at stated hours to afford their children nourishment from the breast, and they were allowed, if they chose, to take them home at night. When the mother regained strength enough to resume

her work, short remissions in the course of the day were allowed her to visit and suckle her child; and a permanent indulgence by way of reward was allowed to every woman who had brought up a child to the period of weaning. For the second child she was allowed an extra day of repose every fortnight; for the third one day in each week, and so on progressively for each additional child;—the exemptions continuing no longer than the life of each child respectively. And whenever any of the women had produced six children, that lived to that effective but tender age at which they begin to apply themselves to the gentle work of the grass gang, the mother was for ever after exempted from all field labour, which is nearly equivalent to freedom. An extra allowance of food was given to the mother for each child, as soon as it was weaned;—and the superintendants of the nursery received a reward for every healthy child sent out of it in a state to join the grass gang. Mr. Collins sums up the result of his practice and experience on these points in the following words.

“The motives for attending to the rearing of Creoles are numerous and urgent; but I content myself with those derived from principles of œconomy; for while they are in their infancy, the expence bestowed upon them passes off so insensibly as not to be felt. Your gang is thus recruited without sensible disbursements. It does not require more than five or six years before they are capable of labour; little indeed at that tender age, yet sufficient to defray the expences of their own support. In their adult age they become invaluable, as it is from that class of negroes that you generally draw your domestics, drivers, boilers, and tradesmen of every description; and it is upon them that you must principally depend for the work of your plantation. But for a moment lay interest aside, and ascend to a higher motive. Contemplate a creation to which your cares have been instrumental! Does opulence possess any delight comparable to it? (P. 149.)

We heartily wish that we could compliment Mr. Collins on his ascent to a still higher motive, and that attention to the moral and religious instruction of these creatures of his cares had in his case given to opulence delights more than “*comparable*” to that of merely contemplating the healthy expansion of their frames, and not a little necessary also to the completion of his object as to population, since it would necessarily have led them into the regular and prolific system of marriage.

But providentially Mr. Gaisford here steps in to our assistance, and gives the award of his practical judgment in favour of a measure which the right reverend author of the last work, at the head of this article, in vain pressed with what one would

have thought irresistible eloquence on the interests and consciences of the planters. Mr. Gaisford, in language such as totally precludes us from venturing upon a quotation, earnestly insists upon the advantages that would result from the establishment of schools on Dr. Bell's, or the Madras system, in the several plantations.

"If," says also the venerable Bishop Porteus, (p. 11.) "you should be of opinion, that the religious education of your young negroes is essentially necessary to restrain them from the most fatal excesses in the indulgence of their sensual appetites, and that such restraint is equally necessary to keep up a constant supply of homeborn slaves for the cultivation of your lands; you will perceive that these important purposes can in no other way be so easily, so effectually, and so expeditiously obtained, as by the adoption of the schools here proposed." Upon these authorities we should not hesitate to act, and fortified by them we must presume to make an appeal to the zeal of a society to which, as humble individuals, we certainly have not been backward in tendering our feeble support. We would say to the NATIONAL SOCIETY, that the West India islands are unbroken ground, that the sectarian cultivators have scarcely yet made a furrow on the barren field of the infant mind in those regions; that one of the leading members of the society exercises ecclesiastical superintendence over them*; and that at this moment the minds and interests of the planters may probably be so disposed, as to afford the fair prospect of an abundant harvest in return for any zealous exertions that may be made. That the opportunity, if neglected by the church, will be seized by the dissenters with avidity, we think there is no doubt: and we confess that here at least where the field lies open, we should be glad to see the church take the lead. Lest this should be stigmatized *as cant*, we will place our recommendation of religious instruction upon the mere foundation of interest and policy. We do not fear to maintain that, as nothing will tend more rapidly to humanize the mind, so nothing will more directly contribute to the conservation and increase of the negroes, than the impressions of a religious education. It is from this source alone that they can be thoroughly taught the duties which they owe to each other. This is the fountain from which alone can be derived those sentiments and sympathies, and that inestimable class of humane offices, without the observance of which among themselves, the species must continue to droop and decay in spite, perhaps, of

* The Bishop of London, who is *ex officio* prelate of these colonies.

every mere physical exertion on the part of the planters to cultivate the breed, and improve the mere faculty of propagation.

The next cause of depopulation to which our attention is led by the works before us, is excessive labour and severity of punishment. The cane-land of the colonies is in most cases of a strong tenacious quality, and "its surface in dry weather acquires the hardness of a brick." (Mathison, p. 37.) The labour of turning up such land with the hoe is excessive, even to negroes of a robust constitution, and to those of a weaker frame not fully *seasoned*, or to females, is altogether annihilating. In crop time, the slave is also forced to work every other night, or one night in three, according to the proportion of slaves on a plantation. And during this period, which often lasts six months, when every description of negroes is promiscuously pressed into the service, Mr. Mathison admits, "that the elderly and weakly shrink from such fatigues, and it must be confessed do suffer most cruelly during a long protracted crop under the pressure of these heavy duties." (P. 36) Nevertheless, it is perfectly notorious that these human beings are driven along by the negro-driver with a cattle whip; who, without the least attention to the difference of age and strength, extorts from their failing and trembling limbs the last dregs of power, and who being himself responsible to an overseer, whose *sole object* is to increase the immediate produce of the estate, is obliged to smother the first emotions of pity, till at length he is hardened into the belief, that the creatures under his lash are machines whose power depends upon the impulse imparted by this *primum mobile*. This is the practice in the field.—In crop time the labours of the boiling house are superadded, which Mr. Collins states to be the most unhealthy on which a negro can be employed, generally producing dropsical complaints, and the total prostration of strength. He adds, however, that the unrestrained access to hot liquor and sugar afforded by this situation makes it generally coveted by the negroes. But we have heard from other quarters, that it is no uncommon sight to see those who are condemned to it *chained* to the boiler, lest the excessive heat should tempt them to hazard a cruel punishment for a few brief moments of remission. There are other labours which we cannot now stop to particularize.

The remedies proposed by Mr. Collins for these evils are short and simple, and we are rejoiced to see them in the work of so *practical* a writer, as we confess that their obviousness and the apparent facility of their execution are such, that we never could have accounted for their not being generally adopted, except by concluding, that from some strange peculiarity in the

West Indian system of tillage, they were actually inadmissible. But Mr. Collins's experience has happily proved, that there is no such difficulty in the way. His plan is simply to divide his negroes into gangs according to their strength, assigning to each its appropriate office; to afford them food and rest enough always to keep them in a condition to put forth their average strength; to shorten the field labour by introducing the plough wherever it may supersede the hoe, and when that cannot be done, to keep their hoes sharp and in good order; to give the negroes clothing to put on in the intervals of hard labour, thereby to prevent sudden checks of perspiration; and by the regular and proportionate distribution of work, to give them encouragement to perform their tasks effectually, cheerfully, and expeditiously. His system, in short, is that of stimulating by rewards rather than that of terrifying by punishment:—*and this he found effectual upon experiment.*

With respect to the general system of punishment by the cattle whip, Mr. Collins confirms all that other writers have advanced concerning its wanton and partial use by the overseer's subdespot the cattle driver. He recommends its total banishment from the field, as he understands to have been the case in some estates in Barbadoes; and the substitution of a system of discipline, which presupposing humane management as to ordinary labour, would be perfectly effectual towards securing the fair exertion of the slave. It is, to punish rather by additional tasks of labour out of working hours, than by corporal correction; and when the sense of shame and regard to character shall have grown up from the absence of stripes wantonly inflicted, we think that a few disgraceful stigmas in addition to the above-mentioned punishments would be sufficient to uphold the discipline of an estate without recurrence to the whip, except on very rare and atrocious occasions.

We forbear to mention "other instruments of torture, such as heavy chains, puddings, and crooks," being willing to hope with Mr. Collins, that though "introduced in the less civilized days of our ancestors, and retained too long in ours by prescription, they are now *seldom* employed." (P. 180.)

We trust NEVER!! Neither shall we rake into the Reports before the privy council, to discover whether cutting off negroes' ears, or otherwise maiming them, have been used with impunity as modes of correction. We have detailed sufficient for our present purpose, enough we hope to show that the system of labour and correction just recommended is as much the interest as the duty of the planter;—that it will, on the whole, give him a larger portion of labour for his money, tend to the multipli-

cation of his stock, and to their effectiveness for labour. We do not hesitate therefore to give our opinion, that it should be established by law, to the extent in which laws can reach it.

The third and last cause of depopulation which we shall notice is a scarcity of the means of subsistence, arising partly from inhuman and injudicious laws and customs, and partly from a neglect of cultivating the high and cooler regions of the islands. They seem to be admirably adapted for the purpose of raising those provisions, which, being now drawn from foreign countries, are frequently scarce, and always dear. Mr. Mathison (p. 30,) states, that as soon as a negro is established on a plantation, he is furnished with a lot of land, and after a certain interval, is expected to subsist his family and himself by his own exertions. The inadequacy of this provision, where the slave is often completely worn down in the service of his master, as stated under the last head, and consequently rendered incapable of extra exertion on his own lot, is sufficiently obvious. Nevertheless, the negro is not allowed to expect, nor does he in fact obtain, assistance from the stores of the plantation. Mr. Mathison states it *broadly* that such is the general practice; and he very justly observes, that under such a rigid system the lives of these people must from the nature of things be exposed to a thousand hazards. And even if the planter should be disposed to relieve their necessities, he has nowhere to resort, but to a market, that at the best is but imperfectly supplied, and almost entirely dependent for grain of all descriptions, as well as for many other articles of food, upon a precarious intercourse with the United States. There is indeed a law in Jamaica, that for every ten negroes on a plantation, one acre shall be planted in ground provisions, and kept in good order. But this law, like all those which the planters find it inconvenient or disagreeable to execute, is universally disregarded, and is now little better than waste paper. (Mathison, p. 32.) When we add to these circumstances that famine sometimes arises from excessive drought, and that in June, July, and August, when provisions are planted, but not sufficiently matured to be gathered in, there is *often* a general scarcity, and that the poor negroes can have no assistance from the plantation stores,—we cannot entertain a doubt, but that famine is one prevailing cause of the decrease of the slaves; which, joined to the other causes we have stated, must be more than sufficient (one would think), to produce the prodigal waste of life which has hitherto taken place in the islands.

We have already suggested a remedy for this evil, which would go far to cure all the other disorders of the colonial system; viz. the cultivation of the high and mild regions of the

country by independent proprietors. The residence of the French proprietors in the colonies before the revolution, which, as Mr. Gaisford justly observes, arose from the little allurements which the form of government in the mother country offered for a residence at home, diffused a comparative superiority in happiness, population, resources, and refinement throughout the French islands, notwithstanding the various disadvantages under which they laboured, and from which the English colonies were exempt. Nature never formed more delightful spots for residences than the situations to which we point. Every climate from the torrid to the frigid zone is to be found in its proportionate elevation; and the vine, the olive, the apple, the pear, the bread fruit-tree, fowls and cattle of all descriptions, every thing in short which the vegetable and animal kingdoms can offer to the enjoyment of man, may be produced in abundance. The fee-simple of the land is to be had for a trifle, and the expenditure of capital is only necessary to clear and bring it under cultivation.

It is to these spots that the proprietors of the sugar plantations, (whose presence is positively required on their properties to superintend the necessary reforms, by the stern alternative of absolute ruin,) should transfer their residence. It is here that they should attract around them by indulgence and gratuities a population of free settlers, who would labour on their estates, and who would transmit a numerous and healthy progeny to their successors. It is no longer a matter of conscience only, but of urgent and positive self-interest; and the West Indians, after a long, much too long an interval, are at length placed by the abolition act upon a par with other subjects of the British empire, in this respect, that the success of their enterprizes must in some degree correspond with the fairness, the humanity, and the wisdom of their measures. The legislature has delivered its fiat in plain terms, that the practice or the toleration of cruelty, dishonesty, vice, immorality, profaneness, sensuality, and brutal indulgence, shall no longer be compatible with the successful conduct of their worldly affairs. And it is as much in vain to suppose that the opposite conduct will not at length lead to the general abolition of slavery, and to the cheaper and more effectual cultivation of the colonies by free labourers; as to suppose that virtue and patriotism will not produce justice and happiness, and that independent poverty under just and equal laws will not produce industry, sobriety, and diligence. Upon this subject we cannot avoid offering to the consideration of West Indian proprietors the following passage (corrected) from Mr. Gaisford, which we the

more readily insert as it is written in his *best*, that is in his plainest style (albeit not very plain either in the original); and it really conveys to the mind something like the impression with which we would willingly close this head of inquiry.

“The pleasantest views of the œconomy of a West Indian estate I ever witnessed, were during a visit I paid to the opulent and honourable John Harvey. The regular mountainous ascent, and continued parallel elevations, angles, and declivities of an extended adjacent valley, had given the name of *Morne Fendû*, or *Cleft Hill*, to the estate where this gentleman resided. His tropical mansion, like many others in this country, was built in London: there was to be seen before it no leprous negro waiting for a medicinal nostrum to apply to his eruptions and sores; nor a troop of half-starved slaves come to receive their pittance of fish and flour, from a grumbling plantation deputy of some insolvent proprietor. The estate was well officered, in the constant residence of medical and other men, and the cares and wants of the enslaved largely and sedulously provided for. An extended lawn of more than a furlong spread before the mansion a soft and weedless pasture. It was in the middle of this delightful spot that a distant prospect of the ocean opened, but near enough for a good eye to discern the whitened extremity of the spent wave rolling back to the deep, and the sea coiling up its waters to exhaust them again upon the sands; and where an unseeded clod was scarcely perceivable in the vegetative creation around, a neat and simply constructed shed, its walls made of bamboos conjoined and interwoven by the smaller twigs and branches, was set apart as a seminary for the young children of some neighbouring gentlemen and principal people of these estates, rescued thus by the generous feelings of the respectable proprietor, from a state of moral neglect not uncommon in this country to people of *colour*, even when allied to respectable circumstances.” (P. 185.)

It is delightful to be able to bring this scene into contrast with the recorded horrors of the lowland plantations! Would that there were many such to be found! We are aware, however, that objections may be raised to this complete state of colonization, on the ground that it might tend to weaken the tie of the colonists to the mother country, and diminish her revenue, by confining their wishes and objects within the circle of their own coasts, thus depriving England of the advantage of the capital annually remitted and expended at home. With respect to the last objection, it is sufficient to observe, that the West India islands could scarcely become manufacturing nations, and that all the objects of luxury and convenience which rich proprietors would purchase, must be exported from England for their use; a circumstance of which the revenue and the manufacturing interest at home would profit as much as if the purchasers resided

here, while the shipping interest would acquire a clear addition to their profits. With respect to the former objection, it should be recollected that no analogy can be drawn from a great continent to a small island;—that independence can scarcely be established in this by mere resistance of the natives; and that it is perfectly evident that the West Indies must always be an appendage to that nation which commands the ocean. The nation, which can secure their exports and protect their coasts, must always possess their allegiance and affection! Common origin, and mutual benefits, are strong ties;—but the secure possession and profitable enjoyment of property are much stronger: and whether England and the whites, the Emperor of Hayti and the blacks, or America and the creoles, shall ultimately rule over the narrow American seas;—the territorial sovereignty of the islands must as inevitably follow, as the regulation of their commerce must attend upon those who command the avenues of intercourse with the European states.

A word or two more in conclusion, on a topic to which we have already slightly adverted. We are well aware that in the colonies as well as at home, there is an ill-eyed magic in the word religion, that at once converts the dictates of common sense, solid argument, palpable facts, even the actual evidence of sight itself, into enthusiasm, cant, and imposture. But on this occasion the colonial legislatures have greatly outrun that of the mother country. For they have descended to the shifts of duplicity and hypocrisy, and have thereby rendered a tribute to the justice of the system, and have precluded themselves from a decent objection to the steps necessary for realising their pretended views.

“ The sixth clause of the consolidated slave act of Jamaica is as follows. ‘ And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all masters and mistresses, owners, or, in their absence, managers and overseers of slaves, shall, as much as in them lies, endeavour the instruction of their slaves in the principles of the christian religion, whereby to facilitate their conversion; and shall do their utmost endeavour to fit them for baptism, and as soon as conveniently can be, cause to be baptised all such as they can make sensible of a duty to God and the christian faith, which ceremony the *clergymen of the respective parishes are to perform gratis.*’ This clause has been copied by the legislatures of other West India islands, and inserted into their respective slave acts. The guardian act of Grenada has this addition to the clause, that ‘ the clergymen shall attend slaves in their sickness when their spiritual aid shall be required.’ ” (Gaisford, p. 56.)

After citing this clause, Mr. Gaisford proceeds roundly to

accuse the legislatures, which are *exclusively composed of slave masters*, of holding out a false show of moral consideration for their slaves, for the purpose of deceiving the government of the mother country, where all colonial legislative acts are previously submitted to his majesty and the privy council. And we must candidly admit that he makes good the accusation.

“For I would here,” he indignantly exclaims, “with earnestness ask any impartial individual, who has been in the West Indies, can there be any thing *more suffocating* to common sense than this clause is, compared with the practical usage manifested by the British planters towards their slaves. Put the Bible, said a colonist, into the hands of our slaves, or enable them to read it, and ‘*these hewers of wood and drawers of water*’ will soon be told that the labourer is worthy of his hire.” (P. 57.)

Neither have these Solons preserved more consistency in their legislative than in their individual capacities, as we shall presently see; but we must first present our readers with the following quotation from Mr. Collins.

“The efforts (of a few churchmen to convert the negroes) were neither very general nor long persisted in; being commenced without experience, perhaps with a zeal too languid for the end proposed, being accompanied with the ridicule of others who neither hoped nor wished their negroes to be better christians than themselves, and not followed with the immediate effect which impatience expected, the attempt was abandoned under the persuasion that *negroes* were beyond the possibility of a reform. Further experience, however, has proved that this judgment was erroneous; for new attempts of the same nature have been made with better success by those who were more competent to the undertaking;—I mean the Methodists and Moravians.

“These missionaries, in many instances themselves but little elevated above the meanest class in society, supplying by the energies of zeal the defects of education, have found means to attract to their lectures very numerous congregations in many of the islands, among whom are to be found some proselytes, imbued with a true spirit of christianity, so far as the penury of their faculties enables them to comprehend its dogmas. The greatest proof of this is exhibited in the regularity of their lives, their respect for their pastors, and their pecuniary contributions for their services; for religion surely must have made some progress in the minds of men, who part voluntarily with their scanty stores, whilst we find so many in this and other countries who elude by every art of chicanery the payment of legal ecclesiastical dues.” (Practical Rules, p. 187.)

The missionaries certainly found out the way to procure the cheerful and ready payment of ecclesiastical dues. The Moravians had under their care in 1807, converted brethren as follows.

In Antigua, exactly	5465
In St. Kitt's (a new mission)	80
In Barbadoes and Jamaica, about	100
In St. Thomas and St. Croix	10,000
In Surinam, about	400

In the committee of the Privy Council, p. 3, detached pieces, no. 2, two respectable planters gave evidence to the following effect. Mr. Entwistle stated that after a residence in the West Indies of more than thirty years, and having had the care and direction of more than 2000 negroes for full twenty years of that time, he is enabled to bear the most unequivocal testimony to the moral amendment introduced among the slaves by the example and exertions of the teachers and missionaries; their general conduct and outward behaviour underwent the same improvement. Mr. Gordon expressed his perfect coincidence in the opinion of Mr. Entwistle.

Now let us see what measures the colonial legislatures, who pretended to be so anxious for the conversion of their negroes, have taken under these circumstances of zeal and success by the missionaries. It appears by the colonial statutes that they have absolutely enacted severe and persecuting laws against them. They have placed the preaching of christianity to those benighted and miserable heathens on the same scale of crime and punishment, with picking pockets or any other felonies within benefit of clergy. The legislature of Jamaica has thought it reasonable to punish a first offence against their persecuting laws with a month's imprisonment and hard labour in the common workhouse, (a place where slaves deemed refractory are sent to be worked *if possible* harder than on their master's plantation;) and for a second offence the same pains are enjoined for *six months at least*, or such further punishment *short of death* as the courts might adjudge. In order to suppress the tremendous sin of preaching the Gospel to negroes, these punishments are left to the discretion of any justice of peace, with two associated justices of his own choice, (all slave masters recollect), and to be adjudged by them on a summary conviction, without trial by jury.

These are the penalties enacted against what are termed "ill disposed, illiterate, and ignorant, enthusiasts," that is to say, persons so deemed by the aforesaid justices; and that they are not very discriminating on these subjects, the actual persecution of Mr. Campbell, a person duly qualified as a dissenting teacher at the quarter-sessions in England, together with other persecutions, as of Mr. Lumb in St. Vincent's, Mr. Fish, &c. all on re-

cord, have sufficiently proved. That private malice and outrage would not be dormant under such a public system was to be expected. And we accordingly find from Mr. Collins, who says the anecdote came to him from respectable authority, that in one of the towns of a sugar island, "where the white inhabitants are without a church or any place of regular worship, and have been so for the last twenty years, the missionaries built a decent chapel with the assistance of their well frequented black congregations. One day during the divine service therein, a party of persons, mostly military, made a gallant attack upon the audience, and after dislodging the minister from the pulpit, proceeded to other acts of outrage too scandalous to be detailed." (P. 189.)

In many countries this might well be considered as merely a drunken (though a very disgraceful) frolic; but it is evidently part of a regular system in the West Indies, in which the interest of the sensual appetite, as well as the objects of avarice are secretly implicated.

That these epithets do not contain a gratuitous accusation, appears from Mr. Gaisford, (p. 150.) who states, that the laxity of morals inseparable from a construction of society, where the virtue of one part of the community is the absolute property of the passions of the other, has multiplied illicit connections between the Europeans and Creole women, to an extent that has made each island one scene of shameless prostitution. And if we may believe the writers who have visited the West Indies, the warm temperament and constitutional attractions of those women are such as to enlist the sensual passions of the vulgar and ignorant youths, who are often sent out as overseers, very strongly against any reform that would be a bar to the facilities of seduction.

It is singular, and not a little disgraceful to us, that in the French, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies, much more attention was paid to the protection and instruction of their slaves, and much greater facilities afforded them of obtaining their freedom. Unfortunately the difference has always been found greatly to the disadvantage of the negro whose master enjoys the largest share of civil and political liberty. It is certain that the Code Noir of the French, and the laws of the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, are as much milder than ours, as the constitutions of the mother countries are decidedly the reverse. Their slaves also are well instructed in religion. But then they are fed, clothed, and governed, with liberality and kindness. Christianity then, as we see by their experience, may at least be safely admitted as an inmate in West Indian settlements, since

those of Spain and Portugal were tranquil to a proverb, and free from internal commotions. It is also a welcome guest among masters, when their slaves are treated with humanity. But where the case is grossly otherwise, as in our islands, it is eagerly caught at indeed by the slave, but neglected, if not detested, by the master. The conclusion may easily be drawn, and attests the sublime efficacy of the christian religion.

We have at length completed the task of laying before our country what appears to us to be the true state of one of the most important moral and political questions, that ever was submitted to their decision; and if we have at all succeeded in convincing them, that the West Indies possess no exclusive patent for reconciling the prostitution of every divine and moral law, with the prosperous conduct of affairs; that there is no magic in a passage across the Atlantic, which can give to the base alloy of vice the currency of virtue, or the glow of humanity to sensual and sordid ferocity;—we trust that they will manfully act up to the conclusions that inevitably result from the premises.

We urgently press upon their attention, that the planters, who, in the face of a fair notice, have reduced themselves to difficulties by an obstinate perseverance in a reprobated system, have no claim either in justice or expediency to any remuneration or indemnity, much less to such a disgraceful sacrifice of consistency and morality, as would be implied in any relaxation of the abolition act. They should be referred with firmness to those expedients, which they ought to have adopted long ago, and which alone can render their welfare compatible with their duty. Even then, enough is left in their detestable polity, to excite the horror and indignation of every man of British habits and sentiments. We wish with all our hearts it were felt as a hardship by the small body of proprietors in these colonies, to be condemned to the diabolical distinction of subsisting upon the blood, the stripes, the misery, both mental and corporeal, of thousands of their fellow-men? of *subsisting* did we say? The event has shown, that in this as in all other cases, the counteraction of the ways of Providence will ever bring its own punishment. Vice has an irresistible tendency to ruin itself in its own excesses.

We will boldly, therefore, declare our conviction, that the abolition of the slave trade is but the commencement of the career of justice and sound policy; that it has done enough to make a continuance in the old system impossible, but not enough to establish the new one upon a solid foundation. It is in the gradual, but not very tardy, abolition of slavery itself, that the

glorious work must be completed, and the prosperity of the colonies laid upon such a basis, as Providence may deign to approve and to protect. We wish that space was left to prove, that the independence claimed by the colonial legislatures on these important subjects, cannot be supported against the legislature of that country which affords protection to its colony. But these may be left to future opportunities. Meantime, we are grateful to God, that by the instrumentality of the enlightened and patriotic assertors of the rights of humanity, our eyes are at length opened; that a mitigated slavery is even now produced, and that it is at length received as an undisputed political axiom, that, *in theory* at least, negroes are distinguished from brutes by the possession of a reasonable soul; and from barbarians by nerves of sensibility;—that a man can no longer with *perfect safety* murder his slave for fifteen pounds in Barbadoes, or “maim, deface, violate, or cruelly torture,” a creole or negro in Dominica, or elsewhere, for fifty-seven pounds two shillings and tenpence farthing.

ART. IV. *Itineraire de Paris à Jerusalem et de Jerusalem à Paris; en allant par la Grèce, et revenant par L’Egypte, La Barbaire et L’Espagne.* Par F. A. de Chateaubriand. 3 tomes. Oct. Paris, Le Normant, 1811. Translated for Colburn, Conduit Street, in two vols. octavo.

THE author of this work is well known in the annals of modern French literature, and has the singular merit of standing, amidst the moral desolation of his country, the faithful advocate of religious feelings and principles, to the extent of the light which he has received. His popular works *Les Martyrs*, and *Le Genie du Christianisme*, entitle him to this praise; and his beautiful romance of *Atala*, descriptive of the scenery of the Mississippi, which he personally explored in his youth, although written in prose, has unequivocally placed him high in the rank of poetical excellence. We cannot but think that he has decidedly surpassed both Florian and Gesner in this species of composition. The talent of writing poetical prose is not, however, very safe, particularly in the hands of a Frenchman. The bounds of propriety and of truth are too often overstepped, not to induce something like a habit of exaggeration, if not of bombast; and when a person so imbued undertakes to write travels, we generally find them deficient in that simplicity of statement

and internal evidence of truth, which carry the reader's imagination from the chair on which he is reclining, through the varied accidents to which the writer has been exposed.

We remember being struck, on the perusal of *Atala*, with an image, where the impetuosity of the author hurried him into an assertion directly contrary to the first principles of philosophy. In gliding between the beautiful banks of the Mississippi, the gorges of the valleys, which rolled their tributary streams to that enormous river, successively opened to his view, and displayed scenes more enchanting than the most vivid fancy could pourtray. The utmost luxuriance of vegetation, in all the variety of fruits and flowers "in ever mingling dies," enlivened by the sports of animated nature, the warbling of birds, interrupted only by the roar of the beasts of the forest,—communicated to the breast of our traveller such a tincture of enthusiasm, that he actually beheld the bears disporting among the clustered grapes, *drunk with their unfermented juice*. We must not therefore be surprised, if a passage over the classic ruins of Sparta, of Argos, and of Athens, shall be found to have communicated to the work before us a spark of that enthusiasm which is wont to be lighted up by a recital of the events of their better days; but which is extremely injurious to a simple statement of the little that could be observed in a rapid passage over their desolated scenes.

To enrich his mind with images appropriate to his romance on the Martyrs of Christianity, Mr. de Chateaubriand undertook this journey, and the work before us consists of the sweepings of his commonplace book, after the ideas necessary for his principal work had been extracted. He modestly observes, that it scarcely deserves the title of a journey, as his opportunities of investigating the *people* through whose countries he passed were very limited. His plan seems to have been, to gallop from town to town, and to collect during his stay at each as much matter as the conversation of his countrymen could afford. And as French consuls and residents are very numerous in the Levant, the information he picked up is neither trifling nor uninteresting, although treated with the rapidity of a superficial traveller, and with a lightness principally amusing to readers of the French school of literature. We shall now proceed to give some account of the work, pointing out in our progress such parts as appear erroneous or exceptionable.

The description of Jerusalem and its environs may be satisfactory to those who wish to acquire general notions of its present state, without entering into deep researches and correct investigations. But here, as well as every where else, an allow-

must not be made for the prejudices of the author as a Romanist. He of course attaches an importance to certain objects which appear indifferent enough to a general reader. This, however, and the historical parts of his work, appear to us to be the best.

Mr. de Chateaubriand embarked on board of an Austrian ship at Trieste, and was no sooner fairly afloat, than he delineated the element on which he was riding, in the following terms.

“ La Méditerranée, placée au centre des pays civilisés, semée d’îles riantes, et baignant des côtes plantées de myrtes, de palmiers et d’oliviers, donne sur-le-champ l’idée de cette mer, où naquirent Apollon, les Nereides et Vénus; tandis que l’Océan, livré aux tempêtes, environné de terres inconnues, devoit être le berceau des fantômes de la Scandinavie, ou le domaine de ces peuples Chrétiens, qui se font une idée si imposante de la grandeur, et de la toute-puissance de Dieu.” T. 1. p. 7.

These ideas are certainly singular enough for a man who was actually sailing on this very sea to the *cradle* of Christianity;—but they are also very incorrect. The fanciful divinities of the Greeks were not derived from a contemplation of the shores of the Mediterranean, but, as we all know, from Egypt, though the Greeks embellished and improved whatever came to them from that source. Neither has the tempestuous ocean cradled in her ancient shield the phantoms of Scandinavia, or contributed one jot more than the Mediterranean to the “*imposing grandeur*” of Christianity. These circumstances induce us the less to regret the interruption given by a violent storm to the author’s meditations, which were diverted into another current by a superstitious incident, common among the Greek and Romish sailors, who, in time of danger, instead of recurring to the means appointed by Providence, abandon themselves to delusive hopes, and are content with placing a candle before the image of the Virgin. After a voyage of eight days, he landed at Modon in the Morea, and immediately made preparations for proceeding to Sparta on horseback. We insert the following characteristic account of the cavalcade, the order of which was preserved throughout the whole journey.

“ A notre tête paroissoit le guide ou le postillon grec à cheval, tenant un autre cheval en lesse: ce second cheval devoit servir de remonte en cas qu’il arrivât quelque accident aux chevaux des voyageurs. Venoit ensuite le janissaire, le turban en tête, deux pistolets et un poignard à la ceinture, un sabre au côté, et un fouet à la main pour faire avancer les chevaux du guide. Je suivois à peu près armé comme le janissaire, portant de plus un fusil de

chasse. Joseph fermoit la marche: ce Milanais étoit un petit homme blond, à gros ventre, le teint fleuri, l'air affable; il étoit tout habillé de velours bleu; deux longs pistolets d'arçon, passés dans une étroite ceinture, relevoient sa veste d'une manière si grotesque, que le janissaire ne pouvoit jamais le regarder sans rire. Mon équipage consistoit en un tapis pour m'asseoir, une pipe, un poëlon à café, et quelques schalls pour m'envelopper la tête pendant la nuit. Nous partions au signal donné par le guide; nous grimpons au grand trot les montagnes, et nous les descendions au galop, à travers les precipices. Il faut prendre son parti; les Turcs militaires ne connoissent pas d'autre manière d'aller, et le moindre signe de frayeur, ou même de prudence, vous exposeroit à leur mépris. Vous êtes assis, d'ailleurs, sur des selles de Mameloucks dont les étriers larges et courts vous plient les jambes, vous rompent les pieds, et déchirent les flancs de votre cheval. Au moindre faux mouvement, le pommeau élevé de la selle vous crève la poitrine; et, si vous vous renversez en arrière, le haut rebord de la selle vous brise les reins. On finit pourtant par trouver ces selles utiles, à cause de la solidité qu'elles donnent à cheval; surtout dans des courses aussi hasardeuses.

“ Les courses sont de huit à dix lieues avec les mêmes chevaux: on leur laisse prendre haleine sans manger, à peu près à moitié chemin; on remonte ensuite; et l'on continue sa route. Le soir on arrive quelquefois à un kan, mesure abandonnée où l'on dort parmi toutes sortes d'insectes et de reptiles sur un plancher vermoulu. On ne vous doit rien dans ce kan, lorsque vous n'avez pas de firman de poste: c'est à vous de vous procurer des vivres comme vous pouvez. Mon janissaire alloit à la chasse dans les villages; il rapportoit quelquefois des poulets que je m'obstinois à payer; nous les faisons rôtir sur des branches vertes d'olivier, ou bouillir avec du riz pour en faire un pilau. Assis à terre autour de ce festin, nous le déchirions avec nos doigts; le repas fini, nous allions nous laver la barbe et les mains au premier ruisseau. Voilà comme on voyage aujourd'hui dans le pays d'Alcibiade et d'Aspasie.” (T. 1. p. 31—33.)

As our author was travelling through the south of the Morea, he might as well have referred to some other ancient worthies, as to a hero of Athens, or a lady of Miletus. We shall dwell but little upon the barren fields and desolate villages of Greece, crowned by their ruined castles, and surrounded by the turbaned cemeteries of their oppressors; nor can we participate in the very singular and sorry consolation of M. de Chateaubriand, on contemplating the tombs of the Turks;—that the barbarous ravagers of Greece found their graves in the country they had conquered: because we conceive, that it was the very object of their wishes to live and die in that delightful region, and to transmit it through many generations to its present tyrants.

Neither can we participate in the author's exultations at

finding every where what he is pleased to call the traces of French honour and of French glory, particularly when he lays the scene of these in *Syria* and in *Egypt*. We think too that in literary glory and preeminence in taste, Spon, Wheler, and Stuart may well be put in competition with Le Roi, and M. de Choiseul. M. de Chateaubriand gives rather an expressive account of the plaintive national ditty of the Greek postboys, and seems to doubt, whether the airs were introduced by the Venetians, by a combination of *French romance* with *Greek genius*, or whether the Greeks derived them from their ancestors. We are inclined to think that he has been unfortunate in all his guesses, and that the songs of the Morea were derived from the Albanese; because we know that the same music has been observed among the Slavonians, Illyrians, and the Greeks of Yanina; whereas the Greek music of Constantinople, Smyrna, &c. is very different from the Morean, and much more lively and pleasant. The Albanese have a peculiar dance, very different from the Greek, and very rapid in its motions: but their songs are monotonous and tiresome, and expressive only of sorrow and complaint.

M. de Chateaubriand's ignorance of Eastern manners and languages, and the rapidity of his journey and of his ideas, have drawn him into some ridiculous errors;—for example,—upon a trifling quarrel between some officers of the pacha of the Morea, and some of the Frenchman's servants, he says that the pacha offered upon complaint, “de faire donner devant moi vingt coups de batons au Délis qui avoit arrêté Joseph,” (p. 63),—giving delis as the proper name of one of the pacha's officers. Whereas every one acquainted with Turkish knows that *delis* means fool in that language, and what the pacha meant to say was, that he would punish the silly fellow who has insulted his visitor's servant. Again he observes, that previous to setting out upon their day's expedition, the attendant janissary “fit sa prière, se lava les coudes, la barbe, et les mains, se tourna vers l'Orient comme pour appeler la lumière, et nous partimes.” (P. 68.) This is another mistake; the Turks of Greece in their prayers always turn towards the south or south-east, i. e. towards the caâba, or temple of Mecca. He states also, in his account of Turkish manners, “que tel esclave a bu le café avec son hôte a qui ce meme hôte fait couper le cou en sortant.” (P. 78.) But this is overstrained. The Turks as well as the Arabs do yet observe the laws of hospitality, and will not immediately destroy him who has eaten bread and salt with them. This list of errors within twenty pages, taken at random, may serve as a general specimen of the author's inaccuracy, and will save us

the trouble of bringing repeated proofs, that the spirit of romance is so strong upon him, that strict veracity is not allowed to stand in the way of a figure of speech.

The following picture, which occurred during his ride to Sparta, is too characteristic of the country to be passed over.

“A midi nous découvrîmes un kan aussi pauvre que celui de la veille, quoiqu’il fût décoré du pavillon ottoman. Dans un espace de vingt-deux lieues, c’étoient les deux seules habitations que nous eussions rencontrées; la fatigue et la faim nous obligèrent de rester dans ce sale gîte plus long-temps que je ne l’aurois voulu. Le maître du lieu, vieux Turc à la mine rébarbative, étoit assis dans un grenier qui régnoit au-dessus des étables du kan; les chèvres montoient jusqu’à lui, et l’environnoient de leurs ordures. Il nous reçut dans ce lieu de plaisance, et ne daigna pas se lever de son fumier, pour faire donner quelque chose à des chiens de Chrétiens; il cria d’une voix terrible: et un pauvre enfant grec tout nu, le corps enflé par la fièvre et par les coups de fouet, nous vint apporter du lait de brebis dans un vase dégoûtant par sa malpropreté; encore fus-je obligé de sortir pour le boire à mon aise, car les chèvres et leurs chevreaux m’assiégeoient pour m’arracher un morceau de biscuit que je tenois à la main. J’avois mangé l’ours et le chien sacré avec les sauvages; je partageai depuis le repas des Bédouins; mais je n’ai jamais rien rencontré de comparable à ce premier kan de la Laconie.” (T. 1. p. 70, 71.)

He then observes, that it was nearly in the same place that the flocks of King Menelaus were depastured, and that his majesty gave a dinner to Telemachus:

“Thron’d next the king, a fair attendant brings
The purest product of the chrystal springs;
High on a massy vase of silver mold
The burnish’d laver flames with solid gold;
In solid gold the purple vintage flows,
And on the board a second banquet rose.”

POPE’S ODYSSEY, BOOK IV.

After a few days ride, our traveller arrived at the the ruins of Sparta, the real situation of which he seems to have set out on his journey with the predetermined resolution of having the glory to settle, for the benefit of all future scholars and travellers:—a scheme the more extraordinary, as he has himself declared in his introduction, p. lxix, that Le Roi had satisfactorily effected the object, and as it is notorious that every traveller who has since visited Sparta may equally put in his claim “davoir déterminé son emplacement.” We shall therefore pass over the many pages devoted to this object, and in their place shall present our readers with the following detail of Turkish

oppression and barbarity, premising, that by the laws of Turkey, when a murder is committed, the next village or inhabited place is answerable for the fine, although its inhabitants can prove themselves perfectly innocent of the crime.

“ Nous arrivâmes à midi à un gros village appelé Saint-Paul, assez voisin de la mer: on n’y parloit que d’un événement tragique qu’on s’empressa de nous raconter.

“ Une fille de ce village ayant perdu son père et sa mère, et se trouvant maîtresse d’une petite fortune, fut envoyée par ses parens à Constantinople. A dix-huit ans elle revint dans son village: elle parloit le turc, l’italien et le français; et quand il passoit des étrangers à Saint-Paul, elle les recevoit avec une politesse qui fit soupçonner sa vertu. Les chefs des paysans s’assemblèrent. Après avoir examiné entr’eux la conduite de l’orpheline, ils résolurent de se défaire d’une fille qui déshonoroit le village. Ils se procurèrent d’abord la somme fixée en Turquie pour le meurtre d’une chrétienne; ensuite ils entrèrent pendant la nuit chez la jeune fille, l’assommèrent, et un homme qui attendoit la nouvelle de l’exécution, alla porter au pacha le prix du sang. Ce qui mettoit en mouvement tous ces Grecs de Saint-Paul, ce n’étoit pas l’atrocité de l’action, mais l’avidité du pacha; car celui-ci qui trouvoit aussi l’action toute simple, et qui convenoit avoir reçu la somme fixée pour un assassinat ordinaire, observoit pourtant que la beauté, la jeunesse, la science, les voyages de l’orpheline lui donnoient (à lui pacha de Morée) de justes droits à une indemnité: en conséquence Sa Seigneurie avoit envoyé le jour même deux janissaires pour demander une nouvelle contribution.” (Vol. 1. p. 122, 123.)

We now come to another of M. de Chateaubriand’s grand discoveries, upon which, together with those of the ruins of Sparta, and of the ports of Carthage, to which we shall presently refer, he relies very much for the utility of his journey to the world; and we really think that the whole affords a very amusing idea of the ordinary process of French discoveries by land. Of their discoveries by sea we have before had occasion to offer our judgment*.

In galloping over the country near Mycenæ, after having explored the tomb of Agamemnon, the earth sounded hollow under his horse’s feet; he dismounted and found a vaulted excavation, which, by the following ingenious process of reasoning, is converted into the tomb of Clytemnestra.

“ Pausanias compte à Mycènes cinq tombeaux: le tombeau d’Atrée, celui d’Agamemnon, celui d’Eurymédon, celui de Télédamus et de Pélops, et celui d’Electre. Il ajoute que Clytemnestre

* See British Review, No. 1. article on the voyage of Peron to Australia.

et Egisthe étoient enterrés hors des murs: ce seroit donc le tombeau de Clytemnestre et d'Egisthe que j'aurois retrouvé? Je l'ai indiqué à M. Fauvel, qui doit le chercher à son premier voyage à Argos: singulière destinée qui me fait sortir de Paris pour fixer l'emplacement des ruines de Sparte, et découvrir les cendres de Clytemnestre!" (Vol. 1. p. 136.)

It is thus we advance in the career of discovery, from a simple excavation to a tomb, from a tomb to the *ashes* of Clytemnestra. At Corinth our author seriously gives a quotation from Benjamin of Tudela, without seeming at all aware that that Jew published a fictitious journey to places where he never was; but the excuse of ignorance cannot be pleaded in behalf of M. de Chateaubriand, when he states of some columns belonging to the Temple of Diana of Ephesus at Corinth, "*je crois savoir confusément, qu'elles ont été renversées, et que les Anglois en ont emporté les derniers debris.*" The fact is, that these columns have not been carried away by the English, and for the best of all reasons, they are not worth the trouble of the removal.

On quitting Corinth he passed the guard which levied tribute upon all those who have occasion to travel through the isthmus.

"Je montrai mon ordre du pacha: le commandant m'invita à fumer la pipe et à boire le café dans sa baraque. C'étoit un gros homme, d'une figure calme et apathique, ne pouvant faire un mouvement sur sa natte sans soupirer, comme s'il éprouvoit une douleur; il examina mes armes, me fit remarquer les siennes, surtout une longue carabine, qui portoit, disoit-il, fort loin. Les gardes aperçurent un paysan qui gravissoit la montagne hors du chemin; ils lui crièrent de descendre, celui-ci n'entendit point la voix. Alors le commandant se leva avec effort, prit sa carabine, ajusta longtemps entre les sapins le paysan, et lui lâcha son coup de fusil. Le Turc revint, après cette expédition, se rasseoir sur sa natte, aussi tranquille, aussi bonhomme qu'auparavant. Le paysan descendit à la garde, blessé en toute apparence, car il pleuroit et montrait son sang. On lui donna cinquante coups de bâton pour le guérir.

"Je me levai brusquement, et d'autant plus désolé, que l'envie de faire briller devant moi son adresse avoit peut-être déterminé ce bourreau à tirer sur le paysan." (P. 147, 148.)

We cannot quite reconcile the light and jocose manner in which "les cinquante coups de baton," bestowed by a bloated tyrant upon an innocent and injured man, are mentioned, with M. de Chateaubriand's professions of attachment to liberty and humanity.

At length M. de Chateaubriand observes, the important day arose which was to usher them into Athens; they mounted their horses at three in the morning, in their holiday clothes, the janissary having turned the cleanest side of his turban outwards, and by way of celebrating the day, "*par extraordinaire*" (as the

Frenchman says), *rubbed* and dressed his horse. The traveller advanced towards Athens with a kind of pleasure that deprived him of the power of reflection, which, however, he soon seems to have recovered; for the comparison between the impressions respectively made upon the mind by the first view of Sparta and of Athens, appear to us to be among the most just and correct in which the author has indulged.

“ Sparte et Athènes ont conservé jusques dans leurs ruines leurs différens caractères: celles de la première sont tristes, graves et solitaires; celles de la seconde sont riantes, légères, habitées. A l’aspect de la patrie de Lycurgue, toutes les pensées deviennent sérieuses, mâles et profondes; l’ame fortifiée semble s’élever et s’agrandir; devant la ville de Solon, on est comme enchanté par les prestiges du génie; on a l’idée de la perfection de l’homme considéré comme un être intelligent et immortel. Les hauts sentimens de la nature humaine prenoient à Athènes quelque chose d’élégant qu’ils n’avoient point à Sparte. L’amour de la patrie et de la liberté n’étoit point pour les Athéniens un instinct aveugle, mais un sentiment éclairé, fondé sur ce goût du beau dans tous les genres, que le ciel leur avoit si libéralement départi; enfin, en passant des ruines de Lacédémone aux ruines d’Athènes, je sentis que j’aurois voulu mourir avec Léonidas, et vivre avec Périclès.

“ Nous marchions vers cette petite ville dont le territoire s’étendoit à quinze ou vingt lieues, dont la population n’égalait pas celle d’un faubourg de Paris, et qui balance dans l’univers la renommée de l’Empire romain. Les yeux constamment attachés sur ses ruines, je lui appliquois ces vers de Lucrèce :

“ *Primæ frugiferos sætus mortalibus ægris
Dididerunt quondam præclaro nomine Athenæ,
Et recreaverunt vitam, legesque rogârunt;
Et primæ dederunt solatia dulcia vitæ.* ”

The review of the present state of the city and ruins of Athens, made under the direction of so excellent a guide as M. Fauvel, the French consul, is well worthy of attention; and M. de Chateaubriand’s account is lively, picturesque, and entertaining. But we are deterred both by our contracting limits, and by the frequent descriptions of the same objects by other travellers, from entering into the detail at present; and shall only observe, that we think him a little too severe upon Lord Elgin for bringing away the figures from the Parthenon, with a view to preserve those exquisite monuments of art from the barbarian hands which were daily mutilating and destroying them.—Considering the city in which M. de Chateaubriand wrote, we rather admire his courage in particularly specifying among the presents which he highly valued as memorials of kindness from his several friends in the East, a *bone etui*, which Father Muñoz presented to him at Jaffa, as well as the following reflection which

broke from him on summing up his sensations at his departure from Attica. "Si jamais j'avois pensé avec des hommes dont je respecte d'ailleurs le caractère et les talens, que le gouvernement absolu est le meilleur de tous les gouvernemens, quelques mois de séjour en Turquie m'auroient bien guéri de cette opinion." (P. 261. T. 1.) Our readers will not be surprised at this opinion, when they learn that the city of Athens,—

"The eye of Greece, mother of arts
And eloquence——"

is now the absolute property of the *chief of the black eunuchs of the seraglio*; and that all the other cities of Greece envy the Athenians for this *signal distinction*, because they consider it as one of the surest protections against the extortions and robberies of the minor pachas. What reflections does this combination of ideas offer to the mind!!

We cannot, however, compliment all the sentiments of our author, as breathing an equal degree of candour and independence. We think, for example, that his general invectives against the modern Greek language are rather unreasonable. He was himself ignorant of it, but had he applied to M. Coraï at Paris, he would have informed him that the language is far from being "barbarous," although susceptible of improvement by reference to the classic idiom. Whoever will take the trouble to read the translations of Rollin's History of Telemachus, of Metastasio, of Cornelius Nepos, and many other books, particularly French and Italian, will be convinced that the modern Greek is very well calculated to express ideas on every subject, with a considerable degree of elegance and correctness. But the complete reformation of the modern Greek language must be brought about by the regeneration of the Greek nation. Give them a good government, (under foreign protection till their degraded and vilified minds recover energy enough to govern themselves) and they will soon rise to a respectable rank in arts and letters. They are ingenious, lively, courteous, extremely polite and clever in business; but light, cunning, false, superstitious, and revengeful. They are eager also for emancipation, but without any moral fitness for liberty. M. de Chateaubriand has likewise exhibited the worst side of the Turkish character and government; but we are far from wishing to set ourselves up as the apologists, even of their least objectionable habits. The observations for which we can the least forgive him are those upon slavery, in the 274th p. of T. 1.

"I think," says he, "that the system of slavery was one of the causes of the superiority of the great men of Athens and Rome over the great men of modern times. It is certain, that a man cannot pre-

fit by all the resources of his mind unless he is relieved from the every day concerns of life ; and one is so relieved wherever the arts, trades, and domestic occupations are left to slaves. The service of the hired domestic, who quits you when he pleases, and whose negligences and vices you are consequently obliged to endure, cannot be compared with the service of him whose life and death is in your hands. It is certain also, that the habit of absolute dominion over man imparts an elevation to the mind and a dignity to the manners which the vulgar equality of European society can never give."

We shall not say a word in answer to these observations of the sensitive, humane, and liberal M. de Chateaubriand, except to recommend it to him, in his next voyage to America, to verify his theory by a visit to the West Indies.

We shall pass over the author's voyage to Constantinople, his journey over land to Smyrna, and his voyage thence to the Holy Land. The adventures they contain were, we doubt not, very agreeable to him to narrate, as they principally consist of French *fanfarronnade* concerning his quarrels with the Turks, and the great importance of the French in the Levant. But we shall take the liberty of rejoining him in the Holy Land, after giving the following extract, containing sentiments which we have been assured, by those who have approached that country under similar circumstances, are very appropriate. As the ship laden with Latin pilgrims for Jerusalem approached the shore during the night, M. de Chateaubriand observes :

" Je n'ai guère vu de scènes plus agréables et plus pittoresques. Le vent étoit frais, la mer belle, la nuit sereine. La lune avoit l'air de se balancer entre les mâts et les cordages du vaisseau ; tantôt elle paroissoit hors des voiles, et tout le navire étoit éclairé ; tantôt elle se cachoit sous les voiles, et les groupes des pèlerins rentroient dans l'ombre. Qui n'auroit béni la religion, en songeant que ces deux cents hommes, si heureux dans ce moment, étoient pourtant des esclaves, courbés sous un joug odieux ? Ils alloient au tombeau de Jésus-Christ oublier la gloire passée de leur patrie et se consoler de leurs maux présens. Et que de douleurs secrètes ne déposeroient-ils pas bientôt à la crèche du Sauveur ! Chaque flot qui poussoit le vaisseau vers le saint rivage, emportoit une de nos peines." (T. 2. p. 95.)

The ship discharged its cargo at the port of Jaffa, and the affecting account of the christian charity and hospitality of certain Italian monks at that place afforded a singular contrast to other scenes which are recorded in history to have passed on the same soil. But we must hasten to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

The church built over our Lord's nativity at Bethlehem must of course be an interesting object of contemplation to every Christ-

Jan. It is a subterranean place of worship, lighted by thirty-two lamps, presented by different christian princes, and being fitted up with much splendour, and preserved with great care, affords a striking contrast to the miserable Arab ruins, and half naked savages, which strike the eye on emerging from the sacred place. The circumstance of the place of our Saviour's nativity being underground has given rise to a controversy whether this be the real stable or no. But natural excavations were often used as stables in ancient times, and many fathers of the church preserved a tradition that Christ was born in Bethlehem, in a stable not made by art, but by nature, i. e. in a grotto, (vide Justin, M. Dialog, cum Tryph: Origen contra Cels. and many other fathers.) We confess that our conviction that the knowledge of the real place of our Lord's nativity has been preserved is very much derived from the circumstance of the emperor Adrian's having consecrated a grove at Bethlehem to the worship of Adonis, and erected the statue of this god over the grotto in question. (Hieron Epist. 19, &c.) This plainly shews, that the particular spot was visited and revered by the primitive Christians, which the heathen emperor endeavoured to prevent by the repulsive effect of profane and dissolute rites. Providence, however, so ordained, that these very profanations should be the means of ascertaining and transmitting to future ages the knowledge of the precise spot where the glory of the Redeemer first burst upon the world. The following account of M. de Chateaubriand's feelings upon his visit to this holy place well accords with the pleasing and pious sensations which the contemplation of such a scene is calculated to raise in the breast of every sincere Christian.

“ Rien n'est plus agréable et plus dévot que cette église souterraine. Elle est enrichie de tableaux des écoles italienne et espagnole. Ces tableaux représentent les mystères de ces lieux, des Vierges et des Enfans d'après Raphaël, des Annonciations, l'Adoration des Mages, la Venue des Pasteurs, et tous ces miracles mêlés de grandeur et d'innocence. Les ornemens ordinaires de la Crèche sont de satin bleu brodés en argent. L'encens fume sans cesse devant le berceau de Sauveur. J'ai entendu un orgue, fort bien touché, jouer, à la messe, les airs les plus doux et les plus tendres des meilleurs compositeurs d'Italie. Ces concerts charment l'Arabe chrétien qui, laissant paître ses chameaux, vient, comme les antiques bergers de Bethléem, adorer le Roi des Rois dans sa Crèche. J'ai vu cet habitant du désert communier à l'autel des Mages, avec une ferveur, une piété, une religion inconnues des Chrétiens de l'Occident. ‘ Nul endroit dans l'univers, dit le père Neret, n'inspire plus de dévotion. L'abord continuel des caravanes de toutes les nations chrétiennes—les prières publiques, les prosternations—la richesse même des présents que les princes chrétiens y ont envoyés—tout cela excite

cite en votre ame des choses qui se font sentir beaucoup mieux qu'on ne peut les exprimer.' "

The number of pilgrims to this church has very much diminished of late years, particularly of those of opulence and high rank, whose presence and contributions were most conducive to the maintenance of the ancient splendour of the place.

In his excursion to the Dead Sea, the author met some tribes of Bedouin Arabs, whose morals and manners we are disposed to think he libels, when he asserts that they prostitute their wives and daughters for money. We never heard of such a depraved custom among them, and it is so contrary to the ordinary habits of the Arab race, that we cannot help suspecting that it is only a tale picked up by the author, without having understood the meaning of what he was told. In the Dead Sea he perceived by day, and heard by night, myriads of little fish playing about the shores, contrary to the common and received opinion that it produces and sustains no living creature. We have taken some pains to ascertain this fact, and have been informed by a person who has often conversed with the Arabs that frequent the shores of that sea, that where the Jordan disembogues itself there are many fish carried down with the stream, which live and thrive within the verge of the supply of fresh water at the mouth of the river; but they have no means of ascertaining whether fish exist in the more central depths. Daily experience has convinced them of the falsehood of the report that birds cannot fly over the Dead Sea without falling down dead. They constantly do so without any apparent inconvenience. Flames are occasionally emitted from the surface, accompanied with sulphureous and mephitic smells, and fogs are common at certain seasons. But it does not appear that there is any thing peculiarly unwholesome in the climate of the neighbouring country. M. de Chateaubriand carried home a bottle of the water to Paris, *with a view to ascertain whether the sea-fish of Europe would live in it.* A large piece of the asphaltos, from the borders of the lake, is to be seen at the Latin convent. It resembles coal, but is more shining, burns when put on the fire, and emits a sulphureous and extremely offensive smell.

From Bethleem and the Dead Sea the author proceeded to Jerusalem, the great object and end of his journey. We have no doubt that a man like M. de Chateaubriand, endued with christian feelings, must have been highly gratified at visiting the spot where the mysteries of our holy religion were performed. But his account differs little from that of other travellers; and the city itself and its society has undergone but little change from the state in which it was two centuries ago, when our

plain-spoken countryman, Fynes Moryson, visited it in 1596. "All the citizens," says he, "are either tailors, shoe-makers, cooks, or smiths, (which smiths make their keys and locks not of iron but of wood,) and in general poore, rascall people, mingled of the scum of divers nations; partly Arabians, partly Moores, partly the basest inhabitants of neighbour countries; by which kind of people all the adjoyning territorie is likewise inhabited, which should have no trafficke if the christian monasteries were taken away. Finally, the inhabitants of Jerusalem, at this day, are as wicked as they were when they crucified our Lord, and as they have been since. Hence it was that Robert D. of Normandy being sicke, and carried into Jerusalem upon the backs of like rascalls, when he met by the way a friend who was then returning into Europe, desiring to know what he would command him to his friends, he earnestly entreated him to tell them, that he saw Duke Robert carried into heaven upon the backs of divels."—*Moryson's Itinerary*, folio 1617, p. 219.

We shall content ourselves with remarking such passages of M. de Chateaubriand's description as have either a pretension to novelty, or may be otherwise interesting to our readers. The great objects of curiosity are of course Mount Calvary, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the convents of Romish monks, who serve as guides and hosts to the Christians visiting Jerusalem, and the great mosque erected on the site of the temple of Solomon.

Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre, although formerly at some little distance from Jerusalem, are now in the very heart of the city, a circumstance that can only be accounted for by the very singular form of the ancient Jerusalem. It was built on two elevations, at a short distance from each other, and covered nearly the whole of their surface, thus forming two separate towns, which were joined together by a comparatively narrow slip of buildings across the valley between, principally occupied in ancient times by the palace and temple of Solomon.—These buildings, (according to an accurate general view of the city, taken by Meyer* about thirty years ago, from the Mount of Olives, and which is now before us,) are in ruins, or their sites totally bare, as well as many other parts of the old town. It is obvious that the two masses of buildings thus connected would form a town somewhat in the form of a horseshoe; and Mount Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre are situated in the valley which

* Meyer was an artist employed by Sir Robert Ainslie, while minister at Constantinople, to take views of various remarkable places in the Levant. He was a very accurate draughtsman, without much taste.

was included between the two elevations. But Jerusalem having for many years been the seat of christian governments, it is natural to conclude that their veneration for the spots where their redemption had been fulfilled would lead them to fix their residence as near to them as possible. The church which they built over the tomb of their Saviour has also in all ages attracted crowds of pilgrims of every rank, and houses must of course have sprung up for their accommodation; so that upon the whole, there are sufficient causes to account for the increase of the town in this particular part, or rather for its removal from the elevations into the valley; for the old town, as we have just observed, has now very large spaces within its circuit either quite bare or covered with ruins.

The church of the Holy Sepulchre is now in ruins, having been burned down the year after M. de Chateaubriand saw it in 1806. Large subscriptions have been raised among the pious Christians of the Levant for its re-erection. Although the following account of the priestcraft practised there by the Greek clergy, which, though unknown to M. de Chateaubriand, we have received from an eyewitness of veracity, would certainly induce us to wish that the care of this interesting place were transferred to better hands.

On the day of the renewal of the holy fire, as the Greeks call it, the church of the Holy Sepulchre is crowded with pilgrims, Greek, Armenian, Copht, and Abyssinian. This holy fire is said to issue spontaneously from the Holy Sepulchre on Easter eve. At that period the Greek patriarch, with his clergy arrayed in their sacerdotal robes, and followed by the Armenian patriarch and his clergy, and the bishop of the Cophts, march in grand and solemn procession, and singing hymns, three times round the Holy Sepulchre. The procession ended, the Greek patriarch puts off his robes and enters alone into the sepulchre, probably with some phosphorus in his pocket; the Armenian and Cophtic prelates remain in the antichamber, where they state that the angel was sitting when he appeared to the pious women after the resurrection of our Lord. As soon as the holy fire is kindled, as the patriarch says by a miracle, he lights his wax-taper and comes forth from the sepulchre, and offers it first by a previous agreement to such person as bids the highest price for the special privilege of first lighting his taper from that of the patriarch. A considerable sum is paid for this preference, and much competition prevails for it, as they believe that the more it is removed from its first source, the more its purity and efficacy are diminished. The scene of confusion which ensues when the patriarch enters the church with two lighted tapers is beyond description. The people press forward with such incredible eagerness to light their

tapers, that Turkish guards, placed with whips and sticks, and liberally dealing out blows on every side, can scarcely, with all their exertions, prevent many from being trodden to death. The eager motions of the populace, like waves agitated by the wind, the noise and clamour which resound within the dome of the church, the multitude of candles gradually lighted by which the blaze increases, and at length fills the whole building and illuminates its inmost recesses, can more easily be imagined than described. The Greeks assert that the continuation of this pretended miracle is an evident and convincing proof of the truth of their religion, and it is certain that had the fraud been discontinued, the number of pilgrims would be considerably diminished. The pecuniary interests of the clergy would also have suffered; for in former times some thousand (even 30,000) sequins have been paid for the permission of first receiving the fire from the high priest's hands; but superstition, at least among the rich, has latterly so much declined, that a few hundred sequins are now sufficient to secure the privilege.

The Roman Catholic monks of Jerusalem look upon this fraud of the Greeks with horror. They are not exposed to the same temptation, and living in the midst of trials and oppressions, and exercising all the hospitality of which their scanty means are capable, appear to be a simple and interesting race of men. Their character, as well as that of the Jews of Jerusalem, are so well portrayed in the following eloquent passage, that we cannot resist our desire to lay it before the public.

“ Au milieu de cette désolation extraordinaire, il faut s'arrêter un moment pour contempler des choses plus extraordinaires encore. Parmi les ruines de Jérusalem, deux espèces de peuples indépendans trouvent dans leur foi de quoi surmonter tant d'horreurs et de misères. Là vivent des religieux chrétiens que rien ne peut forcer à abandonner le tombeau de Jésus-Christ, ni spoliations, ni mauvais traitemens, ni menaces de la mort. Leurs cantiques retentissent nuit et jour autour du Saint-Sépulchre. Dépouillés le matin par un gouverneur turc, le soir les retrouve au pied du Calvaire, priant au lieu où Jésus-Christ souffrit pour le salut des hommes. Leur front est serein, leur bouche riante. Ils reçoivent l'étranger avec joie. Sans forces et sans soldats, ils protègent des villages entiers contre l'iniquité. Pressés par le bâton et par le sabre, les femmes, les enfans, les troupeaux se réfugient dans les cloîtres de ces solitaires. Qui empêche le méchant armé de poursuivre sa proie, et de renverser d'aussi faibles remparts? la charité des moines: ils se privent des dernières ressources de la vie pour racheter leurs supplians. Turcs, Arabes, Grecs, Chrétiens schismatiques, tous se jettent sous la protection de quelques pauvres religieux, qui ne peuvent se défendre eux-mêmes. C'est ici qu'il faut reconnoître avec Bossuet, ‘ que des mains levées

vers le ciel enfoncent plus de bataillons que des mains armées de javelots.

“ Tandis que la nouvelle Jérusalem sort ainsi *du désert, brillante de clarté*, jetez les yeux entre la montagne de Sion et le Temple; voyez cet autre petit peuple qui vit séparé du reste des habitans de la cité. Objet particulier de tous les mépris, il baisse la tête sans se plaindre; il souffre toutes les avanies sans demander justice; il se laisse accabler de coups sans soupirer; on lui demande sa tête: il la présente au cimeterre. Si quelque membre de cette société pros-crite vient à mourir, son compagnon ira, pendant la nuit, l'enterrer furtivement dans la vallée de Josaphat, à l'ombre du Temple de Salomon. Pénétrez dans la demeure de ce peuple, vous le trouverez dans une affreuse misère, faisant lire un livre mystérieux à des enfans qui, à leur tour, le feront lire à leurs enfans. Ce qu'il faisoit il y a cinq mille ans, ce peuple le fait encore. Il a assisté dix-sept fois à la ruine de Jérusalem, et rien ne peut le décourager; rien ne peut l'empêcher de tourner ses regards vers Sion. Quand on voit les Juifs dispersés sur la terre, selon la parole de Dieu, on est surpris sans doute: mais, pour être frappé d'un étonnement surnaturel, il faut les retrouver à Jérusalem; il faut voir ces légitimes maîtres de la Judée esclaves et étrangers dans leur propre pays; il faut les voir attendant, sous toutes les oppressions, un roi qui doit les délivrer. Écrasés par la croix qui les condamne et qui est plantée sur leurs têtes, cachés près du Temple dont il ne reste pas pierre sur pierre, ils demeurent dans leur déplorable aveuglement. Les Perses, les Grecs, les Romains ont disparu de la terre; et un petit peuple, dont l'origine précéda celle de ces grands peuples, existe encore sans mélange dans les décombres de sa patrie. Si quelque chose, parmi les nations, porte le caractère du miracle, nous pensons que ce caractère est ici. Et qu'y a-t-il de plus merveilleux, même aux yeux du philosophe, que cette rencontre de l'antique et de la nouvelle Jérusalem au pied du Calvaire: la première s'affligeant à l'aspect du sépulcre de Jésus-Christ ressuscité; la seconde se consolant auprès du seul tombeau qui n'aura rien à rendre à la fin des siècles!” (P. 45.)

The great mosque on the site of the temple of Solomon is the last object we shall notice at Jerusalem, concerning which Abulfeda has the following passage in his description of Syria: There is at Jerusalem a mosque, a greater there is none in all Islamism, and in it there is a rock (sakhra), which is a stone elevated as a bench, about as high as a man's chest, and its breadth is equal to its height. There is a descent underneath by steps. This sakhra served the prophets, and especially the great prophet, as a place of dismounting from al-borak, (a beast larger than an ass and smaller than a camel), who had carried them to Paradise. M. de Chateaubriand gives several extracts from ancient travellers upon the interior of the

mosque; but as all entrance is strictly forbidden to Christians, he had of course no opportunity of verifying the information. The following account was given of this mosque, in the year 1796, by the mufti of Jerusalem to an European, who conversed with him in Arabic at the house of the governor of Jerusalem, called by the Christians Pilate's house. This European is now in England, and from him we had the following account. "Hearing me speak in Arabic, he entered into conversation with me, and I took the liberty of asking him why the Mohammedans would not permit the Christians to see the celebrated mosque of the rock. Upon which he opened a window which overlooks the mosque and all the ground on which it is raised, and permitted me to look at it as much as I pleased. He then said; "We cannot permit the Christians to tread upon that ground, of which every spot is marked by the step of some holy prophet; still less upon the sakhra, or upon the interior of the mosque."

"But there are thirty-two large columns which support the great arches, and many other small columns for the support of the smaller arches; there are many lamps that are lighted on our festivals. There is a mihrab of marble with architectural ornaments, and a staircase to it with steps of the same material. The walls are incrustated with marble like the great mosque at Damascus, and ornamented with painted tiles. The name of God (Allah!) is written in large characters in several parts of the mosque, as well as the names of Mohammed and his first successors. We believe that if an infidel should walk between the columns they would meet and crush him to death.

"The mosque on account of its peculiar sanctity was once the place towards which the mussulmen of north-western Asia were to turn their faces in their prayers; but this commandment was altered by God's especial order, and the Bait Allah (house of God) at Mecca was appointed for the only Kiblah. On the sakhra or rock were fixed iron rings, at which to tie the the prophets horses when they came to worship in the mosque. The mosque is called by many names by the Mohammedans to denote its superiority over other temples, as al aksa, the whole world, al masjid al aksa, or al giarmiâ al aksa, templum extremum. The origin of its importance seems to have been this: the kalif Abd-al-Malik al Merwan was jealous of Abdallah the son of Zobeir, the ruler of Arabia, and in order to prevent his subjects in Syria from going in pilgrimage to Mecca, and thus enriching his rival; and probably also with a view to attract the profitable concern of receiving pilgrims from other countries to his own capital, he set up this mosque in opposition to that of Mecca. He adorned and beautified it in the year 685 of the

Christian era, employing the whole revenue of Egypt for nine years for the accomplishment of his design. It is believed on the faith of tradition, that the sakhra or rock is the same from which God spake to the patriarch Jacob, and that the sanctum sanctorum was built where the mosque now stands."

Upon the whole it is impossible to contemplate the holy city in its desolate condition without the deepest interest. Jews, Mahometans, and Christians of all sects and denominations unite in acknowledging the existence of something extraordinary and supernatural about her awful ruins. They raise their heads from the dust, and from among them is heard a voice to warn and instruct mankind, and to proclaim to all ages and nations of the world, THIS HATH GOD DONE.

There is nothing very original, though much that is amusing in M. de Chateaubriand's account of his passage through Egypt. His praise of the French renegadoes, who were left in the country by the army of Egypt, is rather disgusting; and when he proceeds to extol their bravery in that country above that of other nations, we could not help recollecting the answer of the Duke of Marlborough to Marshal Tallard after the battle of Blenheim. M. de Chateaubriand's Abstract of the History of Carthage is very entertaining, though a little too prolix for a mere digression in a book of travels. The *account of its ports* too, which is one of the three points on which he claims the merit of originality, (see advertisement, p. ix.) may very possibly be correct; but before we read it, we happened to know a little circumstance that called up a smile upon our countenance in every page. M. de Chateaubriand, as we have been informed by an Englishman, who happened to be at Tunis during his residence there, was unfortunately never out of that town till the day before his departure for Europe. He did then take one ride to the ruins of Carthage, and *verified* by a rapid coup-d'œil what he had previously picked up in conversation at Tunis. Our readers will probably agree with us, that this is a mode of research extremely convenient to valetudinarian travellers.

In taking leave of M. de Chateaubriand, we feel disposed upon the whole to recommend his work to the attention of those who may wish, with little exertion, to obtain a general idea of the interesting countries through which he passed. We thought the hours spent by us in its first perusal very agreeably employed. Making allowance for national vanity, and the rapidity of his motions and of his ideas, there appears to be no serious or important deviation from truth. His historical researches and quotations from other travellers have been in general made with judgment, and even in those passages where we differ

from his opinions, we are ready to allow him considerable ingenuity. His sense of religion distinguishes him very honourably from many of his countrymen, who, knowing nothing of genuine religion as derived from the scriptures, and judging of it only according to the gross superstitions of their national church, have fallen either into a criminal and pernicious infidelity, or into a state of absolute indifference.

ART. V. *Christian Liberty; a Sermon, preached at St. Mary's, before his Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, Chancellor of the University, and the University of Cambridge, at the Installation, June 30, 1811.* By Samuel Butler, D. D. late Fellow of St. John's College, and Head Master of Shrewsbury School. Shrewsbury. Evans, Pall Mall. 1811.

It is a characteristic of Christianity that "to the poor the gospel is preached." But indeed *preaching* may be considered as a means scarcely less revealed than the truths themselves which it is appointed to disseminate. For this instrument of propagating truth is peculiar to the true religion, in its different stages, under the distinct modifications of Judaism and Christianity. A good account may certainly be given why the heathen governments did not employ this organ for establishing their various superstitions. A religion of mere form is best taught by the mere exhibition of the form. They had little to teach but the importance of certain feasts and ceremonies, which were too agreeable to the popular taste to need any extrinsic recommendation. Nor was preaching, by which is meant a public and popular enunciation of the truths of religion by its accredited ministers, better suited to those philosophers, who, abandoning the religion of the state, taught an exoteric creed of their own. Not regarding man as an immortal being, the unlettered multitude occupied but a small space in their eyes. Not conceiving that a creed of any kind would affect the condition of man through all eternity, they concerned themselves more with abstract truths than those which respect our duty. On the one hand, therefore, they were little interested in addressing the multitude, and on the other, if they had, the lessons they taught were not such as to excite their attention. Accordingly they suffered the mob to grope on amidst the thick clouds of their own superstition, and taught their particular

system only to a small circle of scholars. They spoke to the initiated, and only from behind the veil. Even Socrates, who is characterised as having brought down truth from heaven to earth, as having reduced philosophy to the service of man, through fear of disturbing the popular superstition, or letting in the rays of philosophy through the casements of the poor, sacrificed in his dying moments a cock to Esculapius. Of the systems of some other philosophers the mass of the people could scarcely be said to hear even the faintest reports. The mysteries of Dionysia and Eleusis are buried in the caverns in which they were taught and practised. They were the freemasonry of antiquity; or, rather, if we may judge by the outward rites of profligacy which sometimes accompanied the festivities of these religionists, they resembled those anti-christian conspirators described by Barruel, who devised, in the cells of their philosophical retreats, systems and schemes which were to disorganize a world.

But to return. As preaching, in the sense in which we have employed the term, was never used as a part of the machinery, by which it was endeavoured to give effect or circulation to the systems of heathenism, so also it was scantily employed in the Jewish dispensation. The chief objects of that dispensation sufficiently explain why the outward rites were so numerous. It was designed, for instance, to sever one people from all the rest of the world, for which purpose peculiar, costly, and laborious rites were well calculated. It was designed also to typify the sacrifice of the Messiah, which could be accomplished only by ceremonial sacrifices. Now the forms of religion were, as we before observed, best taught by the display of these forms. Nor did the large body of truth connected with these rites in that partial dispensation demand the aid of public and popular instruction to the extent now required. God then preached by miracles, by immediate revelation, by temporal rewards to the good, and temporal punishments to the bad. This instructs us why the priests and Levites were not appointed to preach, and why the daily reading of the law, and the occasional and scanty ministry of the prophets, supplied the place of the heralds who now proclaim to listening millions the joyful tidings of salvation. When Christianity appeared, the scheme of Divine Providence assumed a new aspect. The barriers were to be thrown down between all nations. The floodgates of mercy were to be opened, and truth to be poured out upon the world.

A highway was to be made in the desert, by which men of all nations and languages might approach to heaven. The people of God were no longer to be a single nation, but the whole

world. Then it was that God seemed, as it were, to consecrate this new instrument as being suited to the vastness of the new dispensation.

Wherever christianity gained an entrance, she entrenched herself behind her established ministers; and to this moment it is chiefly by her preachers, under the Divine blessing, that she retains her old conquests, and carries her standard into every quarter of the globe. Preaching being thus the right hand by which Christianity does her work, its progress cannot but be watched with anxiety by all the friends of genuine religion and of the establishment.

As self constituted, and therefore more responsible, guardians of the public, we feel it right to keep our eye fixed upon the pulpits of the country; and when any particular sermon by the reputation of its author, by the peculiarity of its subject, or by the circumstances of its delivery, is calculated to influence the public mind, we shall think it right to step in with our scales in our hand, and to estimate the effect of this influence upon the cause of real religion. These observations may serve as a key to some future reviews, and supply an apology for a somewhat extended examination of the single sermon before us.

Dr. Butler, the author of this sermon, is the master of the free school at Shrewsbury. He had, earlier in life, received the stamp of university approbation, by an appointment to edit, we believe, certain plays of *Æschylus*; and was lately appointed to preach in the university pulpit at the installation of the new chancellor. Such being the case, much was expected from him. It was hoped that when half the fashion and levity of the nation was thus drawn to a point by the university festivities, the preacher might profit from his mechanical advantage, and bring some force to act which might move the mass; that, (if we may pursue a species of metaphor borrowed from his own university,) he would expose those disturbing forces by which men are drawn from their proper orbits, and endeavour to bring them back to the paths traced out for them by the hand of the great mechanist. It will be seen how far the preacher has fulfilled this hope.

The subject of the sermon is the "liberty wherewith Christ has made us free;" and its chief topics are the distinction as to liberty between the Jewish and Christian dispensation; the nature of the liberty of conduct sanctioned by the example of Christ; the invasion of this liberty by the papists, whom nevertheless he wishes (as it is termed) to emancipate; and the still more formidable and despotic assaults upon it by that body of men, whom he and others persist in naming, with no very

intelligible application of the term, the evangelical clergy. As to the value of our enfranchisement from the burdensome rites of the ceremonial law there cannot be two opinions. As to the question also of the misnamed emancipation of the Catholics, our opinion has already been expressed. Upon these two points, therefore, we shall leave the public in undisturbed possession of Dr. Butler's reasonings.

It would be difficult to give our readers an accurate conception of the use made of the character of Christ, without calling upon them (which we should be sorry to do) to read the whole discourse. The design of the author is forced upon the reader rather by a spirit running through the whole, than by solitary expressions.

His opinion appears to be this, that the example of Christ warrants his followers in the unrestrained enjoyment of all worldly society and amusements; that the conduct of Socrates in supping with courtezans, &c. may be considered as fairly analogous to that of our Lord; and that every attempt to establish a system of general self-denial is a bigoted assault upon the christian liberties of man.

The inaccuracy of the two last propositions will at once be recognised by those of our readers who remember first, that Socrates winked at the profligacy of his companions, whereas Christ condemned the crime, and, in general, reformed the criminal; and secondly, that this very teacher, whose example is erected into a triumphant refutation of the lessons of self-denial, laid it down as a first principle of his system, that "if any man would be his disciple, he must deny himself, and take up his cross and follow him." These points, therefore, we shall leave Dr. Butler to settle with the public in his next address to them. The first position, as to the precedent afforded by Christ in his intercourse with society, is somewhat more complex and debatable. If, however, our readers will bear with us in the discussion of a question which comes home to every man's bearings and bosoms, we do not despair of proving that the life of Christ teaches the same lesson with his doctrines; and that neither can be made to square with the positions and deductions of the head master of Shrewsbury school.

In the first place, then, it must be admitted, that the life of Christ sanctions nothing of sour austerity, or monastic indolence; and that, consequently, those of his followers who "spent their lives upon the top of a pillar" had not imbibed the spirit of their master; and that those armies of monks who, in after ages, shaved their crowns in honour of the gospel, would have done well in some instances to have laid a blister upon the bare

place, in order to bring them to a less feverish conception of that religion, so falsified by their practice. It must be admitted, moreover, that the example of Christ sanctions no abandonment of the duties attached to our actual station in life. His meat and drink was to do the will of him who sent him; and the artificer in his shop, the general with his army, Dr. Butler in preaching, and we in criticising, supposing these various functions to be conscientiously discharged, may all alike be fulfilling the will of Him who sent us. But, still more, the example of Christ is one grand lesson of love, of tenderness, of practical benevolence to suffering man. All that is stern, selfish, or narrow, flies, like disease itself, at his approach. If but the hem of his garment be touched, a healing virtue goes out of him. If he enters a house, it is to say "peace be to this house." If he adds a new commandment, it is "to love one another." If he exerts divine power, it is, without any exception, to sooth a pang or save a soul. If, in short, Phidias or Lebrun had been called upon to present to mankind the figure of charity, they would have embodied the character of Christ.

Thus far, therefore, we gladly accompany the learned author; but here we stop. There are other features in the character of Christ, unnoticed indeed by Dr. Butler, but which are not less integral parts of the perfect whole.

In the first place, where our Lord retires from the path of active and social duty, does he recreate the mind, by devoting the hours of the night to a new, tumultuous, or dissipated society? He is gone to the "mountain to pray." There he holds high converse with God.—Again, Christ is indeed to be found at the marriage feast, or at the social board. But it is mainly to convince his companions by a miracle; to persuade them by a story; to guide them by a precept; or, to touch them by a display of heavenly love.—Still more, he is to be seen even in a circle of sinners; but then he tells us the specific character in which he sits among them, "*the sick need a physician.*"

Let these points, then, in the character of Christ be considered; and it will at once be discovered upon how partial a basis the fabric of the author stands. Like the two knights in the fable, (which any of his own boys will tell him,) looking at the party-coloured shield only on one side, he closes his eye upon one half of the portrait he is examining. The Christ he presents to us, is not the Christ of the Scriptures. It is, perhaps, one of those false Christs who should arise; and who, assuming his title, should betray the world, which he lived and died to save. Let this artist then, if he also must give his "*ecce homo*" to the world, rather borrow the pencil of an evangelist than employ his own.

Let him, while he paints the man, not forget the *glory* with which he was invested. Let him display the Saviour of the world, not only in the market-place, but in the temple, on the mountain, and in the wilderness; there kindling his flame at the altar of God, there feeding upon the heavenly manna, there touching heaven while he stood upon earth, and imparting to man the virtue he derived from God. If the character of Christ, then, teaches any lesson upon the subject of worldly society and amusements, it is this—that benevolence does not supersede devotion; that it is in retirement men are best disciplined for the world; and that he who would live safely with man, must begin by living in communion with God.

The transcendent importance of this topic will, we trust, justify the serious, and somewhat uncritical, strain of the above observations. Dr. Butler, in fact, has compelled us to exchange the critics chair for the pulpit. We ourselves discover our own interest in the exchange. It is when regular practitioners abuse all the principles of their science, that empirics ride in their coaches. We pass on next to consider the allegations of the author against those whom he terms the *evangelical teachers*. That body of clergy fill too large a space in the eye of the nation, not to deserve the rigid investigation of all philosophers; and, like other lofty objects, they have attracted too much of the fulminations of surrounding clouds, not to require all the protection which conductors (or critics) can conscientiously lend them. Esteeming ourselves, in a measure, divested of those prejudices which hang as a sort of scales upon the eyes, both of the friends and enemies of this class of men, we shall endeavour to do justice to both parties in the ensuing remarks.

Dr. Butler, having some rather heavier charges to bring than he would perhaps feel himself quite prepared to substantiate, dexterously states, for a time at least, the crime, without naming the criminal. He levels his piece at random, and trusts to the bias of his hearers to guide it aright.

Collecting then the allegations from the four quarters of his work, we find the author adverting to the errors of those who say,

“ That the desires which are the natural and only spurs to action, are to be subdued into supine indifference and listless insensibility.—that when man has done, and willed to do, all that man is capable of doing; when, by a life of mortification, and melancholy, and entire abstraction from all worldly interest, he has wrought himself into habitual and invincible apathy; when he has accustomed himself to look with sullen and sour disgust upon the pleasures and duties of life—his labour, *even in the Lord*, may be *in vain*; that God

may have secretly and irrecoverably have doomed him to everlasting perdition ; from which no belief, however sincere, in the revealed word of God, no thanksgiving for mercies already received, no prayer for protection and succour, no remorse for sins past, no resolutions or efforts for amendment in time to come, *can* rescue the hopeless, helpless, guiltless victim—and that nothing but certain tumultuous, irresistible, inexplicable intimations, can afford him any safe and well-grounded assurance of pardon and reward.” (P. 26.)

Having thus fabricated his little image of an evangelical teacher, this master of the puppet-show pulls his string, and makes his puppet speak.

“Come (says the evangelical teacher) to *us* all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and *the Gospel* from *our* lips will refresh you. He that hath ears to hear *the Gospel* in its primitive purity and perfection, let him hear it in our Zion. Behold we shew you a *mystery*. After the first experience of the grace that cometh from *thus* hearing the word of God, you will no longer sleep ; but you will be changed, as in a moment, by the mighty working of that faith which subdueth all things to itself. In the twinkling of an eye, you will be raised from the death of heathenish ignorance, and antisciptural corruption, into the life of the new creature, which is Christ Jesus.” (P. 32.)

Besides this, the author carries on a sort of running parallel between the evangelical body and the Roman catholics, in which, in addition to many other follies and crimes with which he endeavours to saddle them, he affirms them (p. 29.) to “believe in daily miracles performed among themselves ; in preternatural effusions of the spirit ; in hourly and especial providences ; in sudden celestial influences and impulses ; in divine visitations, of favour or of vengeance.” In another place (p. 35.) they are described as soaring into a still higher region of absurdity and arrogance than their Roman catholic prototypes ; for, whereas the latter appeal to antiquity for the vindication of their creed, these evangelical heresiarchs found their pretensions simply upon the *novelty* of their discoveries and doctrines. Much more in the same spirit might be extracted ; but as the other charges belong chiefly to the class of petty scandal and personality, we shall pass them by ; and, reducing the charges already quoted to a few grand propositions, we shall proceed to offer some comment upon them.

If then our readers will take the trouble of casting their eye back upon the preceding extracts, they will find the author charging the evangelical body as universal converts to the highest and most unqualified tenets of Calvinism ; as believers in the doctrines of impulses and bodily emotion ; and as verging, in

many of their doctrines and habits, to the errors of the Roman church. Upon each of these allegations we shall beg leave to touch; though we are sensible that our space does not admit of our doing complete justice to any one.

In the first place, then, when this body of men are charged as receivers of the highest and most unqualified doctrines of Calvinism, it should be remembered what persons are included in the charge. It would include, so sweeping are his objections, Mrs. Hannah More, the late Bishop of London, Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Gisborne, Mr. Faber, the late Bishop of St. Asaph, the present Bishop of St. David's, and Dr. Paley, if he is to be judged by the posthumous volume which was his best legacy to the world. There are points on which Calvin and Arminius were agreed; on these it will be found that the above-named distinguished writers of our own age agree with Calvin. There are other points on which the professors of Leyden and Geneva disagreed; on these, perhaps, the writers just alluded to may be found to lean towards Arminius. What then becomes of the accuracy, we had almost said, of the honesty of a controversialist who, in order to discredit his adversaries, imputes to them sentiments as little allied to their creed as to his own? We think that it will clearly result from a cautious and candid examination of the works of these writers, that they are not Calvinists: and not only this, but it appears to our humble, but impartial judgment, that a large proportion of the clergy, ordinarily classed with them, hold no tenet exclusively calvinistic; and still further, that the calvinistic members of this body, with very few exceptions, do not introduce the calvinistic peculiarities of their system into their printed or preached discourses. This subject demands some investigation. Whoever, then, has looked into the history of that more ardent spirit of religion which has sprung up in the establishment during the last half century, we think, will perceive a considerable revolution of opinion amidst its more religious members. At one period a mitigated species of Calvinism pervaded the body. Now, (though we fear the Calvinists will not thank us for our way of solving the problem,) as men of more refinement, of greater learning, of larger and more philosophical views, of more candor, have fallen into their ranks; the Calvinism has more and more disappeared, and a less systematic theology has succeeded. As far as we have had an opportunity of examining the writings, or hearing the sermons of this body, they appear to us (in by far the greater number of instances) to steer a middle course between the extremes of Antinomianism and Pelagianism; to preserve a sort of neutrality upon the points so long controverted by the fiery Calvinists and

Arminians ; to hold, that moderate men of both classes may honestly range themselves under the banner of the cross ; to believe that our mother, the church, also designed to admit the sober and devout of both classes within her pale ; and, receiving the Scriptures in great simplicity of mind, to use indiscriminately, as instruments of their spiritual warfare, all those passages of an opposite tendency, which controversialists had hitherto brandished as the chosen weapons of their particular faction. They appear to us, (as far as we have opportunity of observing them,) on the one hand, not to reject those passages which imply the omnipotence of divine grace ; nor, on the other, those which insist upon the necessity of human exertion. But, taking each as they find them prodigally dispersed in the sacred pages, they teach their hearers to trust in God, as though he were to do all, and to labour themselves as though he were to do nothing.

Our objections, however, to the author as to the subject of Calvinism, by no means rest here. It may indeed be true, that a few of these divines hold some of the tenets peculiar to the school of Calvin. But then the Calvinism (if that name must be borrowed to denominate opinions in part distinct from the tenets of Calvin) has scarcely any features in common with the species of Calvinism described by this pulpit warrior. Where, in the whole catalogue of modern calvinistic writers, can be found the man so besotted with his system, as to say, (p. 26.) that "no belief, however sincere, no remorse for sins past," &c. &c. "*can* rescue the hopeless, helpless, guiltless victim?" Does he not know that every Calvinist would say—he who has the belief and the remorse, will assuredly have the "rescue?" The author himself is not a more stern objector to the grosser species of Calvinism, to that species, we mean, which tends to disparage the importance of the law of God, or to supersede human exertions, than ourselves. And we have thought it right, on more than one occasion, pretty loudly to proclaim our opinions. But we conceive those to be both ungenerous and clumsy polemics, who completely amalgamate all classes that differ from themselves ; who, like some northern, or, as report says, southern journalists, pass over what they call "the nicer shades of this lunacy;" who, like the Bishop of Lincoln, insist that he who holds one tenet of Calvinism, must, nolens volens, hold all ; who, like the present author, fashions a little imaginary monster, whom he christens a Calvinist ; and then, as far as his little rapier will assist him, attempts to run him through the body. We cannot but recollect that those excellent prelates Usher and Hall were Calvinists ; and we think the opinions of such men entitled at least to toleration. We remember what Bishop Burnet,

himself an Arminian, has said of Calvinism. We remember also what Bishop Horsley, himself an Arminian, and a divine inferior to none in extensive learning and powers of profound disquisition, has said with regard to the Arminianism of the church; and of the modern defenders of it*. “I assert, what I have often before asserted, and, by God’s grace, I will persist in the assertion to my dying day, that so far is it from the truth, that the Church of England is decidedly Arminian, and hostile to Calvinism, that the truth is this; that upon the principal points in dispute between the Calvinists and Arminians, upon all the points of *doctrine* characterising the two sects, the Church of England maintains an absolute neutrality. Her articles explicitly assert nothing but what is believed *both* by Arminians and by Calvinists.” And, in another passage, levelled, we conceive, by anticipation, at the author, he says: “Take especial care before you aim your shafts at Calvinism, that you know what is Calvinism and what is not; lest when you mean only to fall foul of Calvinism, you should unwarily attack something more sacred and of higher origin. I must say that I have found great want of this discrimination in some late controversial writings on the side of the Church; as they were meant to be Give me the principles on which these writers argue, and I will undertake to convict, I will not say, Arminians only, and Archbishop Laud, but the fathers of the Council of Trent, of Calvinism.” These passages, and many like them, we confess have their weight with us; and dispose us rather to interpose ourselves between the combatants, in this battle of all ages and ranks, than to become partizans on either side. Why should it not be hoped that the Church may at length put off her armour, died as it is with the blood of her own soldiers; hang up, with other trophies in her cathedrals, the casque and shield so long sullied by the dust of controversy; and consecrate her confederated strength to the peaceful toils of instruction and exhortation?

To the next charge of the author, which imputes to the evangelical body a belief in sudden conversion, in miracles performed among themselves, in preternatural effusions of the spirit; in hourly and especial providences; in sudden and celestial influences; in divine visitations, of favour or of vengeance; in tumultuous, inexplicable, and irresistible intimations;—” (p. 29.) so various is the matter, that we find it difficult to make any comment. We begin, however, by observing that the author, in making out this sort of catalogue, reminds us of the Irishman who, in order to get rid of a bad shilling, slipped it in among some good halfpence; or of the Romans, who, by way of punishing cer-

* Primary Charge, late Bishop of St. Asaph.

tain crimes, were accustomed to link a man to an ape and throw both into the Tyber. After the same manner by linking truth to falsehood, good to bad, the author contrives to get rid of both. By connecting "visitations of providence" with "miracles performed among themselves," and "especial providences" with "preternatural effusions of the spirit," the effect is, though we trust the design is not, equally to discredit all these doctrines. The advantage of this to the author is manifest. An open denial of all visitations of providence where God himself asks with regard to certain crimes, "shall I not *visit* for these things;" or an explicit rejection of an especial providence where Christ says, "every hair of your head is numbered," would necessarily bring his orthodoxy into suspicion. By the present method these doctrines are sunk in the density of the surrounding matter.

The next observation that we are tempted to make on this charge is, that it is unsupported by any one proof. And although it might have been easy to show that this body of clergy maintain the doctrines of divine visitations, (using the phrase in a sense which shall be explained) and of a minute and particular providence; we really cannot say that our reading furnishes us with any instances in which they uphold the doctrine of modern "miracles," and "preternatural effusions of the spirit." Here again, then, we cannot help observing, where was the accuracy of the author, and where his conscience, when he brought the accusation? As to the doctrine of divine visitations, it is indeed unscriptural to affirm, that this world is the scene of punishment and reward; it is also enthusiastic to say, that we can always decypher the design of Providence in any particular interference—it is a high degree of arrogance so to interpret all interference in favour of our own creed and party. And it is for the author to prove, that these his antagonists sanction any of these errors. But to hold generally that "godliness is on the whole profitable to the life that now is"—that God sometimes visibly interferes, even here, to punish the bad and reward the good, is neither enthusiasm nor presumption, but an opinion founded both upon experience and scripture. What the author may intend by miracles and preternatural effusions of the spirit, it is impossible to say. The orthodox, however, cannot hope to satisfy a theologian, who contends (p. 114.) that, "we are now left to the common operations of reason." The next allegation against this body as believers in "tumultuous, irresistible, inexplicable intimations" as the tests of piety, seems to have no parent but the creative imagination of this ardent penman. This charge, however, in part supplies us with the history of the present discourse. Any person who is not deterred by the sermon

from reading the notes, will find there abundant extracts from Bishop Lavington's attack upon the early methodists. Behold then the *mode of attack*; the author has heard the evangelical clergy called methodists; and Bishop Lavington attacks the methodists. He takes therefore the episcopal volume, transfers first to modern methodism all the follies of its first converts, and then to the evangelical clergy of the church of England all the follies of methodism in all ages. Now, of course, nothing can be more unwarrantable than such a method of assault. For by the like process, as the "evangelical clergy have been called *saints*" they may be proved to be angels; and, having been named "*puritans*," they may be shown to have beheaded the king and dissolved the parliament—deeds certainly not very characteristic of angelic natures.

The great importance of the subject, and the very general ignorance that prevails upon it, will, we trust, induce our readers to bear with us while we examine the only remaining allegation, that of the approach of this body to the spirit and to the usurpations of popery. What can have suggested this analogy to the author, it is impossible to say. We certainly had imagined that *no two* things in the universe were more unlike than a papist and a methodist. If each may be characterized as a disease, the one is a chill, and the other a fever; the one a paralysis, and the other St. Vitus's dance. Indeed the parallel is so absurd that we should not have noticed it, but that the author has, in pointing out a false likeness, directed our attention to a true one. We cannot then but think that the spirit of popery is in a degree to be discovered in what may be called the very high church party of every establishment, though we grudge any men a title which seems to imply a stronger attachment to the church than that which we glory in professing. Popery is the offspring not of young dissent, but of old establishments; not of a poor but a rich, not of an illiterate but a fastidious, not of a zealous but a worldly body. It was the ambitious scheme of a secular priesthood to grasp the sceptre of the world. Its doctrines, its gorgeous rites, its penances and miracles were all a sort of machinery by which men were either to be drawn or forced into the power of the priests. The visible church was the great image to be worshipped; the form was to be considered as of a paramount, and almost exclusive importance. The Bible was to be locked up; the people to be kept in profound ignorance; for all these could readily be shaped into a ladder of steps, by which the pope could mount to the throne of Christendom. When, therefore, we discover in some of our churchmen *an endeavour* to confound the differ-

ence between the church visible and invisible ; an absorption of the spirit of religion in the form ; a sneaking antipathy to the free circulation of the Bible ; a reluctant compliance with the measures adopted for the instruction of the rising generation ; we seem to see the crest of popery again lifting itself, and lament, that though the serpent is scotched, it is not killed. We forbear to apply all this, just on the same ground that we should refuse to cast our parent into the Ganges, when we conceived him somewhat decrepid. The church of England indeed is not decrepid. Hers is a green old age. She has, in her constitution, the elements of all that is great and good. For a time, it is true, she seemed to languish, her powers to decay, and her spiritual dissolution to have almost taken place. She was not however, "dead," but "slept." She has arisen from the ground on which she lay, and shaken off the dust which dimmed her original lustre. We feel our "lot to have fallen in a fair ground." We see, with wonder and gratitude, a crisis in which almost every child is taught to read, is presented with a Bible, and is addressed by a faithful interpreter of that Bible. And though we neither "see visions, nor dream dreams," we certainly anticipate a glorious day for religion and for England. She is already lifted as a Pharos to the world—as the watch-tower and light of the nations. In the blaze which this glorious contemplation has poured around us, we really cannot stop again to look for the master of Shrewsbury school, and the black speck in the religious horizon, which he has pretended to discover. Perhaps it is a fly in his glass, which, like the philosophers in *Æsop*, he has mistaken for a monster in the heavens. Let him, like us, turn aside to "see this great sight." Let him contemplate a far sublimer spectacle than did the hero who watched the rising walls of Carthage,—the spectacle of a reviving church ; and let him exclaim in the language with which we are all so familiar,

"O fortunati quorum jam mœnia surgunt."

ART. VI. *Further Inquiries into the Changes induced on Atmospheric Air by the Germination of Seeds, the Vegetation of Plants, and the Respiration of Animals.* By Daniel Ellis.

THE present treatise, in connection with the "Inquiry," of which it is a continuation, presents a more ample and scientific investigation of the chemical relations of atmospheric air to the

processes of germination, vegetation, and respiration, than has hitherto been published. Without entering into a strict analysis of it, we propose to lay before our readers those parts which we regard as of more peculiar interest from their novelty or importance.

The leading proposition which Mr. Ellis has undertaken to establish is, that the relation of these three processes to the atmospheric air is the same,—that seeds in germinating, vegetables in their growth, and plants in respiration, consume the oxygen of the air, and form carbonic acid. The principal novelty in this proposition, our chemical readers will be aware, is in that part of it which relates to vegetation, and on this we have first to offer a few observations.

The necessity of air to support vegetation is apparent from the facts, that not only is the growth arrested, but the life of the plant destroyed when the air is excluded, and that plants decay when their leaves, which are their proper respiratory organs, are removed. Considerable difference of opinion has prevailed, however, with regard to the relation of growing plants to atmospheric air.

Priestley had found, in various experiments, that the purity of air, corrupted by the processes of combustion, animal respiration or putrefaction, is restored by a growing vegetable being placed in it. By the first processes the oxygen of the air is abstracted, and carbonic acid gas is formed; by the changes produced by the growing plant, the carbonic acid is abstracted or removed, and the oxygen is restored; and thus an admirable view of adjustment was presented in the relation of animals and vegetables to the atmosphere,—the one counteracting the changes produced by the other, and its due purity and uniform composition being preserved by this reciprocal action.

The experiments of Priestley, on which this view was founded, could never, however, be regarded as fully established. He himself admitted that they had frequently failed, or had produced very different results; and in the experiments of Scheele, made nearly at the same time, it was uniformly found that the oxygen of the air was consumed, and carbonic acid formed. Yet as Mr. Ellis remarks, “notwithstanding the uncertain, and in many respects contradictory, evidence on which the conclusion of Priestley has been shewn to rest, few opinions in modern science have obtained a more general belief; and both physiologists and chemists seem, in this instance, to have satisfied themselves with contemplating at a distance the beauty of the *final cause*, instead of approaching to a nearer examination of the facts on which the opinion has been maintained.” This exami-

nation Mr. Ellis has undertaken, and the results he has obtained are altogether opposed to the notion that plants by their vegetation purify the air: his experiments prove, indeed, that they deteriorate the air in the same manner that animals do,—consume its oxygen, and convert it into carbonic acid. It will not be expected that we should enter into any detail of these experiments. Much precaution appears to have been taken to avoid any source of fallacy; the results were submitted to very strict examination, and in all were the same. The general mode of conducting the experiment was, to place a quantity of lime water together with a growing plant, in a jar filled with atmospheric air, inverted over water; the lime water soon acquired a pellicle on its surface, which increased until it had become turbid, the air at the same time suffering a diminution of volume; results which proved the formation and abstraction of carbonic acid: and when at the end of the experiment, the residual air was submitted to eudiometrical examination, it was found to have lost the greater part of its oxygen. In other cases, the jar with the growing plant was placed over pure water, either alone, or with a solution of potash in a separate vessel, by which the carbonic acid was absorbed; and in his later experiments, Mr. Ellis not only employed herbaceous and succulent plants, but those which are ligneous and have an abundant foliage, thus obviating the fallacy which might be supposed to arise from the former being imperfectly developed.

From a review of the experiments of former chemists, Mr. Ellis has shewn that these are the results which had usually been obtained. Scheele had found that growing plants uniformly consume the oxygen of the air, and convert it into carbonic acids. Ingenhouz had obtained the same results, and had even considered a supply of oxygen as necessary to vegetable life. And the necessity of oxygen to support vegetation, as well as its conversion into carbonic acid, were not less strongly stated by Sennebier. Yet the conclusions of Priestley continued to be generally received; and even one of the latest experimentalists, Woodhouse, though he found, in common with others, that carbonic acid is produced by the action of a growing plant on atmospheric air, supposed this to be an effect, not the result of vegetation, but foreign to it, arising from the oxygen of the air acting on the vegetable part of the soil, or on the carbonaceous matter of the decayed leaves of the plant.

The difficulty attending this subject, which has in some measure caused the opinion of Priestley to be retained, or has thrown doubt on the conclusion that it now appears ought to be drawn, arises from the fact sufficiently established, that growing

vegetables under exposure to the rays of the sun give out oxygen gas. This was proved by the numerous experiments of Ingenhouz, and has been amply confirmed by those of Sennebier, Woodhouse, and Saussure. It further appears to be proved by the same experiments, that this oxygen is derived from the decomposition of carbonic acid. Mr. Ellis, from the consideration of this being a change so entirely the reverse of that which he regarded as the natural effect of vegetation, was rather inclined, in his first publication, to doubt the accuracy of the facts on which it was supposed to be established. In the second part of his work he has admitted that it is sufficiently demonstrated; but he still maintains the opinion which he had advanced, that the consumption of oxygen, and its conversion into carbonic acid, are the necessary effects of vegetation; and he regards this evolution of oxygen, under exposure to solar light, as a chemical effect foreign to this process, or not essentially connected with it.

This is the most interesting, and the most difficult question which at present occurs with regard to the theory of vegetation. It is proved that growing vegetables consume the oxygen of the air, and convert it into carbonic acid, and this even under exposure to clear day-light. It is also proved, that when exposed to the rays of the sun they decompose carbonic acid, and give out oxygen gas. They perform, therefore, under these different circumstances, two functions with regard to the air, precisely the reverse of each other, and the question evidently remains for decision, what relation have these functions to the general process of vegetation, and which of them is most intimately connected with the life and growth of the plant. In reply to this, Mr. Ellis has very forcibly remarked (p. 94.), that a supply of oxygen gas appears to be essential to vegetation, that without this the living plant is unable to survive, while in an atmosphere of carbonic acid gas it speedily dies; the consumption of oxygen appears to be a constant operation, proceeding both under exposure to light and in the shade, while the other takes place only at intervals, and while the plant is exposed to the sun. This production of oxygen too takes place under circumstances in which vegetation can scarcely be supposed to proceed, as when the leaves are detached from the plant and immersed in water, when they are confined in hydrogen or nitrogen gas, or when the temperature is lower than that at which vegetation is checked. It can scarcely, therefore, be regarded in any other light than as a chemical effect unconnected with vegetation, or at least not necessarily dependent on it. On the other hand, as Mr. Ellis remarks, (p. 47.) plants live and

grow in situations from which light is wholly excluded, when of course the operation of the decomposition of carbonic acid and consequent evolution of oxygen is suspended, while that of the consumption of oxygen and formation of carbonic acid goes on.

“The experiments related in this and in the former treatise, (in which the consumption of oxygen, and production of carbonic acid were observed,) although they were not made under a direct exposure to the sun's rays, were conducted in open rooms where light had the freest access, and the plants assumed all the characteristic properties and appearances which were peculiar to them. It is likewise sufficiently evident, that even in our own climate, and especially in high northern latitudes, a vast number of plants live and flourish in natural situations, where the direct rays of the sun seldom or never penetrate; and yet, in such situations, they attain a state of perfect vegetation. How many hours also of our brightest days, and even how many entire days, are we deprived of the direct influence of the sun's rays, at the very season when vegetation is advancing with the greatest rapidity and vigour? If, indeed, this direct influence were essential to vegetation, many plants which we now behold, would never be produced at all, and all the tribes of vegetables would experience such frequent and continued checks to their growth, that, in our own climate at least, we could scarcely ever hope to see many of them attain to a state of maturity.”

We acknowledge that there is much force in these observations, and the opinion maintained by Mr. Ellis, that the consumption of oxygen and its conversion into carbonic acid are essential to vegetation, while the opposite changes under exposure to solar light are accidental and foreign to it, may be just: yet there still remains some degree of obscurity with regard to this subject. It is singular that plants should be capable of so changing the functions they exert with regard to the air, as to produce changes directly the reverse of each other; and still more, if the above view be just, of producing that change in the air, and suffering from its action the corresponding change which is least natural to them, not only without injury, but apparently with advantage; for although vegetation may proceed in the shade, it is undoubtedly less vigorous than under exposure to light; and the process appears at no time to be more perfect than under exposure to the rays of the sun. If the constant abstraction of carbon too be a necessary effect of vegetation, it adds considerably to the difficulty of accounting for the source whence that principle is supplied, especially in those situations in which it cannot be derived from the soil.

The younger Saussure, as the result of his researches on vege-

tation, has given a view somewhat different of the relation subsisting between those opposite changes produced by growing plants on the air. He has supposed that they always consume oxygen and form carbonic acid, but that under exposure to light they also decompose this acid and evolve its oxygen; hence under such an exposure if they are placed in an atmosphere to which no carbonic acid has been added, it is neither deteriorated, nor is it rendered more pure; and this is the case too when they are placed alternately in the sun-shine and in the shade. But if the air in which they are placed contain a certain proportion of carbonic acid, and if they are exposed to solar light, the acid is decomposed and oxygen gas is evolved. Vegetation appears in this case, from Saussure's experiments, to be even more vigorous, at least if the proportion of carbonic acid be not too large; and the quantity of carbon in the vegetable is increased. And as atmospheric air always contains a portion of carbonic acid, Saussure has supposed that plants under exposure to light decompose it, and that part at least of the carbon, entering into the composition of the products of vegetation, is derived from this source.

Mr. Ellis appears to admit this view to a certain extent: we cannot give his opinion better than in the summary which he has presented of it:

“ From the facts which have been stated we collect that plants which vegetate in sun-shine require always the presence of oxygen gas, and that by the act of vegetation they constantly change this oxygen into carbonic acid. We farther learn, that carbonic acid enters plants both with the fluids which they absorb, and also under certain circumstances in an elastic form; that this acid gas is conveyed to the leaves, and is there decomposed by the joint operation of the plant and of solar light, and that it is from this source alone that the oxygen gas afforded by plants is derived. It likewise appears that this operation of affording oxygen is not properly a vegetative function, but only a subordinate office accomplished by the direct action of the sun; that it is carried on in the cellular or parenchymatous structure, and not in the vascular system of the leaf; and that it may and does exist with that function by which oxygen is consumed, and which is essential to the vegetation of the plant. Hence it is, that when plants are made to grow in closed vessels exposed to the sun, the oxygen gas which is consumed by the function of vegetation is again restored by the decomposition of the carbonic acid that is formed, and no change therefore appears to be effected in the composition of the air. But in situations where the direct agency of light is excluded, no decomposition of carbonic acid is perceptible, and the air therefore soon becomes unfit to sustain vegetation. In its general nature and effects therefore the function of vegetation is precisely the same in sun-shine and in the shade, for

oxygen gas is alike necessary in both situations, and is in a similar manner converted into carbonic acid. Under direct exposure to the solar rays, however, this acid gas is again decomposed, and its oxygen is restored to the atmosphere, while in the shade no such operation takes place, and the air therefore remains permanently depraved." (P. 108.)

Mr. Ellis only maintains, therefore, that the decomposition of carbonic acid is not essential to vegetation, nor useful to it. Now, although there are facts which support him in this conclusion, it is also, as we have remarked, involved in some difficulties, particularly in that of vegetation being most vigorous and perfect under exposure to solar light when this decomposition of carbonic acid does take place, and in that also of accounting for the supply of carbon to vegetables, when it is obvious (as it is in many cases) that they do not receive it from the soil. We do not contend that these are sufficient to invalidate his opinion, but we notice them as requiring elucidation; and we trust that Mr. Ellis will continue to prosecute an investigation highly interesting, as it relates to the theory of vegetation, and not less so perhaps in the practical applications to which it may ultimately lead,—an investigation, we may add, with the difficulties of which he is so well acquainted, and which he has shewn himself so well qualified to conduct.

The emission of oxygen takes place only from the green parts of plants when they are acted on by the solar rays; and it is a subordinate subject of enquiry of some interest, which Mr. Ellis has proposed to investigate, (p. 110) "why these parts are so exclusively concerned in this operation, and what are those peculiarities of structure or of composition which thus enable them to produce changes in the air, so different from those which all the other parts of the vegetables perform, even in sunshine, and so contrary to their own proper functions in the shade." The emission of oxygen gas by plants under exposure to solar light appears to arise in general, perhaps always, from the decomposition of carbonic acid which the plant has imbibed. Why then, Mr. Ellis inquires, should the decomposition of carbonic acid always attend the production of the green colour in plants, and why should their white colour appear always to be accompanied by the retention of that gas? Could we discover the connection between these facts, it might, perhaps, lead to an explanation of the cause of the green colour in plants.

The white colour of etiolated plants had been ascribed by Humboldt to the accumulation of oxygen; but the non-expulsion of oxygen, as Mr. Ellis has remarked in plants secluded from light, is no proof that the white colour is caused by its

operation; for previous to its expulsion it does not exist in the plant as free oxygen, but only in combination with carbon. He has advanced a different opinion, which we cannot help thinking extremely probable. The solutions of the green coloured matter of plants in alcohol lose their colour by the action of oxygen, and the oxygen disappears. This has been ascribed to the direct action of oxygen, and in proof of this, it has been remarked, that acids in excess discharge vegetable colours—an effect supposed to be produced by their yielding oxygen. Yet, as Mr. Ellis remarks, after Dr. Bancroft, muriatic acid in excess discharges these colours, though there is no probability in the supposition that it imparts oxygen; it acts therefore merely as an acid; and of course other acids in discharging these colours probably act in a similar manner. And when oxygen removes the green colour of vegetable infusions, may it not do so by combining with the carbon of the vegetable, and forming carbonic acid, which re-acts on the colouring matter? In conformity to this supposition, Mr. Ellis found that carbonic acid introduced into a green coloured solution discharged the colour, and this colour was in some measure restored by neutralizing the acid by an alkali. The green parts of plants, he further remarks, contain a considerable quantity of saline matter, and since the green colour is produced by the action of an alkali, it will appear in the living plant, from any operation of which a removal of acid, leaving an excess of alkali, is the result.

“The decomposition of carbonic acid in plants by the agency of solar light,” continues Mr. Ellis, (p. 128.) “seems to be the means employed by nature to accomplish this purpose; for by these means the acid is not only withdrawn from its combination and expelled, but the alkali is at the same instant rendered predominant, and exists in a state fitted to exert its specific action on the colourable juices of the leaf. The colouration of the leaf therefore is not immediately owing to the expulsion of oxygen, nor even to the subtraction of carbonic acid, but to the predominance of alkaline matter, which this subtraction of acid occasions; consequently the verdure succeeds to the decomposition of carbonic acid, and the evidence of that decomposition is the expulsion of oxygen gas. Hence therefore to speak correctly, we cannot so properly say that the green leaf affords oxygen, as that it becomes green when that gas is expelled; and thus it is that the decomposition of carbonic acid by solar light gives rise at once to the production of oxygen gas, and to the formation of the green colour in plants.”

The various tints of colour which the leaves of plants assume at certain seasons, or in particular states of maturity, Mr. Ellis supposes to be owing to the predominance of alkaline or acid matter; the green and yellow arising from the former, the red

from the latter. The same causes he supposes to give rise to the colours of flowers.

Mr. Ellis has devoted a section to the inquiry in what manner light acts in producing the changes in the chemical constitution of vegetable matter, and whence these changes of colour arise. He endeavours to shew that there is an analogy in the chemical action of the rays which compose solar light, and of the two electricities, positive and negative—the calorific rays in the solar beam producing chemical combinations analogous to those which positive electricity produces, and the chemical rays, as they have been denominated, giving rise to chemical decompositions similar to those which arise from the action of negative electricity; they operate therefore, he conceives, in producing by a similar mode of action the decomposition of the carbonic acid, the oxygen of which assumes the elastic form and is disengaged, while its carbon is retained—this decomposition being aided by the state of condensation in which the carbonic acid exists in the plant, and hence being capable of being affected, though the acid in its electric form is not decomposed by the agency of light alone. We are doubtful if the chemical agencies of the rays of light are yet sufficiently understood to admit of a theory altogether satisfactory on this subject.

Mr. Ellis had in the first part of his treatise shewn by a very ample induction, that in all the classes of animals, from the lowest in the scale of existence to those of the most complicated and perfect organization, the changes produced on the air by the function of respiration are the same; to all of them oxygen is absolutely necessary, and this oxygen is converted into carbonic acid. This induction he has confirmed in the present treatise by a number of additional facts from different authorities. It further appears, that the quantity of carbonic acid formed corresponds with the quantity of oxygen consumed, that there is no additional consumption of oxygen, and also that there is no consumption of the nitrogen of the air. The air therefore is not changed in volume by respiration, and the only change is that of its oxygen into a proportional quantity of carbonic acid. Results different from these, which have been supposed to be established, appear to have arisen from errors in the experiments.

In the consideration of the function of animal respiration, the principal novelty, in the view which Mr. Ellis has given, is that of supposing that the conversion of the oxygen of the air into carbonic acid takes place exterior to the minute ramifications of the pulmonary artery, in which the change of venous to arterial blood is effected, and that this conversion is not necessarily

connected with that change. The oxygen is converted into carbonic acid evidently by receiving carbon, and with regard to the mode in which this is effected, different hypotheses have been advanced, some supposing an elastic compound of carbon and hydrogen to be evolved from the venous blood, circulating through the minute branches of the pulmonary artery, which combines with the oxygen of the air inspired; others having imagined that the oxygen of the air is absorbed by the blood, and either directly combines with a portion of its carbon forming carbonic acid gas, which passing through the thin coats of these minute blood vessels is discharged, or is combined more slowly in the course of the circulation with carbon; the carbonic acid formed from this combination being retained in solution by the venous blood, and discharged from it when a fresh quantity of oxygen is absorbed in the lungs. But in all these hypotheses, the conversion of the oxygen into carbonic acid is supposed to be by the communication of carbon from venous blood, and the abstraction of this carbon is considered as an essential change connected with the conversion of that blood to the arterial state, and probably adapted to important purposes in the animal œconomy. Mr. Ellis denies the possibility of the transmission of elastic fluids through the coats of the minute vessels, either from the air into the blood, or from the blood to the air; he considers the air therefore as incapable of acting (at least by any of its ponderable principles) on the blood circulating through the lungs; and to account for the conversion of the oxygen of the inspired air into carbonic acid, he supposes that carbon is communicated to it by the exhalents of the lungs. Our limits will not allow us to enter on any minute discussion of this question. Mr. Ellis supports his opinion with much ingenuity, but we confess we still incline to the common opinion; we can only, however, offer a few remarks.

First, it is obvious, that according to Mr. Ellis's hypothesis, there is no connection between the principal change produced on the air by respiration—the conversion of its oxygen into carbonic acid, and the apparently corresponding change of venous into arterial blood. This change can be perceived taking place in the minute branches, forming the terminations of the pulmonary artery, and the commencement of the pulmonary veins; but the exhalents pass altogether by distinct branches from the pulmonary artery, and it is only by carbon communicated from *their* extremities that the oxygen of the air is, according to Mr. Ellis's opinion, converted into carbonic acid. The one process, therefore, appears to have no connection with the other. Now this strikes us as a strong improbability.—The abstraction of car-

bon, the mode conceived by our author, appears to be in a great measure an accidental effect, depending on the action of the oxygen of the air on the *halitus* of the exhalents, or the effused fluid on the surface of the bronchiæ; an action which it would equally exert, as Mr. Ellis has remarked, on any other animal fluid or moist solid, and which has no connection with any change in the composition of the blood. But when we consider the quantity thus abstracted, and the provision made for its abstraction in all classes of animals, we are disposed to regard it as a more important effect, and connected with changes in the composition of the blood, adapted to essential purposes in the animal system. The only use of respiration, according to Mr. Ellis's view, as he intimated at the end of his treatise, is to communicate a portion of heat to the blood, and even this it does only by an indirect process, and as the result of what may be regarded as an accidental effect. On this system, or indeed on any other opinion than that the blood is designed to be submitted to the chemical action of the air, we perceive no adequate cause for the complicated structure of the respiratory organs in the more perfect animals.

The change of properties produced in the blood in its circulation through the lungs, a change not connected with the mere secretion by the exhalents, since it obviously takes place in its passage through vessels distinct from these, is to us a proof of the chemical action of the air upon it. The change of colour Mr. Ellis may perhaps ascribe to the communication of caloric through the blood vessels. Were this caloric to produce even the whole elevation of temperature, which but for the corresponding change of capacity it would produce, we should doubt if it could give rise to this effect; but as the temperature is not raised, or not more than one or two degrees, we cannot admit that it will produce this change, or that the abstraction of this latent caloric, as it may be named, will produce the corresponding change of colour, when the blood passes, in the course of the circulation, into the venous state. It is equally inadequate, we think, to account for the change in the stimulating quality of the blood, which is so necessary to sustain life. And further, we would ask, what gives rise to the change in the capacity of the blood itself for caloric, a change experimentally proved, and which can only be referred to a change of composition?

The difficulty which Mr. Ellis urges, as attending the supposition of the direct chemical action of the air on the blood, from the necessity of supposing that elastic fluids can permeate the coats of the blood vessels, we cannot regard as important. Every humid substance, that is, every body penetrated with,

humidity through its entire mass, is, we believe, permeable to elastic fluids, and altogether incapable of completely excluding or confining them. Animal membrane, even in the comparatively thick and dense state, for example, of a bladder is sufficiently known to be permeable to gases; and we see no force in the distinction, with regard to this effect, between the living and dead solid, since it is a property connected with mere mechanical structure and the influence of humidity, of the suspension of which, by the presence of life, we see no proof. We consider the blood, therefore, in circulating through the very minute vessels, and over the very extensive surface of the lungs, as exposed to the action of the air, nearly as freely as if the delicate membrane confining it were not interposed; especially as the passage of the air through that membrane, and its consequent approximation to the blood, must be aided by the degree of compression which it suffers in the air cells from the force exerted in inspiration; the oxygen of that air having an affinity with the carbon of the blood, will in this approximation combine with it, and form carbonic acid; and when, in the alternating abatement of that compression, expiration begins to take place, the carbonic acid, formed as we have just stated, will be disengaged, and become elastic. We agree, therefore, with Mr. Ellis, in rejecting the hypothesis, that the oxygen gas is absorbed by the blood, carried by it through the whole course of the circulation, and converted into carbonic acid, which is discharged from the venous blood when it passes through the lungs. But we see no difficulty in the supposition that the oxygen of the air may, as above explained, act on the blood in the lungs and combine with its carbon, and that the carbonic acid formed by this combination may be immediately discharged in its elastic form.

Lastly, we would remark, that the transmission of elastic fluids through the coats of the blood vessels in the lungs appears to us to be established by the effects which arise from the inspiration of various gases. By some, it is known, that death is induced more speedily than happens from the mere deprivation of oxygen, and the irritability of the heart is found to be even completely destroyed by them, effects which we do not think admit of an adequate explanation from any supposed action of these gases on the nerves of the lungs, but which must be ascribed to their action by the medium of the blood. The exhilarating effects from the inspiration of nitrous oxide gas appear to us a proof not less conclusive, which we cannot consider as much weakened by our author's observations, with regard to the uncertainty in the production of this effect, or to

effects somewhat similar being produced by the inspiration of some other gases.

On the whole, therefore, we should be disposed still to maintain the opinion, that the oxygen of the air acts chemically on the blood in the lungs, and that probably the most important final purpose of respiration is, by this action, to produce the necessary changes in the composition of the blood.

Mr. Ellis, we think, is successful in contending that in respiration there is no consumption of oxygen gas, beyond what is necessary to the formation of the carbonic acid expired, that there is none therefore absorbed by the blood so as to be retained: the apparent consumption of oxygen beyond this, when respiration is performed under circumstances which render it laborious, is probably owing, as he remarks, to the respiratory organs being unable to effect so complete an expulsion of the air as in natural respiration. He has also examined the experiments, whence it was inferred, that there is a consumption of nitrogen gas in respiration, as well as some others more recently brought forward, as proving an evolution of this gas from the blood under peculiar circumstances of respiration. We consider the conclusion for which he contends as sufficiently established—that there is neither an absorption nor an evolution. That there is no absorption had been shewn by the accurate experiments of Allen and Pepys: the evolution which other experiments by these chemists appeared to prove, Mr. Ellis regards as a fallacy, arising from the operation of the residual air of the lungs; and he gives a very ingenious explanation of the fact, apparently inconsistent with this hypothesis, that in those experiments in which the evolution of nitrogen was supposed to take place, the air expired exceeded even in volume the capacity of the lungs. This he supposes to arise from the circumstance, that the air, instead of being expanded, is actually condensed by its reception into the cells of the lungs, a condensation that may arise either from a contraction of these cells, or more probably, as Mr. Ellis supposes, from the influence of that attraction or adhesion exerted between air and the surfaces of bodies, which gives rise to its condensation in other cases where it is received into the interstices of porous bodies; of which effect charcoal, in its operation on elastic fluids, affords a striking example. The influence of this condensation, which has not been before attended to, may further be important in the production of some of the effects of respiration; it may facilitate the combination of the oxygen and carbon in the lungs; and it serves to account for those variations which happen in the relative volumes of inspired and expired air, and of the oxygen and

nitrogen of that air, when natural respiration is disturbed by causes which induce a preternatural exertion of the respiratory organs.

We must now conclude our account of this work, and we cannot do so without expressing our sense of the importance of the researches it presents, and the ability with which they have been conducted. Its details throw new light, and open fresh analogies, calculated to elucidate the grandeur and uniformity of the great Creator's works; and it may serve as a valuable link in that long chain of discovery which has been reserved for the present day; and of which we hope to give some account in our next number. Nor can we withhold our approbation of the candour and liberality which distinguish Mr. Ellis's work. We have differed in some points from the author, but this lessens not our respect for his talents, nor our confidence that important results may be obtained from his further pursuit of this investigation. His plan leads him to the consideration of the effects which arise from the introduction into the vegetable and animal systems, of the caloric set free from the combination of oxygen with carbon; he intimates some intention of prosecuting this subject, and we trust that he will find, in the reception of the present volume, sufficient inducement to carry this intention into execution.

ART. VII. *Memoirs of the Honourable Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State, Vice President and President of the United States of America; containing a concise History of those States, from the Acknowledgment of their Independence. With a View of the Rise and Progress of French Influence and French Principles in that Country.* Two vols. octavo, New York, 1809.

IN the first number of the British Review, we had (we can hardly say) the satisfaction of laying before our readers a detailed statement of the facilities which the French party in America have found in the principles of its constitution, for the prosecution of their schemes against the British connection, and the prosperity of their own country. Every thing which we have since seen, and read, and heard upon the subject, has tended to fortify in our minds the justness of the conclusions then drawn, and to convince us, that unless a radical change take place in the American system of politics, a crisis must at length arise in this in-

interesting country, that must either dissolve the Federal Union, or lead to such an improvement of its constitution, as will allow of a steady and rational system of government. We are far, however, from imputing *generally* to the leaders of the French party in the United States a sordid view of sacrificing what they think to be the real interests of their country, to private considerations of profit and ambition;—we believe them to be more frequently dupes than traitors; and that the French agents have succeeded in persuading them, that the commercial advantages, springing from friendly intercourse with England, and which French connection must oblige them to forego, are the result of a false view of policy in their actual state of society. They have been taught to believe, that their country will advance faster in the career of wealth and substantial power, by turning all the energies of its population to the improvement of its extensive territory, leaving the products to be exported in the ships of the commercial nations of Europe, and confining its own exertions to the mere defence of its coasts from insult. We must in particular do Mr. Jefferson the justice to observe, that during his first residence in Paris, M. Turgot and the economists were in the zenith of their credit; and that a man of Mr. Jefferson's character and confined abilities was very likely to become the sincere dupe of their plausible theories, and to believe that he would do his country good service, by making it the subject of a practical experiment of their truth.

The Americans have also been taught to believe, that the naval power of Great Britain is the only obstacle to the establishment of an universal and permanent freedom of navigation in time of war; a claim which Great Britain has steadily and uniformly opposed, while almost every other power of Europe has at some time or other, from motives of temporary and delusive policy, acceded to it. And the Americans, although dupes to this fallacious expectation, have sagacity enough to perceive, that they would almost solely reap the advantages of the freedom of navigation, were the European powers to carry it into effect. Experience might, indeed, have taught the Americans, (and has certainly taught the wisest of them), not to put too much confidence in such a system of immunity, since the powers which were most strenuous in its support have never failed to trench upon its privileges whenever they were found inconvenient.

The Americans, under sufferance of the British fleets, might possess the carrying trade of France from all quarters of the world, while Britain carries for herself; and this may be one cause of their partiality to France. But do they suppose, if

the British fleet were out of the way, or, as the French express it, the liberty of the seas were established, that France would permit them for one year to continue the same carrying trade? Let them coolly answer this question, and they will then clearly perceive that the advantages held out by France must escape their grasp, from the instant when the destruction or dereliction of the British supremacy at sea has, in their opinion, placed them within reach. They are, therefore, contending for a shadow, which neither the destruction or preservation of the British supremacy can enable them to realize in substance.

But, abstractedly speaking, it must be confessed that their view of territorial policy (if we may so call it) is really plausible; although we do not quite perceive what France, possessing no commercial navy, would gain by the change, beyond that of substituting one species of tie to the English connexion for another. Whether America carries on her trade, or trusts for the sale of the raw products of her territory to the commercial navies of Europe, the nation which commands the sea must equally command her friendship; for we can hardly suppose the majority of them absurd enough to fancy that a gradual separation from all foreign connections, and a reliance on internal improvements, without a foreign market, like the policy of China and Japan, can be seriously applicable to their country at this time of day, though they have been often mentioned as models for imitation. It is therefore an imposition, too gross to be carried down, even by strong French predilection, that, although the above-mentioned view of policy be just, it affords ground for supposing that the United States can safely exchange the friendship of England for that of France.

But although it be true that the Americans may safely lie supine, like the rhinoceros, and fatten under the shade of their own forests; repelling, at the same time, from their well protected exterior the shafts of hostility; it does not by any means follow that an enlightened statesman would advise them to pursue that course. An increase of brute force, unaccompanied by civilization, was never yet considered as a legitimate object of a nation's ambition; and it is only necessary to compare the moral condition of the New England States with that of Virginia, to decide upon the results of the two systems; and to be convinced of the reasons which have induced France, subsisting as it does upon the moral no less than the political ruin of other countries, to use all its means towards assimilating the whole federal union to the condition of that southern state.

It has indeed been supposed that the different mode in which trade has been carried on by the southern and eastern states of

America, is the effect and not the cause of the difference of their moral and political situation. On this we shall not dispute: we are perfectly ready to admit what is certainly true, that they differ in soil and climate more than any two countries in Europe; they differ in the character and religious principles of the original settlers; above all, they differ in this, that in the one the system of slave cultivation is established—in the other, industry is free.

From these differences arises a strong contrast of moral character. The New Englandmen are strict in their religious observances, to a degree which we should be apt to consider as formal and bigotted. Freemen and republicans *upon principle*, of the old English, not of the modern Gallic school; just rather than liberal; cool, and cautious in their conduct; simple, and somewhat rough in their manners; hardy, enterprising, and industrious; seeking from the sea those supplies of food, which their severe climate and unproductive soil but scantily afford; and pursuing the advantages of navigation in every corner of the world.

The Virginians, and other inhabitants of the southern states, on the contrary, partake largely of the vices with which the masters of a race of slaves are ever liable to be infected. Open disregard of religion, shameless licentiousness of manners, laxity of moral principle and conduct, occasioned by that habitual neediness, which is the consequence of careless profusion, are proverbially ascribed to them by their countrymen. To these are added a coarseness and vulgarity of manners and conversation; an excessive spirit of gambling, indulged in every way; and a propensity to personal conflicts, more cruel and disgraceful than are endured in any other country, and which seem to excite the universal disgust of travellers.

After reading this character of the Virginians, whose party has lately borne such unbounded sway in the union, we shall be no longer surprised at the aversion for all national banks, and for every institution calculated to insure to the creditors of the state the payment of their just demands, which is so notoriously prevalent among the French or *agricultural* party. Hence the too frequent selection of persons to fill the office of statesmen, who are disposed to treat with ours as if they were as dishonest and disingenuous as themselves, and who never believe us to be in earnest. If we use many words, and speak or act not merely with civility and respect, but in a tone of conciliation, they are instantly informed, by an analogy furnished from their own minds, that we are sorely afraid of them. They know that we justly value them as perhaps our best customers; but from this they infer, too positively to be convinced of the contrary by any

thing but facts, that in estimating the advantage of being well with them, we cherish a dread of quarrelling, too great to be counterbalanced by any sentiment of regard for national dignity or permanent interest. With minds thus constituted, our object should be rather to ensure their respect than to aim at acquiring their affection. In our transactions with them the maxim should be religiously observed, never for one moment to advance an unfair pretension; and never, most certainly *never* (but as a matter of *acknowledged* favour) to recede from an obvious right.

In making this statement concerning the Virginian, or rather the French party, we beg that we may not be so far mistaken, as to be thought to extend it to every individual in the Southern States. We know, and with pleasure admit, that they contain many persons of honourable feelings, with well informed minds, of upright conduct, and with American interests truly at heart; men who, aware that national honour is a main constituent of national strength, will submit to no insult or injustice from England; but for the same reason hold the modern French connection in the utmost horror and contempt. That the political deviations of the French party, and their ruinous consequences, will at length open the eyes of the people (if they are not already opened) and ultimately throw the power into the hands of this moderate and enlightened band of patriots, we cannot avoid hoping. Them therefore we should endeavour to conciliate to our just views, by every demonstration of candour and forbearance; and for this reason we confess that we have perused with considerable pain certain well written, but rather too satirical documents, to which the British official signature has been annexed. That we may not add to this irritation in the present delicate state of affairs, we shall carefully abstain from entering into any discussion of the grounds of dispute now subsisting between the two countries. We shall confine our endeavours, in this paper, to the object of preparing the minds of our readers for fully comprehending such a discussion (when it may be safely entered upon) by briefly tracing through the work before us the origin and the current of that strong political bias among the Americans, which seems to be assisting the genius of evil, in driving two nations, made for each other's felicity, into a ruinous and unnatural war.

But our readers will probably think that it is high time to take some notice of the work before us.

These memoirs (of which we believe that only this copy has found its way to England) are, like every thing now written on politics in America, a party production. But the strong ground of fact upon which the author has proceeded gives nevertheless

considerable value to his work, and we do not know that there is any where to be found so good a connected sketch of the history of the United States since their independence. The biography of living characters seems to labour under fewer difficulties in America than with us. There is a certain callousness about the feelings of public men in that country, with respect to the most atrocious accusations conveyed through the medium of the press, and an unbounded licence of personality and coarseness is indulged, without any apparent dread of public or private vengeance,—of legal or corporeal correction. Neither truth, nor even falsehood itself, can constitute, as it would seem, a libel in America. We can account for this apathy in no other way, than by supposing that the number of readers is so small, or party-feeling so strongly predominant, that a man may still retain all his influence in society, although convicted, from the press, of notorious folly or corruption. For we should be somewhat unwilling to admit, that there is a point in the progress of the *freedom* of the press that annihilates all the real uses of its *liberty*, by taking away the confidence entertained under a well-regulated system in the truth of an unprosecuted and unanswered assertion. But this must evidently be the case, where plausible falsehoods on important subjects can be, or are, in fact, published with perfect impunity.

The Honourable Thomas Jefferson is a native of Virginia, and during the struggle of the colonies for their independence possessed considerable influence in his own state, of which he had been governor. To this post he had risen chiefly by his intellectual exertions, which, however they might at other times and in other places have been estimated, were then and there held to be considerable. In his government, he is said to have discovered more of the character of a cautious than of a wise statesman, and to have possessed a character in most respects the reverse of General Washington. He was one of a committee appointed to draw up the “declaration of independence,” and to him has the merit of that production been generally ascribed, with some degree of truth; for the rough draft of it was certainly his, which the committee retrenched and corrected with a liberal hand. He seems to have imbibed all those prejudices and predilections which such a career might naturally be supposed to engender; that is to say, a blind hatred to England, (who, in truth, was too responsible, by the misconduct of her government or her statesmen, for the American revolution, and all its present consequences in Europe); and an ardent and equally blind devotion to France, who, when she saw that her enemy by her misconduct had actually lost her colonies, bestowed her kick upon the jaws of the

sick lion, and assumed the merit and the reward of having produced the catastrophe.

It is not surprising that men such as we have described the Virginians, unhackneyed in the trammels of politics, should have fully received these impressions. They were at the first burst of independence very generally spread over the United States.

“ No people had ever greater cause to be proud, none had before them a fairer promise to be happy, after many years of sanguinary trouble, to pass into a state of peace, security, and rest ;—to be relieved from unspeakable hardships and privations ; to rise from dependance upon another and a far distant country, with all its subjections and restraints, into a state of self-government and exemption from foreign controul ; and to be left to the free choice of its own government, laws, and institutions, was a condition in which no enlightened people had ever before been found ; and was not only sufficient to fill them with immediate exultation and joy, and with the most happy forebodings of the future, but might naturally be expected to push their hopes and their pride a little beyond the bounds of moderation. To men of unexercised minds, of little reflection, and of superficial knowledge, all around seemed lovely and felicitous ; and to the people, with very few exceptions, nothing seemed more impossible than that their harmony should be interrupted, that their happiness should be endangered for ages, or that any thing could arise to deprive them of the benefits and blessings they had obtained with the revolution. Thus thought the many, and thus it was natural for the many to think. They imagined that the supreme power being now at the disposal of a jealous people, from whom it could not be wheedled by fraud or flattery, nor wrested by force, would follow the natural course of the human heart, and find its way into the hands of the most deserving : and at the outset of the republic it was so. But time unfolded new views to the multitude. Every day gave them a stronger sense of their own power, and greater inclination to evince it by abuse. It was soon perceived that that which was unappropriated to any, might be aspired to by all ; and the lower classes of ambitious men, and vulgar politicians, who felt themselves excluded by want of desert from all participation in power, resolved to make up their deficiency in merit, by fraud and imposition ; and to disturb and pollute the stream of public opinion, which so long as it continued to roll in its natural purity, would run in favour of the most meritorious citizens.” (*Memoirs, &c.* vol. 1. p. 12, et seq.)

The licentious principles established by the French revolution, and previously disseminated no where with greater diligence than in the United States, lent great facilities to such a system of corruption. Nor was the early and absolute treachery of France sufficient to stem the torrent. In the Congress there existed a strong party warmly disposed to subject the interests of the United States to France, although they well knew that

she had, during the negotiations for peace, disclosed a policy hostile to the independence of America; had opposed her claim to the fisheries and to the navigation of the Mississippi; had even urged the British ministry to refuse to negotiate with them, as an independent people, but to treat them still as revolted colonies; and in a word, had plainly manifested a design to cajole the States into a surrender of themselves to France, in the same relation which they had before the war borne to Great Britain.

The federal government was no sooner established with Washington at its head, than it was found to be too weak for any efficient purpose. No means existed for establishing a system of national defence; none for internal civil regulations; none for providing a revenue to discharge the public debts incurred in pursuit of independence; none to promote national improvement, or to make preparations for encountering future exigencies. But nothing could be more acceptable to the party to which we have just alluded than such a state of things. Good government and the payment of just debts were very far from being the objects of their wishes; particularly as the British were in many cases the creditors, and by an ill considered article in the treaty of peace, entitled to a large sum from the American debtors, for the payment of which their government stood pledged. This state of the public mind naturally gave rise to two parties in the state: the federal party, anxious to establish such a government as would repress the licence of the people, and enable responsible functionaries to fulfil the public engagements, and to act efficiently for the welfare of the state;—and the democratic party, desirous of an appeal to the people upon every trivial occasion, and of establishing their influence by flattering the passions of the vulgar, by holding out to them a freedom from their debts, a relaxation in the administration of justice, and a remission in the payment of taxes, and by continually fomenting differences and encouraging the opposition of the state sovereignties against their superior sovereign, the general government. At the head of the former party were General Washington, Colonel Hamilton, Mr. Fisher Ames, and other great and good characters: at the head of the latter Mr. Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and many of those who since the death of General Washington have borne a principal part in the management of American affairs. As the poor, the idle, the profligate, and the unprincipled, constitute a large portion of the motley community of America, the democratic party found a complete majority in many of the states; and although General Washington and the federalists succeeded in new modelling the articles of confederation, yet the incessant outcries against assimilating their govern-

ment to the TYRANNY! of England from which they had escaped,—obliged them to leave so much leaven in the mass, that the greater part has at length fermented into that body of corruption, which we described at length in our first number.

But to return to Mr. Jefferson. His first great employment under the new government was in the embassy to France, at the head of which he was immediately placed by President Washington, purposely to show his gratitude to that government by sending to them one of their own partisans. It was one of the cardinal political maxims of that great statesman, to which he at last fell a victim, to preserve a perfect impartiality towards all parties at home and all countries abroad. This induced him to send Mr. Jefferson to France, who, during his residence there, associated principally with the democratic leaders; and upon his return on leave of absence after a residence of some years in that country, to appoint him secretary of state for foreign affairs; and to associate with him, as another secretary of state, Mr. E. Randolph, a Virginian lawyer, not highly respected even in his own country, and who was afterwards dismissed for having become, by means of corruption, a secret agent of France*.

These two persons were of Washington's cabinet council, together with two others (of whom the celebrated Colonel Hamilton was one), who were decidedly opposed in opinions and views to the others. So that the two great parties in the state were not only represented in Congress, but *absolutely*, and nearly upon equal terms in the government. It may well be supposed, that upon this system nothing could go on smoothly. Upon every measure of government the cabinet was divided, and in the heat of contention the members could not be supposed to keep its secrets from their respective partisans. Between secretaries Hamilton and Jefferson in particular, an unappeasable disagreement arose.—The former, though a zealous republican, was the advocate for a government armed with sufficient power to protect itself from the effects of intestine discord or of foreign hostility—the latter found it necessary to his views, both with respect to his own country and France, to pursue an opposite conduct. The first open contest between them was in forming the commercial regulations of the union. One party, with Mr. Jefferson at its head, wished to turn the channel of trade in favour of France by discriminating duties,—the other, with Colonel

* It is necessary to state, that this is not Mr. I. Randolph, who is said to be now the greatest orator and one of the most upright men in congress; some of whose speeches we have read with great satisfaction.

Hamilton, maintained that discriminations were unjust, and that they amounted to a tax on American agriculture, and a bounty on the navigation and manufactures of a favoured foreign nation. In support of his party, Mr. Jefferson took into his pay a daily paper called the *National Gazette*; and exhibited to his country the unprecedented and disgraceful example of a secretary of state countenancing, nay, often as it is said, composing libels against the government of which he formed a part. The people however, as usual in such cases, soon settled the question concerning the commercial restrictions; they took the liberty to purchase that which they preferred. To borrow the idea of a celebrated satirical essayist, "The People of America still liked a shirt to their ruffle;" they still preferred the plain, neat, solid, and durable manufactures of England to the frippery of France, and it was soon found useless to contend with their predilections.

It would be an unnecessary and disgusting task to follow the footsteps of the French party to the final completion of their views. The regular progress from cruel outrage upon the persons of their opponents, (many of whom were maimed, robbed, or tarred and feathered,) to positive insurrection, was religiously observed. But there is one circumstance which we cannot avoid citing, as a valuable precedent for the use of our own democratic assemblies. A meeting at Pittsburgh avowed, that "they thought it their duty to persist in remonstrances to congress, and *in every legal measure that may obstruct the operation of the law.*" If there be any abstract merit in mere originality, it is certainly due to the idea of *obstructing law by legal measures.*

We pass over the two presidencies of Washington and the inconsistent one of Mr. Adams;—during which the active partizans of the French were busily engaged in gaining over the mob; sometimes with perfect success, at others, as in the case of the French minister Genêt, venturing a little too far, even for a Virginian mob. This minion of Robespierre actually assumed the airs of a rival sovereign, treated president Washington with the greatest insolence, and had it not been for his coolness and patience, who quietly gave the Frenchman rope till (to use a vulgar expression) he had hanged himself, another insurrection would probably have ensued. It is worthy of remark, that this Frenchman, with the assistance of the democratic clubs formed under his auspices, left no exertion untried to drive America into a war with England, in support of the principle that free vessels make free goods, which has been the constant object of contention ever since. And it is still more remarkable, that Mr. Jef-

person, the very Mr. Jefferson who has since, at the nod of Bonaparte, influenced his country to act upon that outrageous French doctrine, did, in answer to an official letter of M. Genét's on the subject, maintain and strenuously argue in defence of the opposite principle, and did insist without reservation or exception, that "BY THE LAW OF NATIONS, THE GOODS OF AN ENEMY FOUND IN THE VESSELS OF A FRIEND WERE LAWFUL PRIZE." We should be glad to know what magic has since altered the law of nations in Mr. Jefferson's opinion. That he did think it, however *completely inverted*, his whole conduct in the president's chair offers one continued proof.

No sooner was he installed in this high office, than he forthwith dismissed from all official stations the functionaries of the federalist party; openly assigning as his reason, that, "it was necessary for all officers to think with their principal." Having thus new-modelled the machine of government to his will, he threw off every former restraint, and openly avowed himself the advocate of all the pretensions set up by France against the commerce and existence of England, and we think that we cannot afford a better illustration of this career and its results, in the shapes of non-intercourse, permanent embargo, and bankruptcy, than by the following prophetic observations of Mr. Uriah Tracy of Connecticut delivered in congress, on some resolutions of Mr. Madison's against the commerce of England, during General Washington's presidency.

"One would think," said he, "to hear the declarations in this house, that all men were fed at the opening of our hand; and if we shut that hand, the nations starve; and if we but shake the fist after it is shut, they die;—and yet one accusation against Great Britain, is her *prohibiting* the importation of *bread stuff* while under a certain price."

"But there is a very serious aspect in which this subject ought to be viewed. The products of America grow in other soils but hers. The demands for them may be supplied by other countries. Indeed in some instances, articles usually obtained from the United States would be excluded by a fair competition with the same articles furnished by other countries; and it was the discrimination made in their favour by the British government, that enabled them to obtain a preference in the British market. By withholding those which are of the growth of the United States, Great Britain would not lose the article, but America would lose the market; and a formidable rival would be raised up, who would last much longer than the resolutions under consideration." (Memoirs, vol. i. p. 182.)

But we are now beginning to tread upon tender ground; and

shall therefore proceed to observe in general terms, that from the period at which Mr. Jefferson was firmly seated in the government up to the present moment, the United States have uniformly exhibited the strongest partiality to France, and antipathy to England. "Every act of the British government is viewed by that of America through a distorted medium, and converted if possible into a topic of reproach and invective; while on the other hand the most flagrant acts of injustice on the part of France are either passed over in total silence, or studiously extenuated by those towards whom they are directed.*" This antipathy England has unfortunately shewed no disposition to conquer by conciliatory measures, of a nature that might have been adopted without injuring our real interests. The Americans, all republican as they are, would have been highly pleased to have seen at their seat of government an English ambassador of high rank and distinction. The more sensible and discreet among them would have hailed with satisfaction the arrival of a minister respectable for age, and for tried and acknowledged talents. But the extent to which we have disappointed both these views need not be pointed out.

If the two countries, however, are now disposed to conciliation, it would be wise to dismiss all retrospective views on both sides. They had better contemplate with cooler heads and warmer hearts than have hitherto been employed in the controversy, what each would lose by war, what each would gain by peace. Let America consider her yet limited population, her inadequate establishments, her unprotected ships, her precarious commerce, her infant and insufficient finances. Let England take a prospective view of Canada in danger, the West Indies turbulent, the sea covered with American privateers, and an extensive market lost. Let the Americans again, as an honest and thinking people, reflect, that if England falls, the combined armies and navies of all Europe, wielded by France for the subjugation of America, will be brought into contact with her shores, and can her population repel the shock? And let them further reflect, that England *must fall*, if she give up a particle of her maritime rights, in the present state of the

* We have extracted this passage from a pamphlet just published, by the Messrs. Ballantyne of Edinburgh, which was put into our hands after this article was prepared for the press. It is entitled "A View of the State of Parties in the United States of America, being an Attempt to account for the present Ascendancy of the French, or democratic Party, in that Country." We do not agree in all the author's positions, but think his production replete with sound sense, and being the work of a gentleman who has recently visited the United States, it is well worthy of the public attention.

European continent, and be *seriously crippled* in her exertions against the common enemy, if the weight of America, and the privation of her custom, are thrown into the scale of hostility. But as the last is the less evil of the two, England must choose it if reduced to the alternative; for she had better die in the trenches, than capitulate with her barbarous and overbearing enemy.

England, therefore, both for her own sake, and for that of America (when American interests are well considered), cannot give up a particle of her maritime rights. But saving this point, we trust that she will hold out to this irritable people every reasonable and conciliatory proposition, that she will not suffer the cause of morality and good order, and the eventual happiness of the world to be put in jeopardy for a point of national pride, when national honour is not implicated.

If the Virginian party do not appreciate this conduct, the New England party will, and we shall find the advantage, should the French at length prove strong enough to force on hostilities, in spite of proposals on our part founded in reason and justice, and maintained upon the system and principles to be deduced from the preceding pages. For we trust that we shall not be suspected, after what is written in the early part of this article, of counselling the purchase of apparent security by any, even the smallest, dereliction of national honour, or even by any considerable sacrifice of national interests, so far as they are consistent with justice and the law of nations.

We trust that we have now, in some degree, afforded to our readers a clue that will lead them through the intricate labyrinths of misrepresentation, in which the details of our American politics are involved, up to the original causes of the mischief; and that whatever may be the result of the present discussions between the two countries, a dispassionate man will perceive in it the consequence of events, with which he has acquired some familiarity, and upon which he possesses the means of forming something like a fair judgment.

After again and again urging the obvious truth, that the ruin of England must be speedily followed by the subjugation of the United States (for a time at least), by France, we think that the following passage, (which we shall cite in conclusion, from a sensible pamphlet published about three years ago*), will prove that madness only can drive them into war with England, since they must be both immediate and ultimate sufferers by the

* Oil without Vinegar, and Dignity without Pride, or British, American, and West Indian Interests considered. By Mr. Medford, 1807.

consequences; and that there are views of policy equally clear for abstinence and conciliation on the part of England.

“ America is a new and rising country; its progress, which is unprecedentedly rapid, may be retarded, but it cannot be stopped; therefore whatever bad consequences may result, they will be but momentary. It is not so with Britain, which is a country already risen so high, that the question is not to rise higher, but to remain as it is. Should hostilities with America prove seriously injurious to England, they may never be remedied; thus the case is of much more importance to Britain than it is to America. I mean not to say that America may not suffer most severely in the first instance, but the consequences can only be transitory; whereas, with respect to Britain, they may be such as never to be done away.”

Considering this author's perfect acquaintance with America, his transatlantic predilections, but his ignorance or forgetfulness of the fatal consequences likely to result to the United States from the ruin or subjugation of England;—we think this extract quite conclusive as to America, and not unworthy the serious attention of a British statesman.

ART. VIII. *An Inquiry into the Consequences of neglecting to give the Prayer Book with the Bible. Interspersed with Remarks on some late Speeches at Cambridge, and other important Matter relative to the British and Foreign Bible Society.* By Herbert Marsh, D. D. F. R. S. Margaret Professor of Divinity. Cambridge, Deighton, Nicholson, and Barret. London, Rivington. Octavo, pp. 80. 1812.

ALTHOUGH the space which we usually allot to subjects of a religious nature is already occupied in this number, with matter too important to be omitted in favour of any other, yet the pamphlet before us, from the powers of reasoning displayed, appears calculated to make so many false impressions on timid minds, and to check the progress of so much and such extensive good, that we cannot possibly let the occasion pass, without using every exertion which our limits will allow, to point out what appears to us to be the errors of the novel objections contained in it;—leaving to a future opportunity the full discussion of the extensive operations of the British and Foreign Bible Society. We confess, however, that our previous respect for the author of this pamphlet lays us under some difficulties con-

cerning the mode of treating its contents. When we see persons, to whose soundness of judgment, and acuteness of reasoning, we have been accustomed to defer, advocating a cause which appears to our limited capacities to be absolutely unsupported by the principles of common sense, we cannot, in general, help suspecting that the fault lies in the density of our perceptions; and even after a long and anxious scrutiny of the grounds upon which our judgment rests, it is with great modesty that we venture to state its results. Modesty, however, in this particular case does not imply doubt; for, in truth, not a shadow of it rests upon our minds; and if Professor Marsh found it "of all subjects on which he ever undertook to write, the most intricate and perplexed," (p. 53.) we are persuaded that the circumstance arose from his having unluckily advocated that side of the question, on which it would have perplexed an angel of controversy to have found a solid argument; or from his having, in the solitude of the cloister incident to a vacation at Cambridge, contemplated a little spectre of his imagination, till it assumed the grim and portentous aspect of a giant.

Professor Marsh had entitled himself to the gratitude of his country, and the respect of all good churchmen, for his successful exertions in favour of the national system of education upon the principles of Dr. Bell; and it is not the least evil likely to result from the present pamphlet, that it will weaken all his former arguments, by implicating his name and authority in what must appear, to a large portion of his former admirers, to be the labyrinths of bigotry and error. Accordingly we find that the advocates of Mr. Lancaster, with their usual alacrity, lost no time in sending a circular letter to the members of the Bible Society, endeavouring to draw them into an opinion that their objects and interests were now identified with his; and it is with the deepest regret that we perceive in the pamphlet before us a positive assertion to the same effect. When we consider the results which the professor's reasoning is calculated to produce on the minds of many of those, whose plain sense and enlightened zeal attach them to the principles upon which the Bible Society is founded;—and when we contemplate the additional shock, which such persons must receive by the discovery of the *danger*, which has lain quietly hid in the professor's brain for the last seven years*, and by a somewhat rough intimation of the *mischiefs* they have been doing during that long period, by circulating the authorized version of the Bible (an expensive

* The British and Foreign Bible Society has been established seven years.

book), at a reduced price, to the members of the church, because they have left the circulation of Prayer-books, and of explanatory tracts (which are comparatively cheap and easy of acquisition), to other hands less full than their own;—we cannot help exclaiming,

Who but would *smile* if such a man there be,
Who but would *weep* if Herbert Marsh were he.

But it is not by the indulgence of contemptuous indifference, or of unmanly sorrow, that the evil can be counteracted. We shall therefore proceed, with all the plainness and earnestness which the importance of the subject demands, to make a few brief observations upon the two points principally insisted on. First, on the danger of associating with dissenters, for the purpose of promoting the circulation of the authorized version of the Bible *alone*, without note or comment: and secondly, on the supposed identity of interests and objects, between the Bible Society, and Mr. Lancaster's committees.

1. The whole of Professor Marsh's argument seems to rest upon this *assumption*; that in associating with Dissenters for the purpose of widely circulating the *Bible alone*, such of the members of the society as belong to the Church have *directly* countenanced the *extensive omission* of the Prayer-book; thereby *indirectly* admitting its inutility or inexpediency, as the best and safest commentary for the instruction of the people. Now this appears to us to be a very disingenuous conclusion; and something like finding fault with a society established to feed the hungry, for giving a poor man a loaf of bread at half its original cost, because they do not also give him an ounce of cheese upon the same terms; or like blaming the ladies who associate to provide soldiers wives with child-bed linen, and caudle, because they thereby countenance an *extensive omission* of flannel waistcoats for the use of the soldiers themselves. In distributing those things of which there is the greatest need, and which the objects of the bounty find it the most difficult to procure, they are far from wishing to preclude them from the possession of other articles of comfort; but they think, that by confining their own exertions to the most obvious and pressing wants, they will interest more persons in the charity, and thus effect the more extensive good.

Just so, the Bible Society have associated to circulate Bibles, which are very expensive to purchase, and of which there was a great dearth; not one family in fifty throughout the country having one in their possession. And they found that Christians of every denomination were so sensible of the utility of such an

object, that very extensive assistance, in zeal and money, could be procured by confining the charity to the bread of life alone.

But can those who circulate, at little more than half price, a Bible worth six or seven shillings, be accused of neglecting or depreciating the Prayer-book, which may be had for fifteen-pence; because they double their own means of circulating the former, by leaving the latter to the zeal of the individual, of the regular clergyman, or of other societies; or rather because they do not deprive themselves of the power of giving a poor man three or four shillings in a Bible, that they may eventually save him seven pence halfpenny on the purchase of a Prayer-book? For, after all, no society can *force* a Prayer-book upon the people. All that any society can do, is to circulate such as are demanded by subscribers at a reduced price. Nor do we suppose that even Dr. Marsh would recommend that the *acceptance* of a prayer-book, at a stated price, should be generally made the indispensable condition of receiving a bible; because it is obvious, that such a regulation would by no means increase the circulation of Prayer-books, but only diminish that of Bibles. And the fact in the present case is, that from the comparative cheapness of the liturgy, and the extent to which it is to be procured from the ancient and venerable society for promoting Christian knowledge*, the demand for that book is pretty amply supplied. Every one that wishes for it can procure it with a very little frugality; and we think that Professor Marsh, anxious as he is to depreciate the labours of the Bible Society, has admitted more than enough benefit from their exertions, to counterbalance the problematical chance of saving to a very few poor persons, seven-pence halfpenny on the purchase of a Prayer-book, when they desire to procure it. But the demand for Bibles is *very far from being supplied*; and we are utterly astonished that Professor Marsh should have ventured, in the face of notorious and recorded facts, to declare that "there were channels *in abundance* for the distribution of the Bible, long before the existence of the modern society." (P. 9.) Does he

* We are very happy to find, that this Society has had an accession of above 2000 subscribers within the last year; and we trust that the circumstance will tend to allay the fears of those, who foresaw its ruin in the success of the Bible Society. We are persuaded that the competition established, has acted as a spur to one, and a rein to the other. Long may the competition last! But let it not be a competition of words but of doing good. As Mr. Dealtry has well expressed it, "why should there be any other rivalry between these great institutions, but the generous rivalry of conferring benefits on mankind? Surely there is abundance of room for the labours of both. Every heart and every hand should be pressed into the service, and invited to partake of the reward." (Mr. Dealtry's speech at Hertford, Jan. 24, 1812.)

not know then*, that Wales had for more than twenty years been presenting reiterated and most urgent petitions for Bibles, without any adequate supply, till the establishment of the Bible Society? Does he not know, that the Bristol Society found a call for 4200 Bibles and Testaments in one year; and that of Manchester, for upwards of 7000 in little more than six months? Does he not know, that there are 300,000 persons who understand no language but the Gaelic; not one in forty of whom possessed a Bible, till the society translated and dispersed it in that language? Does he not know, that in many parts of Ireland not more than a third of the Protestant families possessed Bibles, till the society imported them; and of the Papist families, scarcely one in 500? Does he not know, that in Jersey not a French Bible was to be had, though many families would willingly have purchased one? Does he not know, that at this moment, notwithstanding all the exertions of the two societies, and of the Naval and Military Bible Society, above 21,000 applications for Bibles from soldiers and sailors, now serving in his majesty's army and navy, have been ineffectual for want of funds? And does he not know that a great and increasing demand now exists throughout the whole kingdom; although above 300,000 Bibles and Testaments have been printed and circulated at home, within the last seven years, by the Bible Society *only*? It would be easy to multiply these questions from official reports, or from notorious facts; and Professor Marsh must surely have been acquainted with many of them; for he has himself told us, that he has spared no pains to get every information on the subject. What then shall we say of his assertion, that channels in *abundance* existed for the distribution

*The history of the origin and progress of the Bible Society is simply this. The extreme want of Welsh Bibles in North Wales, and the despair of obtaining them without resorting to new and extraordinary means for the purpose, having been made known to many charitable persons, the means of supplying it became a subject of consideration. In the course of their communications they found that the want of Bibles was not confined to Wales, but that it was felt in other parts of the United Kingdom, and also in a greater degree abroad; and their views progressively extended to the supply of the deficiency wherever it prevailed. It was evident that the means for attaining this object must be proportionate to its magnitude; and the plan proposed for the purpose was accordingly calculated to embrace the support of Christians at large, by inviting the concurrence of persons of every description, who professed to regard the Scriptures as the proper standard of religious truth. The plan of the society was thus suggested by the *single consideration* of the deplorable want of the word of God, and the supply of that want was *its sole and exclusive object*; without the slightest disposition to rival any other society, or to depreciate the liturgy of the Church of England; or the most distant suspicion that such a consequence could ever ensue from it. In truth, the experience of seven years has shewn that no such effect has arisen, or was ever thought of, till the publication of the pamphlet before us.

of the Bible?—We wish not to say any thing harsh; but impartial sincerity obliges us to remark, that it would have been wiser in Professor Marsh to have abstained from an accusation, brought forward a few pages afterwards, that the Bible Society had violated both *truth and candour*, on a point for *the proof* of which he refers to an appendix, which is *postponed to a future opportunity*.

We think that we have now said enough to satisfy a *reflecting* mind of the futility of Professor Marsh's objections to the Bible Society. His principal objection is not to the extensive circulation of the Bible, but, as he states, in very large capital letters, to **THE EXTENSIVE OMISSION OF THE LITURGY**. Now, if we have shewn that no such omission is directly or indirectly advised by the Church of England members of the Bible Society, or countenanced, encouraged, or in fact effected by the constitution of the Society; but that they have abstained from distributing Prayer-books which can be procured *in abundance*, and with comparative facility, in order to obtain more extensive assistance towards diffusing the Bible, which is procured with greater difficulty;—if a Church of England-man, wishing to give away the Prayer-book with the Bible, may *now* procure it with greater ease than he can a Bible, which is all that the exertions of the society could effect, were the sale of Prayer-books part of its plan;—and if by confining itself to the Bible alone, it extends its circulation both among churchmen and dissenters, to say nothing of its exertions among the heathen; all which points are, we think, indisputable;—then is the society cleared from any wish to depreciate the liturgy, and its church of England members from any design to *omit* it in the instruction of the people: then fall to the ground all the professor's dire forebodings, about the designs of supposed "Calvinists and Puritans," drawn from analogy to the neglect, depreciation, and abolition of the liturgy, by the *real* puritans in the reign of our first Charles: then can he with as little fairness blame the society for distributing the Bible *alone*, as he could blame them, had they presented him with their reports, for not abstracting the information therein contained; which he might easily have procured among his friends at Cambridge, or have purchased for a shilling, condensed in Mr. Scott's sermon.

This, then, as we have observed, is enough to satisfy a *reflecting* mind; and, as with the dean of Carlisle, we have "on all occasions of contrariety of sentiment, an instinctive aversion to vain and frivolous contentions concerning the outsides of questions," we would willingly, for our own sakes, rest here. But as the majority of minds are not of a *reflecting* turn, but very

apt to be swayed by the outsides of questions, we must on this account, as well as out of compliment to the learned professor, and in consideration of the great labour and pains he has employed about his pamphlet, yet extend our observations a little further.

One of the most prominent features of many pages of the work is the reverend author himself, and the vituperation which has been heaped upon the “Margaret professor of divinity,” *for defending and upholding the liturgy* in his address to the senate of Cambridge. We must, however, observe, that if Dr. Marsh had contented himself in that address with those objects, if he had strongly put it to the good sense and consciences of the members of the church of England, that it was incumbent upon them to be careful in bestowing the liturgy, which they might very easily procure at a cheap rate, wherever they gave away a Bible to a poor man, especially to one who had no opportunity of having it expounded by a regular and enlightened clergyman;—he would have had our cordial thanks, and as we think those of every candid friend to the church. But when he proceeded without just cause or provocation, and upon the faith of a false assumption, to use his most earnest endeavours to break up and dissolve a society whose objects, acts, and intentions were so dear to many sincere and orthodox Christians; we must say, that the attempt has not, in our opinion, met with more vituperation than its unjustifiable vanity deserved, or than its author ought naturally to have expected. Nor are the charges of Calvinism, Puritanism, hostility to the church, and the like, which are liberally and indiscriminately bestowed in the present pamphlet on the advocates of the Bible Society, or his numerous insinuations against the motives and characters of his Cambridge adversaries, deserving of, or likely to meet with, a smaller share of blame; though, from motives of respect, we shall certainly abstain from adding our portion on the present occasion. We cannot, however, help exclaiming,—the Bishops of Durham, Norwich, and St. David’s, the Lords Teignmouth and Gambier, Calvinists, Puritans, and enemies to the church!!!

We think also that when he recommended the transfer of the subscriptions to another society, which the experience of a century has proved incapable, from various causes, (respectable as it is,) of promoting in an equal degree the circulation of the scriptures, the charge of wishing to check that circulation was not inaptly applied to him. It is far indeed from amounting to a Popish prohibition, as has been insinuated; but it is singular, that even the most distant approach to it on the part of a Protestant should be accompanied, *in point of time*, by a zeal on the part of many of the Papists for the circulation of the scriptures. We

are mistaken, however, if the most bigotted Romanists will not rejoice at the professor's publication. If he be supposed by them to give the general sense of his clerical brethren, they will at least hail the revival of *principles* for which they have long contended.

“Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridæ.”

That the words *corrective*, *contagion*, and the like, may have been inaccurately or somewhat hastily used in the heat of debate or of controversy, may be very true. But this is not merely the *outside*, it is very husk and offal of the question.

The next objection which seems likely, from its *logical appearance*, to make a false impression upon weak minds, is, that when churchmen, who possess an establishment and a liturgy, associate with dissenters, who have neither, for the purpose of distributing the *Bible alone*; the partnership is not formed upon equal terms, because the criterion and test of the establishment is abandoned without an equivalent, “TO THE RUIN (again in very large capitals) OF THAT PARTY WHICH MAKES THE SACRIFICE.” “They make approaches to the conventicle, while the conventicle makes no approaches to the church; thus the church is undermined, while the conventicle remains entire.” (P. 61, 2.)

Notwithstanding the logical semblance of this series of propositions, we cannot help replying in the language of the schools, “Negatur minor.” For keeping in mind the facility with which the liturgy can be procured for distribution by the members of the church, we think that they are clear gainers in this partnership, instead of not having an equivalent; as indeed they seem to think themselves, from the names which appear at the head of the concern. For if, as Professor Marsh justly observes, the various sects of dissenters *wrest* the scriptures, by *aid of false* interpretations, into the rejection of the Trinity, the Atonement, the Sacraments, and other doctrines; how much more easily would a man so deceived have his mind opened by a zealous and orthodox minister, who could refer him for the truth *to the study of his own Bible*, than if he received the naked doctrine from the sectarian without any *standard by which to test its truth*? The party, therefore, which is in error, must always have the disadvantage in the circulation of the *test of truth*; unless we suppose the grace of God to be nothing, the zeal of God's true ministers nothing, and the exertions of the apostles of error to be every thing. There is, then, *some chance* that the dissenters will *not* remain dissenters; or if they do, that the study of the word of God will gradually bring them nearer to the truth. The Socinians are so well aware of this, that they have compiled a garbled

Bible for the use of their disciples. We should be glad to see them members of the Bible Society; they could not retain their disciples one month against the free use of the authorized version of the scriptures.

But will churchmen become dissenters? We think not; so long as the established clergy do their duty, in the explanation of the Bible to the poor; and if they neglect this duty, we are not of opinion that the addition of a Prayer-book will guarantee their fidelity to mother church. If possessing and venerating the Bible, they see the dissenting minister zealous in propagating truths which he professes to found upon it, and the established minister negligent or lukewarm, they will probably believe the former to be the most sincere, and therefore the most likely to be right. And this they will think whether they have a Prayer-book or not. For, as the Margaret professor well observes, the poor do not possess the knowledge and the judgement which are necessary to direct men in the *choice* of their religion. They must therefore *learn* it from their instructors. But when he proceeds to ask, can there be a *better* instructor in the opinion of churchmen than the book of Common Prayer? We answer, THE PARISH PRIEST. Else why have so many eminent men passed so much of their time in writing commentaries, tracts, and expositions on the principal parts of the liturgy itself?

The fair result then is this, where a zealous minister of the church officiates, the presence of the Bible alone, *as the test of truth*, will not only preserve the church from the conventicle, but tend to the approximation of the conventicle to the church; though the minister will certainly distribute Prayer-books for use in his church. Where the advantage of such a minister is wanting, particularly if a zealous dissenter intervenes, the presence of the Prayer-book will by no means preserve the poor from error, for the reasons so ably stated by the learned professor, respecting their want of knowledge and judgement to make *a choice*. But the presence and study of the Bible alone will render them more accessible to the truth, should it by God's blessing be proposed to them; and cannot but mend their hearts and their lives, should it be his will to leave them in comparative darkness. We cannot therefore but think, that those who object to the distribution of the *Bible alone* by the hands of churchmen and dissenters respectively, as they find a want for it, pay but an ill compliment to the zeal of the church; and must be ready to come to this conclusion, that where the church is without zeal, or from other causes insufficient to the instruction of the people, the people should remain in utter darkness, rather than be gained for a time by the dissenters:—a proposition, to which we think no Christian, who

has travelled into those parts of England where the population has rapidly increased, can possibly accede.

But we are told (pp. 50, 51, and 55, 59.) that the association of churchmen with dissenters, for the circulation of the *Bible alone*, has a tendency to make them hostile to all tests, *indifferent* to the liturgy, prone to *justify* its omission, and, in fact, little better than dissenters themselves;—"that a bare connexion with the Bible Society, is sufficient to produce this effect, even when unassisted by the operation of other causes," such as Calvinism and the like. The FACTS *in proof* of this inference are rather curious: they consist, first, of a speech of Mr. Whitbread's to his dissenting constituents at Bedford, in which he openly expressed his wishes for, and expectation of, the abolition of the test act. Without any regard to the quackery usually thought allowable in addressing constituents on the eve of an expected election, without any reflection that Mr. Whitbread is perhaps not the man of all others, upon whom the advocates of the Bible Society would fix as the oracle of their religious sentiments, or political hopes, if any they have of the latter;—this speech is argued upon with no great fairness, as we think, as embodying in words the spirit of all the other Bible Societies.

The other FACT *in proof* is the *assumption*, that because the meeting at Cambridge censured Professor Marsh's objections to the Bible Society, on the score of its distributing the *Bible alone*, and that its Church of England members justified the omission of the liturgy in the instruction of the people, therefore "it cannot be supposed that they will *correct* that omission, by supplying *individually* what the society in its corporate capacity *withholds*." (P. 60.) The result will as he thinks be a general increase of dissenters.

We have already exposed the mistake concerning the supposed desire to *omit* the liturgy in the instruction of the people. We shall not therefore stop to take cognizance of the obviously illogical, not to say absurd, deduction of the above inferences; but shall proceed to the more useful purpose of stating a FACT or two in illustration of the salutary effects of associating with dissenters, in such charitable and religious objects, as we may conscientiously promote in their company.

In the Bishop of Durham's schools in the north, the children of churchmen and dissenters are indiscriminately admitted; but if the latter attend dissenting places of worship with their parents, they are not expected to attend the church. This privilege was at first used by them to a considerable extent, but in a short time, so grateful were they for the christian liberality shewn to them, that they actually repaired to the church, in

company with their parents, with very few exceptions. A fact of the same nature occurred in a school, conducted upon similar principles, by a most respectable lady of Blackheath, near London. We have also heard of a similar instance in a village near Uxbridge, where a great proportion of the parishioners are quakers. We intreat Professor Marsh to ruminate a little on these FACTS, before he next contends that the association of churchmen with dissenters, upon principles congenial with the religious freedom of the latter, has a tendency to draw the church to the conventicle, rather than the conventicle to the church. We intreat him also to reflect, that there is no more certain method of making men enemies, than by calling them such. If dissenters are to be placed under an indiscriminate ban and anathema; if the hand of fellowship is to be denied them by churchmen, and they are to be kept at a distance from all co-operation in works of piety and charity, as carrying *contagion* with them, (we beg Dr. Marsh's pardon for using the word) they will inevitably be forced into enmity. Whereas the Bible Society, and the principles upon which it is founded, have done more to smooth sectarian asperities than all the devices ever adopted for that purpose. As Mr. Dealtry exclaimed in his eloquent and animated speech at Hertford on the 24th of last January, the substance of which, embodied in a pamphlet at the request of the committee, has just reached us;—"By the united co-operation of Christians of all denominations in a cause where all can safely unite, asperity is subdued, Christian charity is promoted, and, above all, resources are called into existence, which descend in blessings, not merely upon this land and people, but upon every nation, to which the liberality of Britain can direct them." (P. 11.) Or, as Mr. Vansittart wrote in his excellent letter of the 19th of February, 1812, "It is not simply to the diffusion of the Bible, but to the co-operation of all Christians to diffuse it, and to the effect of such a co-operation on our own hearts, that I look, not only for the *establishment of Christian faith*, but the *extension of Christian charity*." For ourselves, we will yield to none in our love and attachment to the church of England, and we are convinced, that every unprejudiced man, who has perused our several disquisitions on religious subjects, will give us full credit for this assertion; although its truth may not be so obvious to those who think that flattery is the best test of friendship. In the same spirit we will say with Mr. Dealtry, "God forbid that we should seek to deprive our church of the distinguished honour of assisting and co-operating with good men, though not of our own communion, in the diffusion of universal blessing."

We shall now proceed in conclusion to notice an objection, which from the pen of Dr. Marsh has a preeminent claim to attention,—we mean the analogy drawn by him between the principles of the Bible Society, and those of Mr. Lancaster's system of education. "Mr. Lancaster," says he (p. 24.) "adopts the Bible, and the Bible alone." So does the Bible Society. Let us then "draw a parallel between the religious instruction afforded by Mr. Lancaster, and the religious instruction afforded by the modern Bible Society." "The former confines religious instruction to the *children* of the poor, the latter extends it to *adults*, who are frequently in equal want of it. Both agree in providing a Bible; both agree in leaving that Bible, unaccompanied with the liturgy." This reasoning of the learned professor's strongly reminds us of the arguments by which Fluellen in Henry V. endeavours to prove the identity of Macedon and Monmouth. "There is a river in Macedon, there is moreover a river in Monmouth. It is called Wye, at Monmouth, but it is out of my *prains* what is the name of the other river; but it is all one, it is as like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both." But as we cannot expect the professor to taste this analogy, and as we should be very glad to convert him to our opinion, we will briefly observe, that to his ingenious comparison there appear to us to be two objections, besides the obvious one of identifying the minds of adults with those of children. 1st. The positions on which it is founded are not entirely true in point of fact; and 2dly. to the extent in which they are true the analogy does not apply.

1st. It is not true that Mr. Lancaster in the religious instruction afforded by him, imparts the knowledge of the *whole* Bible, as the society does, but only of *such parts* of it as are consistent with the religious opinions of the *various denominations of Christians*. All the peculiar doctrines are carefully excluded, and the system is exactly that system of "*generalized protestantism*," which Professor Marsh so justly deprecates as applied to members of the church. But, 2dly, if Mr. Lancaster did impart the knowledge of the whole Bible, a broad and decided line of distinction would still separate him from the Bible Society. He absolutely *excludes* the liturgy from his schools. If a churchman, therefore, sends his child to such a school, he *cannot* be brought up in the tenets of the church. If such schools were universally established in *all the purity of the system*, the people in general, and the children of churchmen in particular, would be *debarred* from imbibing with the first rudiments of their instruction, that attachment to the tenets of the established church, with which it is morally and politically ex-

pedient that they should be imbued. The church, in short, would be eventually delivered up into the hands of the dissenters; for the affection, the gratitude, the instruction of the people, would all be enlisted on their side. This is evidently the true and rational objection to Mr. Lancaster's system, contemplated with a view to its *general adoption*, and not to its confined and laudable operation on the children of dissenters. It is on this, at least, that all the arguments in the late controversy were founded.

But how does this apply to the Bible Society? There is no principle of *exclusion* with them; but they offer with a liberal hand the pure and unvitiated word of God (to be used according to their several wants and systems,) to the churchman and the various sects of dissenters; leaving it to the grace of God, and the zeal of each body, to produce its due effects on the minds of their disciples. Insofar as Mr. Lancaster attempts to do the same by imparting the mechanical principles of his system to church of England schools, which we believe he is willing to do when he can do no more, the practical part of the question between him and Dr. Bell is (*in that instance*) reduced to the comparative merits of the mechanism and practices of the two systems, which is not very great, though in some respect important; and to the difference between the characters of the two men, which, as our readers know, is *very great indeed* *.

But contemplating the objections to Mr. Lancaster's *peculiar* system in the light in which Dr. Marsh sees them, and in which we are fully disposed to concur, it is evident, that they have no more analogy with the general principles and conduct of the Bible Society, than exists between a principle of exclusion, and one of universal admission.

We trust that enough has now been said to convince every unprejudiced member of the Bible Society, that the church is in no danger from his assistance towards the charitable distribution of the *Bible alone* in his own country; and that in following Dr. Marsh's advice, by withdrawing from the society, or endeavouring to confine its operation to foreign countries, he would help to prostrate one of the most glorious fabrics that ever was raised among a Christian people; and to ruin an institution, in which (to use the words of a benevolent American) "the friends of Christianity have at last met on common ground, and combined their efforts to promote the best of causes, by means about which *it is impossible to dispute*." These were the objects of the preceding pages. But in our next number we shall have

*See first number of the British Review, article X.

another and a more pleasing duty to perform ; namely, to recommend the society to the patronage of those who are not yet subscribers, but who are disposed at a small expence to confer extensive benefit on mankind. We have lately read over its reports and inquired into their authenticity ; and we must declare that on a candid and dispassionate perusal, we cannot find in them any of those “ violations of truth and candour,” which Dr. Marsh says he has discovered. There are many marks of zeal, and a slight tincture of enthusiasm in some parts of the foreign correspondence. But we are not among those who are disposed to quarrel with the religious sentiments of a foreigner, because they are not ground down and polished to suit exactly the fastidious taste of our cool and undisturbed society. We are willing to make allowance for the different impressions, which different states of society, of happiness, of prosperity, and of government, inevitably make upon the minds of men ;—and it adds very much to the pleasure which the curious and interesting information in the society’s foreign correspondence imparts, that it also exhibits a no less curious and affecting portrait of the human heart, under the violent political changes, and the individual oppression and misery, which the events of the last seven years have produced.

The matter and arguments of the work before us have hitherto been the principal objects of our attention.

If, as critics, we are bound to give an opinion as to the style of the composition, we must observe that there is a coarseness about it, which we cannot but very much lament to see employed in controversy on any subject, particularly on one so nearly connected with religion and the charities of life. It also occurs to us, that Dr. Clarke, in a jocose answer to the professor’s “ inquiry,” written on the evening of its publication, points out many instances of false grammar. We do not think it worth our while to verify them. It would, to be sure, have been more creditable, had the laboured performance of a Cambridge professor not been open to such an imputation. But since, had we been pleased with his argument, we should certainly as individuals have overlooked his language, so we shall not in our corporate capacity revenge our individual disappointment by visiting his grammatical errors with severity.

Upon the whole, and in conclusion, we cannot help observing of this pamphlet, that in every page it too plainly betrays that it had its origin in little else than a pure and abstract love of controversy. A more lamentable waste of real and otherwise respectable talent, in propping up theorems constructed upon a rotten foundation, we have not witnessed during the short period

of our critical labours. That a clergyman of the church of England, of acknowledged abilities and superior learning, should deliberately undertake to annihilate a society, which has for its sole object the diffusion of the pure and unadulterated word of God, and that too in the nineteenth century, would be inconceivable, if the truth were not before our eyes. It is enough to raise the ghosts of Cranmer and of Luther. And we can scarcely bring our minds to believe, that the learned professor had seriously any other object in view, than to give the world a specimen of the extent to which the powers of ratiocination can smother the plain dictates of common sense. Because men circulate Bibles alone, they are therefore hostile to the liturgy! Because they associate with dissenters in a pious and charitable work, they therefore undermine our religious establishment! As well might it be said, because the society for promoting christian knowledge does not print and circulate the homilies, it is therefore hostile to them; or, what is as good as this logic, because we wear boots, *therefore* we dislike shoes. Most sorry should we be to possess Dr. Marsh's talents and learning, were we capable of abusing them in support of such an argument. But he is evidently fond of controversy; we profess to hate it. Perhaps our opposite tastes may be ascribed to the same cause; — the perversity of mankind in entertaining a bias directly towards that course which is rather opposed to, than consistent with, their professional character. We sincerely hope, however, when the explosion is over, and the professor has had his amusement, that he will make the "amende honorable," and finish by subscribing his guinea to the Bible Society.

ART. IX. *Chronological Retrospect; or, Memoirs of the Principal Events of the Mahomedan History, from the Death of the Arabian Legislator, to the Accession of the Emperor Akbar, and the Establishment of the Moghul Empire in Hindustan. From original Persian Authorities.* By Major David Price, of the East India Company's Service. In three Volumes 4to. Vol. I. London, 1811. Booth, &c.

It has been the usage of the more recently established periodical vehicles of criticism, of which we have frequently availed ourselves, to consider *subjects* rather than *works*: using the latter, or even their titles only, as a convenience

for the introduction of essays on the former. We are convinced that the exercise of the privilege in the hands of an original thinker may often be productive of advantage to the public when attended by judgment and discretion, although in the instance of the work before us, we feel disposed to discuss its merits rather than its comprehensive subject: but giving no pledge that we shall not avail ourselves to a certain extent, of the latitude allowed us, and stretch our view beyond the limits of the book itself.

Not, however, that we shall attempt any regular introduction or analysis of this compendium of Mahomedan history. Such an attempt would lead us into a retrospect much beyond our limits; and would demand a research, which though fully aware of its importance, we are not equally convinced of our ability to prosecute in a profitable or satisfactory manner.

It ought not, in reason, to be always expected, that the conductors of a critical journal can be so fully competent to the elucidation of every topic, as the authors themselves who select such topics for their peculiar investigation. This is a concession that has not, so far as we are aware, been yet made by any of our predecessors, or competitors, or coadjutors, or whatever term may suit them best; and we therefore trust that we shall be allowed the whole merit of the originality, as well as of the modesty,—and it is not affected—of the concession. We feel no self-abasement in admitting, for instance, that the author of the work before us is more competent to the task of introducing his history by a preliminary discourse than we are of doing it for him. He evidently has devoted very respectable talents, and many patient and toilsome years, to the development of his subject, or, as the language of his authorities would more poetically express it—to fathoming the ocean of oriental literature, and collecting the scattered pearls that he has here strung on the thread of history. That he has done so much demands our acknowledgments. Still we cannot but regret that he has not done something more. We think that he has introduced his subject too abruptly, and wish that he had devoted a few pages to its previous discussion. The value of Sale's excellent translation of the Koran, is greatly enhanced by his preliminary discourse. The same may be said of the history of Charles V. And a preface of a similar nature to Major Price's Retrospect would have remedied the evident abruptness of the present introduction. His object is, moreover, farther removed from the ordinary course of reading and re-

flection, than that of either of the works alluded to; and he will, we think, see the reasonableness of our remark.

We shall therefore plainly suggest to him, as the completion of his work is still prospective, the expediency of a few preliminary pages, explaining the theological and political state of the countries that first embraced Islām, or were overwhelmed by its ferocious champions. Such a chapter might be still constructed as a preface to the first volume, which is evidently its most appropriate place; and if given even with the last would easily arrange itself with the work. A map in outline of the extended theatre on which his *tragedians* acted, would afford great additional facilities toward a connected view of the author's diversified and intricate drama. We are further induced to suggest a specification more at length of the authorities from which the facts detailed in this work are taken. There is, indeed, a notice of this in every page, so far as regards the *title* of the works so laid under contribution: but we rather wish for a catalogue raisonnée of those original authorities. It will not, we trust, be unacceptable, if, in its absence, we briefly attempt the notice which we recommend more extensively to Major Price, with respect to the authorities of his first volume.

I. Most of our oriental readers will anticipate the Rouzet us suffa as the primary source of almost all authentic Mahomedan history. From this valuable work Major Price has extracted a considerable portion of the facts and details which he has skilfully connected with those with which other works have supplied him. This estimable history is usually stiled *Tarikh Ruzet al Saffa*, differently spelled of course by different writers. The original title is تاريخ روضة الصفا, and it is by

many orientalists thought to be the best history in the Persian language. It is comprized in seven considerable volumes, each forming a distinct chapter or section. An introduction descants on the utility of history, especially to those in exalted stations; and a postscript or conclusion is descriptive of the city of Herat, at that time the capital of Khorassan. The author or compiler of this work is Mahommed Mir Khawend Shah, better known in Europe by the familiar abridgment of his name, Mirkhond. He died in A. D. 1497, during the reign of his patron Sultan Hussein Mirza Abul Ghàzi Behader of Khorassan, fourth in descent from Timùr. The work is dedicated to Ali Shìr, vizir or minister of that munificent prince, the patron of the learned

of his time, a poet, and an esteemed author. Several splendid copies of this work were found in the valuable library of the late Tippoo Sultan. Three of them were presented, with many other valuable manuscripts, by the captors of Seringapatam to the East India company, and are, we presume, duly deposited in their libraries at Calcutta, the India House, and Haily-bury.

II. The work, to which Major Price is secondarily indebted, is the *Habeib usseyr*, as he writes the title; but we should rather, in pursuance of Sir William Jones' system, write *Habib assir* for *حبيب السير* its original title.

This is an able, perspicuous, and comprehensive digest of the voluminous materials of the preceding work, free from its painful prolixity, and therefore held by some good judges even in higher estimation; and considered the most satisfactory historical performance in the Persian language. It consists of three parts or volumes, commencing with the history of the ancient kings of Persia and Arabia; it details that of Mahommed, his descendants the Khaliffs, &c. and concludes with the life of Jenghiz Khan, Timùr and his descendants, to Sultan Hussein of Kharassàn before mentioned. The history is brought down to the 939th year of the Hejra, or A. D. 1532; and the author, according to a memorandum in an Asiatic MS. to which we have had access, died in 1535. This does not accord with the account of Professor Stewart, who in his valuable catalogue of Tippoo's library, assigns 1501 as the date of its dedication; and he calls the *Habib assir* an abridgment of the *Kholasset al akhbâr*, a work that we shall next notice: whereas it appears to us that the converse is rather the fact; the last named work being, as its title implies, itself an abridgment, and in general a meagre one. It is, notwithstanding, from the precision with which in most cases it fixes events, a very valuable old book. Both works are by the same author, Gheyauth, or Ghias ad din, son of Hamam ud din, entitled *Khondemir*, by which latter appellative he is sufficiently celebrated in Europe. He is generally stated to have been the son of Mirkhond, the compiler of the *Rûzet as sûffa*, but we think it probable that he was his grandson; both from the epithet of *Jede aala* applied by him in the *Kholâsset al akhbâr*, to Seyed Khawend, the father of Mirkhond, and from the MS. note before mentioned, which expressly states *Khondemir* to be the grandson of Mirkhond by a daughter—and, (minutely recording the period,) that he died in the

neighbourhood of Mandu, or Menduah, an important fortress north of the river Narmada, or Nerbudah. The epithet of Jed e aala may, indeed, be translated either great grandfather, or superior or exalted grandfather: or *aala* may have the same allusion as *merhoum* 'who is departed.' Jed e aala may thus mean my grandfather who is on high, or in heaven above; a pious mode of expression, admitting of considerable variety, and usually adopted by well educated Mahomedans when writing or speaking of their departed predecessors, or of any sacred or revered character. We have been induced to notice these points touching the celebrated writers Mirkhond and Khondemir, as they are supposed by Petit de la Croix and others to stand in a degree of relationship differing, probably, from the truth; and farther, because their familiar names are not directly applied to the account of their works in Professor Stewart's very curious and valuable catalogue, in which they are placed Nos. I. II. and III. of History.

III. The Kholâsset al Akhbâr, or, as Major Price spells the title Kholausset ul Akhbaur,—خلاصة الأخبار in the original, (respecting which work we have with due deference dissented from the description given by Major Stewart,) is usually comprized in one large volume; and consists of an introduction, ten chapters and a conclusion. Its history terminates about the 905th year of the Hejra, or the 1499th of Christ. This work has been profitably consulted by Major Price; but, having touched on it in our preceding remarks, we shall thus briefly dismiss it.

IV. تاريخ طبري Târikh Tabery, or Tebrî. A most valuable piece of history in Arabic, by Abu Jaffier, otherwise named Mahommed Jaffier ebn Jerrier al Tebrî, who is esteemed as the Livy of Arabian historians. The original work terminates with the early part of the 10th century, and has long been exceedingly scarce. It has been translated into Persian, and the history of the Khalifs continued to A.D. 1118, by Abu Mahommed of Tabriz; but his version, which is, we apprehend, that consulted by Major Price, is extremely uncouth in its structure, and unpolished in its language.

V. تاريخ گزیده. Târikh Gazideh. This is another excellent and well-known compendium of Arabic and Persian history, ending early in the fourteenth century, by Ahmed ben Abû Bekr of Kasvin, an account of which city

and of its illustrious citizens is contained in the sixth and last chapter. This work is deservedly commended by Sir William Jones, and has, with the preceding, furnished Major Price with some important matter.

(Of these works, which may be reckoned the basis of nearly all Arabic and Persian history, Major Price has availed himself, together with others of secondary importance. Such as the *Rabîâ al ebrâr*, the *Muajem è Kabîr*, &c. of which we shall not stop to take particular notice.

The "*Retrospect of Mahomedan history*," is intended to be comprized in three volumes; of which the first only has yet reached us, commencing with the 8th year, and concluding with the subversion of the house of Ommeiyah, in the 132d of the Hejra, or A. D. 750. The second volume will commence, as we are told in the preface to this,

"With the accession of the house of Abbas, and terminate with the death of Sultan Ahmed Jullâeir the Eylekhaunian, in the 812th year of the Hidjrah: and the third volume will commence with the early history of the Tcheghatayan branch of the descendants of Jengueiz, the immediate ancestors of Teymur, and close with the accession of Akbar, in the 963d year of the same era, the 1566th of Christ; each distinctly comprizing within itself a separate portion of oriental history, and all together embracing a period little short of ten centuries." P. vii.

The researches of the author have been directed, and his object in general confined, to trace within this portion of time

"The progress of Mahomedan grandeur, as it shifted its position from its parent seat of Medeinah, first to Kûfah, and next to the envied and luxuriant region of Damascus; thence to Baghdâd and the banks of the Tigris; to Tebreiz or Tauris, Sûltânniuh, and Herât; and ultimately to the Indus and the banks of the Ganges. The scene of these transactions which he has attempted to delineate, will accordingly be laid for the most part in the regions extending from the river Oxus to the Peninsula of Arabia, and from the Ganges to the shores of the Mediterranean." P. iv.

It is impracticable to give, within an ordinary compass, any satisfactory analysis of a work superabounding in incidents, and in such a variety of transitions. We shall therefore content ourselves with offering some extracts as fair specimens of its stile, and such remarks as the subjects may suggest.

The opening of the work affords a favourable specimen of

the correctness of the author in points more important than that of mere talent.

“That there existed in the genius of Mahomedanism something calculated to inspire the most powerful energies and exertions, has been too widely and fearfully exemplified in the unparalleled successes of its votaries, to be now made a question. But without conceding too far to the opinions of some very distinguished modern authorities on the subject, there are, in the experience of succeeding ages, sufficient grounds for the belief, that its early and rapid advancement is to be ascribed, in an equal degree, to the degenerate spirit of its opposers, and to the already corrupted state of Christianity in the sixth and seventh centuries. If, indeed, the gospel of peace and benevolence, delivered in spotless purity by a mild Redeemer for the welfare and happiness of mankind, had even at that period, through human folly and depravity, suffered a deplorable perversion; if the minds of men were become already unbending and embittered by acrimonious controversies, by impious, unavailing, and contradictory attempts to analyze those mysterious properties of the Divine nature, so far beyond the scope of the human faculties to comprehend; if the sole object of pure and rational devotion had been in a manner lost sight of, through the degrading substitution of image worship; ‘through the cloud of martyrs, saints, and angels, interposed before the throne of Omnipotence;’ it is almost impossible to avoid the inference, that in the state of ignorance which then generally pervaded the mass of society, the world was sufficiently predisposed to embrace any change or innovation that might be recommended for its adoption, under the influence of superior talents, and a plausible exterior of sanctity. The surprise will therefore cease, that with endowments of no ordinary stamp, and with the united aid of fraud and violence, the self-commissioned and aspiring legislator of the Arabs should have proceeded in engrafting on the minds of his uninformed, but ardent countrymen, together with the sublime and eternal truth that ‘there is only one God,’ an acquiescence at least, if not a belief, in the unconnected rhapsodies of the Korân; and in the fiction necessary perhaps to the establishment of his doctrines, and not less to his views of ambition, that he was the apostle of God.” P. 2.

The account of the death of Mahommed, with which the first chapter terminates, exhibits an instance of the easy faith of the early bigots to the even then widely spread doctrines of Islâm. It exhibits also some lines of the genius of that faith, and a specimen, though no favourable one, of the style of the Rouzet as suffa, whence the relation is taken. We shall extract a portion of it, regretting our inability to include the interesting prelude to the exit from this mortal stage of the extraordinary person adverted to.

“ In concluding the subject with a statement almost too preposterous for the digestion of the grossest credulity, we can offer no apology but that it is throughout closely copied from the sense of the original. When Azrâil, the angel of death, after much preliminary ceremony, had at last obtained admission to the chamber of the prophet, he introduced himself with the customary salutation of the country; and conveyed to him, farthermore, an all hail ! from that Almighty Being whose decrees he was appointed to execute; professing at the same time, that he was enjoined not to interfere with the soul of God’s prophet, without an entire acquiescence on his part. Mahommed entreated that he would suspend the execution of his dreadful office, until the angel Gabriel should appear. At that instant the mandate of eternal beneficence reached the prince who rules over the powers of darkness, to extinguish the flames of hell, while the ministers of destiny were conveying the pure spirit of the favourite of Omnipotence to the mansions of immortality. The never-fading virgins of paradise; the ministring angels; the heavenly choirs; the glorious inmates of interminable bliss, arrayed in all their brightest splendour, all unfolded in countless myriads to celebrate the approach of Mahommed. Charged with intelligence so full of bliss and consolation, the archangel, yet sorrowing for the miseries of humanity, approached the chamber of his expiring friend, who complained in mild remonstrance of his cruel direliction at a crisis to him so awful. Gabriel, in reply, offered to console, and congratulate him at the same time, on those glorious preparations, in which the whole host of heaven were employed for his reception into the realms of bliss. The prophet, with that cold indifference which sometimes marks the hour of death, observed, that so far every thing accorded with his wishes; yet there was some circumstance farther required to afford him that delight of soul, which he still panted to experience. The archangel then added, that the enjoyments of heaven were closed against the prophets and saints, his predecessors, until that happy period when he and his faithful followers should make their entrance. Mahommed still professed that there was something undescribed, without which his happiness must continue imperfect and incomplete. Gabriel, with an indulgence truly ethereal for this unquenchable thirst after happiness in a mere mortal, concluded the catalogue of glories which awaited him, by farther announcing, that whilst his Creator thus chose to signalize him with marks of his divine bounty, so transcendant, so far surpassing the lot of all preceding prophets, to his portion was added the fountain of immortality, in a station of the most exalted glory. And, last of all, to him was assigned the noblest privilege, the richest meed of benevolence; that of interceding before the mercy seat of omnipotence, in behalf of those who believed in him; so that, on the fearful day of judgment, so vast would be the multitude of his followers received

to mercy through his sole mediation, that he should not fail to participate, to a transcendent degree, in that pure and ineffable delight, of which immortal spirits alone are capable of the enjoyment." "Then," said Mahommed, "my soul is satisfied, mine eyes have seen the light."

"He now addressed himself to the angel of death, desiring him to approach, and no longer delay the execution of that office which he was destined to discharge. The grasp of dissolution immediately seized the springs of life. The rapid changes in the prophet's countenance bespoke that the agonies of death were upon him. At the same time, in a bason of cold water placed beside him, he dipped his hands, and with one and the other by turns, wiped off the large drops of perspiration which incessantly bedewed his forehead; until his pure spirit finally forsook its vile and frail enclosure. In his last agonies he is said, fixing his eyes on the roof of the chamber, to have raised his hand and exclaimed, 'Ah! my companion, I attend thee to the realms above.' And gradually dropping his hand, thus quietly expired.

"Such," adds the translator, "is the colouring with which his disciples have thought fit to delineate the exit of their master. We, who are, however, neither compelled nor disposed to believe the correctness of the design, may be permitted, with greater brevity and in plainer language, to state that on Monday the 12th of the first Rabbeia, of the eleventh year of the *Hidjry, in the sixty-third year of his age, and twenty-third of his pretended mission, the prophet of the Arabs condescended to accompany the angel of death, to account for his multiplied impostures before the tribunal of eternal truth." P. 18.

Many features of character in Mahommed and the important persons who succeeded him in the Imàmet and Khelâfet (the pontifical and civil supremacy) tend to exhibit them more familiarly to our perceptions, in this than in any earlier work. But it is highly necessary in consulting eastern authorities, to keep in mind the sectarian bias of the writers. Ardent in their zeal, and yielding to the impulses of a warm and poetical imagination, the historians of India, Persia, and

* Corresponding with the 6th of June, 632, A. D. But some eastern histories record this event to have taken place ten days earlier than the date here assigned to it by the author of the *Rouzet as Suffa*. An anomaly to be accounted for in this instance, probably, by some difference in lunar and solar reckonings, or some corrections of time. But among all the inaccuracies in which eastern writings abound, no one is more striking than those on points of chronology. The Hejra, our readers will recollect, is the Mahomedan era, marking the *flight*, which is the meaning of the word, of the impostor from Mekka to Medinah, A.D. 622. This era was not however adopted by the Mahomedans, until seventeen years after the event, when the Khalif Omar established it. The Mahomedans reckon by lunar time; their months being alternately of thirty and twenty-nine days; thirty-two lunar years, and thirteen days or nearly, make thirty-one solar years.

Arabia, are rarely restrained within the bounds of moderation, either in their censures or their praise: and no small share of discernment is requisite in a collator of their annals, in apportioning the degree of credit due to their hyperbolical delineations both of character and fact. In this, as well as in reconciling contradictions and discrepancies, we think Major Price has been successful in no ordinary degree. Future writers and students on subjects connected with the origin and progress of Mahomedanism, will, in their profitable consultation of this laborious work, find their researches much facilitated by the absence of the mass of rubbish which this author has rejected.

Although the early annals of Islâm are, in their most striking feature, little else than a catalogue of atrocities, perpetrated by the cold calculating hand of the ruthless propagators of this dire scourge, it is still certain that the breast of Mahommed was sometimes animated by mild and generous feelings. And his immediate successors are admitted, even by writers of a different sect, to have set high examples of many of the virtues that are most ennobling to man. Respecting Mahommed we will extract a passage or two in which this variety of dispositions will appear; and, if we can find room, will also give others elucidatory of the character of the four illustrious Khalifs who succeeded him: viz. Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman, and Ally.

A herald of the prophet was put to death by the people of Syria; and the circumstance is particularly recorded by the oriental historians, as the only instance of such suffering in any of his messengers. Syria had been recently recovered from the Persians by the Greek emperor Heraclius, called Herkal by eastern writers; and it was against this devoted prince, (who, it may be amusing to notice by the way, is described by them, though without any perceptible authority or probability, to have become an early convert to '*the faith*,') that the wrath of its ferocious champions was about to be directed. The expedition to avenge this insult was the first undertaken by them beyond the confines of Arabia. In his valedictory address to the troops, Mahomed is said to have

“ Enjoined them in their exertions in, what he was pleased to denominate, the cause of the most High, and in avenging the injury which he had sustained from their enemies the people of Syria, to forbear molesting the harmless sectaries of domestic seclusion; to spare the weaker sex, the infant at the breast, and the aged already hastening from this scene of mortality; to abstain from demolishing

the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants, and from the destruction or mutilation of any species of fruit-tree; particularly of the palm, so necessary to the sustenance of men and animals residing under the influence of a burning sun." P. 3.

This was in the early stage of his career. In the latest, on his death-bed, at the moment that a man's character is most truly seen, one of his injunctions to his attendant adherents was "to extirpate from the Arabian peninsula the errors of polytheism, and those impious doctrines which presumed to assign associates, or rather rivals in glory, to the Creator of the universe." An injunction to "extirpate an error" was readily understood in the Arabian dialectics of that day; their practical polemics soon furnished them with arguments all-potent to silence the opposition of their heretical antagonists.

In a desperate conflict that took place near Muthah, in consequence of the insult offered to Mahommed, as already noticed, in the person of his messenger, the emperor Heraclius is said to have lost no less than a hundred thousand Syrian and Roman troops, who shamefully abandoned the field to an almost incredible disparity of numbers; having been opposed by only three thousand of those "bold and energetic enthusiasts, in whose hearts the fear of death had been in a great measure obliterated by the prospective glories and rewards of martyrdom."

In elucidation of the following extract referring to the battle, it may be necessary to premise that

"Zeid, the general of the Moslems, boldly advancing the standard of Mahommed, was among the first that fell. He was succeeded in the post of danger and command by Jauffer, the son of Abû-taleb, the prophet's cousin, and the brother of his favourite son-in-law and earliest proselyte (Ally). This brave chief having lost both his arms, and continuing notwithstanding to bear the sacred standard in his bosom, also fell covered with wounds."

"On this occasion, we are seriously told by the Mahomedan writers, that providence interposed to annihilate the distance between Muthah and Medeinah, in order to bring the occurrences of the field of battle under the immediate view of the prophet. In other words, on a curtain or sheet which he caused to be extended before him, Mahommed pretended to observe the progress of the action, the casualties of which he recited, in the order in which they occurred, to his companions on the spot, three days before any intelligence of the victory was supposed to have reached Medeinah. The exertions of Khaled were considered as so far surpassing the ordinary energies of human prowess, that he received from the prophet the appellation of Seyf Ullah, or Sword of God,

which he ever afterwards retained. And to console the afflicted relatives of his kinsman Jauffer, he represented that, in Paradise, in exchange for the arms he had lost, he had been furnished with a pair of wings, resplendent with the blushing glories of the ruby, and with which he was become the inseparable companion of the archangel Gabriel, in his volitations through the regions of eternal bliss. Hence, in the catalogue of martyrs, he has been denominated Jauffer teyaur, the winged Jauffer. But it would be endless to enumerate the fictions imposed by this extraordinary man, on the credulity of his followers." P. 5.

The progress of this campaign is detailed in an interesting and pleasing stile. Its successful result, with other instigations, urged Mahommed to a second enterprize, notwithstanding a season of scarcity, in the same quarter.

"The prophet was not to be dissuaded from his resolution by any consideration, and he accordingly summoned his associates to aid him in the equipment of the expedition, and in the relief of those distresses under which the poorer orders of their fellow-citizens were then suffering. The meek and unassuming Abû Bukker set the example of liberality, by consigning the whole of his property to support the expedition; Omar contributed the moiety of his possessions; and Othman gave three hundred camels completely equipped, and a thousand pieces of gold. Others subscribed in proportion, and not a few of the women made a sacrifice of their jewels, to bear a part in the expences of the war." P. 7.

It is not disagreeable to record these instances of generous patriotism, however ill-directed the views they were intended to promote. Mahommed was thus enabled to equip a very formidable force, with which he marched from Medeinah toward the Syrian frontier: but he was destined at the very outset to experience the most mortifying defection among his followers: his friends the Jews were among the foremost to set the example.

"To their crafty insinuations," we are informed in a preceding page, "this second enterprize has been ascribed. They urged him to the conquest of Syria as an argument of the truth of his divine mission, which could not, they said, be more powerfully evinced than by its manifestation in the peculiar land of prophecy, and the destined scene on which were to be displayed the awful terrors of final judgment." P. 6.

Hence, perhaps, may be discovered one, and an early, cause, of the bitter enmity that Mahommed uniformly exhibited against the unhappy Israelites.

The succeeding stages furnished him with a recurrence of the same mortifications: his troops, ill seconding the pa-

triotic zeal manifested by the citizens of Medeinah, abandoned him in whole divisions. This he affected to make light of, with an observation that strongly exhibits his aptitude and promptness in resource.—“Had there,” said he, “been but a particle of virtue in the composition of these wretched deserters, their destiny would unquestionably have led them to share in my fortunes.” P. 8.

Among the earliest and most virtuous of the converts and adherents of Mahommed, is to be named the venerated Abu Bekr, his father-in-law, and immediate successor in the supremacy both pontifical and civil. The interesting events of his reign are comprised in the second chapter of the Retrospect, towards the conclusion of which the following passages occur descriptive of his character and latter hours.

“—After thus providing to the best of his judgment, for the prosperity and repose of his government, Abû Bukker devoted the fleeting remains of life, to considerations of a more domestic nature. Meek and modest, pious and humble beyond his contemporaries, the first of the successors of Mahommed, in his vest of woollen, had but few private arrangements to embarrass his last moments. He only requested, that his daughter Ayaishah would be responsible for the payment of the very trifling debt of a few dirhems, which he expressed his anxiety to discharge. He then desired that when the awful event should have taken place, from which no created being was exempted, his body should be conveyed to the entrance of the prophet's sepulchre; and if his hope to be laid by the side of his master were favourably received, its gates would be thrown spontaneously open.

“Without descending to a particular enumeration of that catalogue of virtues, which are recorded to have adorned the character of this prince; and which the illustrious Ally, in a species of funeral oration, addressed to the assembled chiefs of Medeinah, sealed by an affirmation, that ‘after the death of their legislator, the community of Isslâm would, perhaps, never have to deplore a greater calamity than the loss of that man, of whose mild and pacific virtues the hand of death had then deprived them;’ it will be sufficient to observe, that, however in points of doctrine otherwise hostile, all nations and sects of Mahomedans appear, in this respect, to have discarded all difference of opinion; and to have united in consecrating the memory of Abû Bukker in the general esteem and perpetual veneration of his country.” P. 58.

Ayaishah, the turbulent and ambitious daughter of this meek and pious prince, was the only virgin espoused by Mahommed; and hence, as insufficiently noticed by Major Price, the change in her father's name. He is very seldom called by any other than Father of the virgin. Mahommed's

other wives were widows; and taken by him, apparently, from considerations of their wealth and influence in furtherance of his ambitious projects. Notwithstanding the seditious and undignified features in the character and conduct of this extraordinary woman, and the odium attached to her memory, the appellation by which she is usually designated is mother of the faithful: not however, as it might seem on a cursory perusal of an eastern history, exclusively; for that appellation is extended to the other prolific wives of the prophet; but as their names are seldom mentioned or alluded to, the daring and obtrusive Ayaishah appears to monopolize that respectful title.

Fatimah, the offspring of the father and mother of the faithful, was espoused by Ally; by which connexion, through their sons Hussein and Husseyne who were massacred at Kerbela, hath proceeded the race of SEYEDS, or descendants of Mahommed. The word seems to have been formerly equivalent to *Prince*, but has now no such meaning. The Seyeds are however still respected as such in all Mahommedan countries; and generally distinguish themselves by green vestments, or a turban at least of that colour, deemed sacred to the prophet, as having been sanctified by his predilection and adoption. But very different is the estimation in which the character of their uterine progenitor is held—for whatever deference might naturally have been extended by his zealous followers to the person who stood in so tender a relationship with their prophet, had her conduct admitted of such extension, she lived a disreputable tool of the turbulent, and sunk disgracefully in her career of sedition. Thus the author, in concluding the narrative of the busy and interesting scenes in which she was so conspicuous, and in describing her appropriate death, remarks, that “Ayaishah, having rendered herself odious to all parties, appears to have thus ultimately perished without the regret of any.” P. 386.

Respecting the characters of Omar and Osman, the successors of Abu-Bekr, the history of whose reigns occupies the third, fourth, and fifth chapters of the Retrospect, we will endeavour to find room for some extracts.

“To the prudence of Omar, or rather his singular talent for discernment, the prophet bore ample testimony when he bestowed upon him the appellative of *Faurûk auzem**, ‘the great discrimi-

* “He severed from his body the head of a Mahommedan, who, in a dispute with an Israelite, refused to abide by the decision of the prophet. Vide Sale’s excellent translation of the Korân. Vol. I. p. 168.”

nator,' (between truth and falsehood); and of his other virtues, if we may be permitted to form an opinion from the eulogium pronounced over his remains, by the competitor of his views on the sovereignty, the brave and liberal minded Ally, the memorial would be abundantly flattering. In this he is made to affirm, that Omar was the person, the record of whose actions, and whose appearance in the presence of his Creator, he wished his own to resemble: neither could he doubt, as they were inseparable in this world, that he should be again united to the favourite of Omnipotence, and the friend of his bosom the faithful Abû Bukker, in the mansions of eternal bliss.

"In short, apart from the lust of foreign conquest and usurpation—in which, unfortunately for mankind, he had too many examples to imitate, and to which he was, perhaps, gradually impelled by circumstances acting upon an intemperate zeal to promote the imposture in which he was engaged—the character assigned him, even by the historians of an adverse party, may in some respects justify us in considering the second successor of Mahomed, among those princes, who, by an impartial distribution of justice, a rigid and prudent economy, and an inflexible integrity in the application of the resources of the state, have added substantial glory, to the deceitful splendors which have been too frequently found to decorate the insignia of royal authority.

"We have already observed that Omar was the first that assumed the title of Ameir ul Moûmenein; the prince or commander of the faithful. He was also the first who adjudged the punishment of eighty lashes to such as disregarded the prohibition against wine; and he set the example, in which he was generally imitated by his successors, of perambulating the streets in disguise, to discover the temper and manners of his people. According to his request, he was buried in the chapel of Ayaishah by the side of Abû Bukker." P. 146.

After a reign of a little more than ten years, Omar, while in the performance of his religious duties in the public mosque of Medeinah, received a mortal wound from the dagger of a Christian slave named Abû Lûlû, whose memory is hence deservedly execrated by the Sûnnihs, or tribe of Omar. But, in the true spirit of sectarian illiberality, the adverse party, the Sheiahs, or adherents of Ally, extol the act; and have dignified the villain its perpetrator with the name of Shuja-ud-dein, the hero of the faith: though by no one more than by the generous leader whose memory is thus disgraced by his partizans, would such an act have been duly reprobated.

The puissant empire of the Khalifs attained, under the reign of Omar, pretty nearly to those limits which, in actual

sovereignty at least, it doth not appear to have exceeded in any period of its history. Not, however, as is remarked by the author in the review which he takes of this vast boundary, that the countries within it were yet in any permanent state of security.

“The great province of Khorassaun was not finally subjugated until the reign of Othman; and many formidable insurrections in different parts of the Persian territory, evinced, on a variety of occasions, that abhorrence of foreign dominion, and regard for the religious rites of their ancestors, which continued to animate the disciples of pyrolatry, until repeated discomfitures, massacre and expulsion, succeeded in blending at length, with a very trifling exception, the vanquished with their oppressors, under the united and powerful sway of the Korân.” P. 147.

Passing however this eventful reign, we proceed to extract a passage delineating the character of Othman.

“To the virtues of this prince, when he was no more, his enemies appear to have done ample justice; the bitterest of whom, even Ayaishah, so strongly suspected of having hastened his destruction, and Saud e Wekauss, seem to have mourned his death with unfeigned sorrow. But if his character were to be estimated from the recorded testimony of his own party, there is scarcely a human excellence in which he will be found wanting. Of surpassing clemency, beneficence and piety; in integrity of mind and purity of manners most eminent; an exemplar to the orthodox, and a most upright and incorruptible judge, he was an inflexible enemy to every species of vice; in vigilance so persevering, and of such patient devotion, that he not unfrequently repeated the whole Korân, in the course of one genuflexion. And lastly, though during the period of a long life, he had exhibited repeated proofs of the most undaunted courage, yet so fixed was his repugnance to the effusion of Mahomedan blood, that even when he saw his life at stake, he persisted to the last moment in forbidding his friends to combat in his defence.”

“Othman derived his name of Zûl Nurein, the possessor of the two stars, from enjoying the envied distinction of having been the husband of two of the prophet's daughters, Rukkeiah and Omm-e Kelthûm, by whom, and six other wives, he was the father of eleven sons and six daughters.” P. 184.

Notwithstanding the panegyrics which we have, from among many others, extracted from the work before us on the three successful rivals of Ally in the succession to the Khelâfet, the character of that illustrious prince still rises above them in our estimation: and indeed on the whole, above that of any exalted individual offered to our contem-

plation in the copious chronicles of Islâm. His name awakens in our minds the most respectful remembrance; and the sad fate of his family cannot but excite the deepest sympathy and compassion. He was the fourth, and, as the transient authority exercised by Imâm Hussun scarcely entitles him to be included among them, the last of the Kholfa rashedein, the orthodox or legitimate successors of Mahomed.

The action of a person so dear to all of the Sheiah sect, are of course recorded with commensurate enthusiasm by writers of that party: but, while making due allowance for the feeling which describes Ally as killing in one night five hundred and twenty-three, or according to another authority, more than nine hundred, of his enemies, we easily recognize in him the most heroic valour, as well as exemplary generosity and disinterestedness. In the sanguinary proceeding alluded to, in which upwards of thirty thousand combatants were slain, Ally is stated to have repeated the tekbeir at each mortal sweep of his celebrated double-edged sword zûlfekâr; which committed to memory by an attendant, was considered as competent proof of the extent of the execution. On such slight grounds do oriental historians record as facts, statements of a highly improbable nature. The tekbeir consists in uttering Allâh Akhbâr!—God is great—an exclamation very common in the mouth of Mussulmans, and which served sometimes as a sort of war-whoop, and parole, among the early converts to the faith.

On his death-bed, Ally is said to have acknowledged that, including infidels, and those of his own persuasion against whom the cause of justice had unsheathed his sword, not less than ten thousand individuals had on different occasions fallen by his hand:—an acknowledgment that we may also be permitted to receive with much qualification. Still the inference evidently deducible militates against the received impressions of the magnanimity and generosity and mildness of his character; opposed to which, however, no reproach of cruelty is exhibited even by his political or religious antagonists. Whatever numbers he may have slain, fell fairly, it is averred, in fight, and in contests not sought by him; but provoked by what he might reasonably consider as rebellions against his, and other legitimate authority.

“ He died at the age of sixty-three, after a turbulent and unsettled reign of four years and nine months. His virtues and extraordinary qualifications have been the subject of voluminous panegyrics; and his warlike exploits from his youth upwards have

been particularly celebrated in the * *Khawernamah*, a poem well-known in the east, and which may, perhaps, contend in extravagance with the wildest effusions of European romance. With his acknowledged talents and magnanimity, it is however difficult to account for that train of civil mischief and perpetual discontent, which continued to disturb him through the whole of his reign. His gallant spirit was probably incapable of bending to the ordinary shifts of political craft; and it is perhaps true, that the Arabian chiefs were not yet sufficiently disciplined to quietly see the sovereign authority monopolized by any particular family."

This hero was, like his two immediate predecessors in the *Khelâfet*, destined to fall by the dagger of an assassin, whose zeal was whetted in this instance by the persuasions of a beautiful woman, of whose person he could obtain possession only by the murder of Ally. Her rancour sprang from a feeling of revenge for the loss of her father, brother, and husband, in a recent conflict with the *Khalif*, whose head, together with a male and female slave, and three thousand dirhems, was the price fixed by this sanguinary and mercenary woman for her person, which is thus noticed in the characteristic phraseology of the original.

"On his arrival at *Kûfah*, *Eben Mûljûm* became acquainted with, and violently enamoured of, a woman whose uncommon beauty and attractions he was unable to resist; whose name was *Kettaumah*, and of whom, adds our author, might justly be said, that her face was like the glorious reward of the virtuous, and the tresses which adorned her cheek, like the black record of the villain's guilt." P. 357.

To observe and lament the wanton effusion of human blood, is as common as the perusal of history—and no history exhibits a greater prodigality of life than the rise and establishment of *Islâm*, nor more instances of inexorable inhumanity. The massacre at *Kerbela* of upwards of seventy of the sons, grandsons or intimate connexions of the illustrious Ally, is one of the greatest atrocities on record. It is detailed at considerable length, and in an affecting manner, in the work before us, and we had marked some passages for transcription; but as the necessity of abridging it would deprive the recital of part of its interest, we shall altogether omit it. The mind sickens at the contemplation of such turpitude; feels debased at being forced to acknowledge a fellowship of being with the actors in such scenes; and in the record of the particulars, deeply deplores the desolations of

* "This work, illuminated by numerous paintings, is, or ought to be in the East India Company's Oriental library."

our nature. But there is no piece of history better authenticated, or more amply detailed; and scarcely any historical incident more pathetic. One can scarcely wish to restrain a feeling of satisfaction in knowing that most, if not all of the perpetrators of this horrid and accursed deed, were, as far as this world can witness, condignly punished—all suffered most ignominiously.

Nor doth the justice of this world thus terminate. The memory of all, and the names of many of the murderers are handed down to these times in denouncing anathemas. Hymns and canticles of various sorts are gotten by heart by every Shiàh, and are publicly chaunted in buildings set apart for the purpose, at the annual commemoration of the martyrdom of Kerbela. This mourning, which is, we believe, very uniformly observed in most Mahomedan countries, continues through the first ten days of the month Moherrem. The mourners issue from the Imàmbareh, or buildings above mentioned, with torn garments and dishevelled hair, and run in frantic procession through the streets of their towns, vociferating Hassan and Hùssein, the revered names of Ally's sons, the principal martyrs of Kerbela, with suitable execrations on the Khalif Yezzid, and his murderous abettors. Two slight fabrics, domed, like Mahomedan tombs, highly ornamented with gilding, &c. are carried about by the crowd. Bloody clothes are sometimes placed in these tombs; and other fictions of pantomimic sorrow are introduced to excite a more lively remembrance, and a stronger feeling of resentment. To such a pitch of frenzy are these fanatics sometimes wrought, that it is not safe for a Sunneh to encounter them. The writer of this article has had opportunities of witnessing these wild processions, and has seen bloodshed and lives lost in such encounters.

We are strongly impelled to remark the frequency of challenges to individual combat, which are recorded in the volume before us, and the avidity with which they were accepted, between parties in the ranks opposed to each other. They forcibly remind us of the candidates for this heroic distinction in the Iliad. The taunting speeches of the duellists, and the unfeeling insolence of the victors, are also similar; and, indeed, substituting Mahomedan and Pagan, or Christian, for Greek and Trojan; and Khaled or Ally, and Kerreib or Gherraur, for Hector and Ajax, and other heroes, the result is truly Homeric. Nay, we have (p. 111) a warrior spreading dismay and ruin through the enemy's ranks disguised in the armour of one still more celebrated. The Mahomedan

Patroclus is not, indeed, slain; nor the armour of the Achilles of the faith lost, or the similarity would have been too complete for accidental coincidence. A reference to pages 44, 110, 119, 280, and others of this first volume, will evince the accuracy of this comparison in a very amusing manner.

Nor were these challenges and combats confined to men of inferior note. Generals and commanders in chief, and even sovereigns, among the early Mahomedans and their opponents, as well as among the Greeks and Trojans, gave and accepted challenges, and contended for mastery in the presence of their armies. Foremost on these occasions, were the Khalif Ally, and the general of cavalry, the heroic and generous Khaled. A poet has immortalized the name and exploits of the latter; and that the reader may form some judgment of the strain of the work, our author has selected and translated these four lines—

“Thy irresistible valour hath hushed the raging tempest; in battle thou hast been armed with the tusks of the elephant, and the jaws of the alligator; thy mace hath hurled the terrors of the day of judgment through the Roman provinces; and the lightning of thy scimitar hath spread wretchedness and mourning among the cities of the Franks.” P. 89.

This fierce and intractable man was, like his apparent prototype Achilles, alive to the potency of female blandishments; and Khaled also persisted, to an extent involving the deep displeasure of the Agamemnon of Islâm, in his attachment to *his* bright Briseis.

Tiresome and disgusting it would be to collect half the instances of atrocity detailed in this volume. We shall briefly notice two or three; premising that we are willing to hope for the sake of humanity that a little oriental exaggeration is mixed with the details. A villain “armed with a little brief authority,” finished his bloody career consistently. While in the agonies of dissolution, it was made known to him that certain obnoxious persons, to the number of several hundreds, were in his power. Speechless, and equal only to one slight effort, he passed his hand across his throat, indicating significantly and sufficiently, by this departing act, the fate of his prisoners. This is told of Yez-zid, the author of the tragedy at Kerbela. On a par almost with this in point of feeling, is the relation of another writer, that eastern despots have been known, without interrupting the conversation or amusement in which they may, at the moment, have been engaged, to notify their will as to

an execution, by a slight horizontal motion to and fro of the hand. This would be at once understood, and acted on as a sufficient death warrant. Executions in the East are generally by decapitation.

Of another ferocious tyrant, it is related in the work before us on the authorities enumerated in the early part of this article, that

“ Exclusive of those who perished in battle, the amount of whom can be estimated by Him alone who knows all things, there fell by the arbitrary mandates of Hejauje not less than one hundred and twenty thousand persons. In a dream in which he appeared to some one soon after his death, he is made to declare that although for each of this numerous list of victims of his fury, divine justice was satisfied with inflicting on him the punishment of a single death; yet that for the execution of Sauid alone,” (one of his more illustrious victims) “ he was condemned to suffer seventy times the agony of dissolution. There were after all found in the different prisons of his government, when Providence thought fit to relieve mankind from his oppressions, full thirty thousand men and twenty thousand women; many of them confined in that species of prison invented by himself, without roof: in which, alternately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun, and the vicissitudes of cold, heat, and rain, the unhappy victims were left to suffer every variety of pain and wretchedness.” P. 480.

On his death bed, haunted by his reflections, he employed confidential persons to ascertain the public opinion of his character; and had the consolation to learn the general hope and belief that the hottest place in hell was assuredly reserved for him.

Another of these monsters swore a tremendous oath, that if it were his fortune to be successful in an enterprize that he was about to undertake, he would not restrain the sword from its course of vengeance, until the blood of his opponents had flowed in a stream sufficient to turn the wheel of a corn mill, and he had appeased his hunger by eating bread prepared from flour so ground. His enterprize succeeded; and he caused twelve thousand of his prisoners to be led into a water course and butchered; and diverting a neighbouring streamlet through its channel, turned a mill with the human gore liquefied, and commingled with the water. His conscience thus appeased by the promised repast, he proceeded to the farther gratification of his vengeance, by causing four thousand more of his prisoners to be gibbeted. This, by the way, appertains also to Yezid.

Merwaun, another of these instruments of wrath, after

the capture of a fortress, seated himself at one of its gates, and causing the garrison to be led out, one by one, saw their throats cut to the last man. Proceeding in his career, he promised a thousand pieces of gold, and the most beautiful maiden in another fort that resisted him, to the man who should first enter it. The place was captured, and

“ the principal adventurer was punctually paid his thousand dinars, and desired by Merwaun to take his choice among the fairest of the female captives. This he accordingly proceeded to do; and having fixed upon a young girl of exquisite beauty, was conducting her downwards from the fort; when, seizing her opportunity, the generous damsel suddenly clasped the odious foreigner in her arms with all the force of female revenge, and casting herself headlong from the works before he could disengage himself from her embrace, they were both together dashed to pieces in the fall. Enraged at such an instance of desperate and mortal antipathy, Merwaun caused every human being that was found in the place to be put to death, without mercy and without exemption.” P. 506.

Opposed to these frequent instances of enormity, in which hundreds of thousands of human beings perished,—to such an aggregate, indeed, in the first century of the Mahomedan era, as, making due allowance for the exaggerations of historians, may excite surprize, how, in such countries, such hosts could be produced and reproduced;—opposed to these enormities, occasional instances of humanity are recorded by the Arabian writers, and preserved by the author of the Retrospect, who does not withhold from himself and his readers the little consolation to be thence derived; but, with a generous sentiment, indulges in the contemplation of them, as the refreshing Oasis of the moral desart of Arabia.

We were desirous of noticing some parts of this work, in which the author treads the ground preoccupied by Gibbon; but for reasons that may be too obvious, must now decline it—remarking merely, that Major Price, in adhering to the authority of the original sources whence he has drawn the materials for his work, differs considerably in several instances from the relation of that celebrated writer; to whose general accuracy, in-as-far as agreeing in the main with such authorities may deserve that commendation, this Retrospect bears honourable testimony. Considering that Mr. Gibbon was unable to consult such original works, his industrious research, and discriminating talents, demand as much praise as can ever be due to great abilities allied to

overweening vanity, and grossly misapplied to purposes for which they were never bestowed.

Our readers will have perceived that our opinion of Major Price's work is favourable; and we were gratified at being accidentally afforded an opportunity of ascertaining, that a similar sentiment prevailed in quarters more important to its author's interests. It is patronized, we understand, by the Indian government, and we are fully warranted in saying that the importance of the subject, the competent knowledge of the author in the language of the originals, his indefatigable patience of enquiry, his judgment in selection, and facility in arranging and communicating the result, give him a fair claim also to the patronage of the literary public.

Notwithstanding the length to which this article is extended, there is yet another topic arising out of the work before us, that we were desirous of discussing at some length; but must be now content with merely glancing at it. This is, the similarity which may be observed in many instances in the conduct of the early Mahomedans and the modern French. The revolutionary and imperial system of warfare and of policy, may have been brought to the recollection of our readers by many of the preceding pages; and we do not think that the likeness would grow faint on a more extended comparison. We have for some time suspected, and now believe, that Bonaparte has projected a considerable, if not a radical, change, in the religion of France, and the countries immediately subjected to, or influenced by, him. What sort of religion such a man may see fit to introduce can be imagined only in the abstract. Its details will hinge on the political expediency of the day; for in his hands religion can be nothing more than an engine of policy. The unyielding spirit of the religion of Christ is ill adapted to his purposes, and he has more than once hinted, that his friends must adopt a different and a more convenient system of morals. That of Mahomed, though not, perhaps, exactly suited to his views, still offers greater pliancy and more facilities; and is as likely as any other, to serve as a basis on which to rear his anti-christian superstructure. The literature of Paris would oppose no material obstacles. The Koran is there much less insulted than the Gospel: and we are disposed to suspect that when it shall seem good to Bonaparte to raise his religious standard, its emblem, without perhaps any exact conformity, will partake much more of the Crescent than of the Cross.

ART. X. *A Series of Plays, in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger Passions of the Mind.* Volume the Third. By Joanna Baillie. London, 1812. Longman.

THOUGH it is not to be denied, that the end and purpose of dramatic writing is to affect the mind through the eye and ear by living representations of manners, characters, and events, yet every reader of sensibility feels, that much of the interest which a well written play excites, is wholly independent of the stage and its apparatus. The impression produced by giving utterance to passion and sentiment in their natural language, instead of relating or describing their operations, is so well understood, that the epic poets have perpetually assumed the province of the tragedian to animate their story; and history itself has sometimes borrowed the graces of dramatic composition to give to its facts and characters a fresher colouring and bolder delineation. These effects are, in a great measure, produced by the mere dialogue of the drama, without any aid from personification or scenic exhibition. When the language in which passion is expressed, or rather expresses itself, is faithfully copied, the scene is present to the imagination and the heart of the reader, and a better arrangement for stage effect is often supplied out of the furniture of a creative fancy, than any contrivances of art could produce. To give a sort of ideal presence to a character or a transaction, to embody it, as it were, to the conception of the reader, and to place him in the midst of what he reads, is the privilege of the dramatic poet; but since much is within his power, much is expected of him, and if he moves us only with the force of narration or description, or inspires only a tranquil train of common feelings, we deny to him the honours of success in an art, to which the empire of the passions is committed.

This power of the dramatic art, Miss Baillie has made subservient to her purpose of exhibiting, in detail, the passions of the strongest cast, such as love, hatred, fear, and ambition. And her merit, as it respects invention, appears to consist in this, that, whereas the subject of ancient tragedy was chiefly the accomplishment of some great event, in which the destiny of a hero was involved, the passions being rather the effects, than the causes, of the vicissitudes which befall him;—and, whereas the modern drama so complicates the passion with the facts, and carries it so suddenly to its height by artificial contrivances and violent provocation, that it exhibits few of its complexional hues, or of the steps by which it mounts to its crisis; the

authoress of the present work has framed her incidents in entire subserviency to the display of the passion she has chosen as her subject; shews it to us in its unmixed and specific operation, and acquaints us with the earlier stages of its growth, as it secretly draws its nutriment from the recesses of the heart. Where the passion is necessary to urge on the catastrophe, it must be armed with its full strength for the purpose; and it is for this reason, that, in most of our plays which depend for the developement of the story upon the agency of some powerful passion, the passion comes at once full grown into action, is stimulated to its fatal purposes by the conflicts to which it is exposed, and there is time only for the disclosure of that full effulgence in which the shades of its early varieties are assimilated and lost. Keeping her purpose always in her view, Miss Baillie has made the stories of her plays extremely simple, well understanding that intricacy of plot, and the stir and agitation of complex occurrences, would distract the attention from that mental process of the passion by which it slowly arrives at its consummation. And we think it must be admitted, that in her three best performances she has, with great skill, contrived to fix the mind of the reader with so deep an interest on the dreadful phenomena of the victorious passion, as to require no stimulus from multiplied incidents, or the mysterious unravelments of a dark story. The pathos of her two plays of *Basil* and *De Montfort*, in which the passions of love and hate are purely displayed in the manner above described, is so forcibly impressive; the struggles which these passions maintain with opposite qualities, until their ascendancy is complete, are painted with so close an observation of nature; and the storm that accompanies the crisis of the passion, as well as the dead calm that succeeds to the accomplishment, are rendered so picturesque by the magic of this lady's pencil, that we can scarcely think any praise from us above the debt of gratitude we owe her for the pleasure she has given us.

We should have thought neither of these last mentioned plays ill adapted for representation on the stage. *De Montfort*, we believe, has had a trial, but with no good success, though supported by the best acting at this time within the competence of the stage to produce. Perhaps, after all, to the great majority of our mixed audiences, nothing is a substitute for the anxiety of suspense, the flutter of conjecture, and the surprise of discovery, which accompany the mysterious and eventful scenes of our favourite tragedies. Perhaps, too, the ethical delineation of a solitary passion, not exhibiting itself in sudden and desultory emotions, as events excite it to action, but holding the mind in uniform subjection, though with gradually increasing violence,

through the whole drama, requires a delicacy of perception, and refinement of feeling, to comprehend its merit, which is the lot only of a small part of those who assert the right of judging for themselves, if not of deciding for others. We may add, that the features of a passion so diabolical as deadly hate, without an adequate cause, produce too blank and uniform an impression of gloomy disgust in the mind, to be compatible with those transitions of feeling, those mingled perturbations of joy and sorrow, which give vivacity and strength to emotion and sympathy, by the succession of transient reliefs which they afford.

It must be admitted, that the genius of Miss Baillie has but a very limited range of subjects on which it can properly be exercised in fulfilling her plan. After exhausting the topics of hate, love, ambition and fear, she has scarcely any pure unmixed passion remaining. Jealousy and revenge are little more than modifications of love and hate, and must pass, at least, through these passions to their consummation. Anger, joy, grief, hope, and pride, are too transitory or weak in their duration or effects, to suit the design of the authoress. In their simple displays they are calculated rather to give force to the incidents of the piece, and to accompany as their natural attendants those vicissitudes of fortune indicated by the peripetia of the Greek tragedians, than to become the entire subjects of dramatic illustration. The characteristics of joy and grief are the same in all mankind, except the superficial differences in the expression, which the modes of education, or the habits of society, may create. The occasions which produce them cannot perpetuate them. They soon mellow into calmer feelings, and expire in their own excesses. Hope, indeed, admits of some continuance, and upon the strength of this quality, Miss Baillie has attempted a play upon it. But it is evident, that though it may continue, it does not vegetate in the bosom like other passions, but becomes gradually weaker by the delay of its accomplishment. Miss Baillie has done the most that could be done with it. She has made a pretty story, in which its eagerness to catch support from shadows, to draw assurances of bliss from trifles lighter than air, to see signs and prognostics in every occurrence, and revelations in every dream, are properly exhibited as the characteristics of this passion at its height; but at its height its influence is confined to the bosom which it inhabits. As we have not yet had an opportunity of delivering our sentiments upon this lady's performances, we think ourselves entitled to take a short retrospective view of some of her earlier productions. But we cannot pass to the consideration of the plays themselves, until we have produced an extract from the introductory

discourse, in which the authoress has very clearly explained the nature and objects of her undertaking.

“ But the last part of the task which I have mentioned as peculiarly belonging to tragedy, unveiling the human mind under the dominion of those strong and fixed passions, which, seemingly unprovoked by outward circumstances, will from small beginnings brood within the breast, till all the better dispositions, all the fair gifts of nature are borne down before them, her poets in general have entirely neglected, and even her first and greatest have but imperfectly attempted. They have made use of the passions to mark their several characters, and animate their scenes, rather than to open to our view the nature and portraiture of those great disturbers of the human breast, with which we are all, more or less, called upon to contend. With their strong and obvious features, therefore, they have been presented to us, stripped almost entirely of those less obtrusive, but not less discriminating traits, which mark them in their actual operation. To trace them in their rise and progress in the heart, seems but rarely to have been the object of any dramatist. We commonly find the characters of a tragedy affected by the passions in a transient, loose, unconnected manner; or if they are represented as under the permanent influence of the more powerful ones, they are generally introduced to our notice in the very height of their fury, when all that timidity, irresolution, distrust, and a thousand delicate traits, which make the infancy of every great passion more interesting, perhaps, than its full-blown strength, are fled. The impassioned character is generally brought into view under those irresistible attacks of their power, which it is impossible to repel; whilst those gradual steps that lead him into this state, in some of which a stand might have been made against the foe, are left entirely in the shade. Those passions that may be suddenly excited, and are of short duration, as anger, fear, and oftentimes jealousy, may in this manner be fully represented; but those great masters of the soul, ambition, hatred, love, every passion that is permanent in its nature, and varied in progress, if represented to us but in one stage of its course, is represented imperfectly. It is a characteristic of the more powerful passions, that they will increase and nourish themselves on very slender aliment; it is from within that they are chiefly supplied with what they feed on; and it is in contending with opposite passions and affections of the mind that we best discover their strength, not with events. But in tragedy it is events more frequently than opposite affections which are opposed to them; and those often of such force and magnitude, that the passions themselves are almost obscured by the splendour and importance of the transactions to which they are attached.”

The tragedy of *Basil* has interested us as much as any of the authoress's productions. The passion of love, which is the subject of it, is certainly not very new in story, but the touches which her genius has imparted to it have all the freshness of originality.

With admirable good sense she has chosen to display its energies in a character distinguished by that determined steadiness, and masculine composure, which best prepare it for resistance, but which, when once the bosom has admitted the passion, are likely to give it a more lasting abode than those impetuous dispositions with which the passion is in general associated. Basil is a character most successfully imagined and delineated with this view. He is presented to us as heroically brave, devoted to military glory, of a strict and stern temper of mind, and rather excessive in the severity of command. The brilliant beauty of Victoria, the daughter of the Duke of Mantua, encounters him in a moment of fatigue, as he enters, after a wearisome march, the city of his professed friend and ally, in his way to join the forces of the emperor. His duty forbids him to lose a moment at this place beyond what is necessary for the refreshment of his troops. The duke, who, though an apparent friend, is secretly hostile to the cause in which Basil is engaged, employs the charms of his daughter to detain him at his court. Her character, which is a very natural mixture of levity and tenderness, of the gentlest affections spoiled by the vain love of admiration, is ably drawn. She lends herself to the purpose of the duke, though entirely ignorant of the intended treachery. The plot succeeds: Basil is overcome; and consents after painful struggles to stay another day. In the mean time the battle of Pavia is fought without him. Victory declares for the allies, though the carnage is dreadful, owing, as it appears, to the absence of Basil. The news of the victory is brought him in a sarcastic message from the army, as he is enjoying the pleasures of the chase in the company of the fair Victoria. His fame and honour are gone. He flies, heart broken, from the society of the beloved author of his ruin, and from the world; and, after wandering for some time amidst tombs and in desert places, yields to the intolerable pressure of his grief, and falls by his own hand. This is the short outline of the story, which seems to us to be very simple, consistent, and probable. The character of Victoria is well marked by the following lines, spoken by her prudent friend the Countess Albina, after a conversation with her, in which she has mixed some wholesome reproof.

“ *Albina. (sola.)* Ay, go, and ev’ry blessing with thee go,
My most tormenting, and most pleasing charge!
Like vapour, from the mountain stream art thou,
Which lightly rises on the morning air,
And shifts its fleeting form with ev’ry breeze,
For ever varying, and for ever graceful.
Endearing, gen’rous, bountiful and kind;

Vain, fanciful, and fond of worthless praise ;
 Courteous and gentle, proud and magnificent :
 And yet these adverse qualities in thee,
 No dissonance, nor striking contrast make ;
 For still thy good and amiable gifts
 The sober dignity of virtue wear not,
 And such a 'witching mien thy follies shew,
 They make a very idiot of reproof,
 And smile it to disgrace.—”

But the character of Victoria is further developed, as is also the tender excess of Basil's love, in the following exquisite scene.

“ACT IV. SCENE V.—A beautiful grove in the forest. Enter Victoria and Basil, as if just alighted from their horses.

Vict. (*speaking to attendants without.*) Lead on our horses to the further grove,

And wait us there:—

(*To Bas.*) This spot so pleasing and so fragrant is,
 'Twere sacrilege with horses' hoofs to wear
 Its velvet turf, where little elfins dance,
 And fairies sport beneath the summer's moon :
 I love to tread upon it.

Bas. O ! I would quit the chariot of a god
 For such delightful footing !

Vict. I love this spot.

Bas. It is a spot where one would live and die.

Vict. See, thro' the twisted boughs of those high elms,
 The sun-beams on the bright'ning foliage play,
 And tinge the scaled bark with ruddy brown.
 Is it not beautiful ?

Bas. 'Tis passing beautiful,
 To see the sun-beams on the foliage play, (*In a soft voice.*)
 And tinge the scaled bark with ruddy brown.

Vict. And here I've stood full often, and admir'd
 The graceful bending, o'er that shady pool,
 Of yon green willow, whose fair sweepy boughs
 So kiss their image on the glassy plain,
 And bathe their leafy tresses in the stream.

Bas. And I too love to see its drooping boughs
 So kiss their image on the glassy plain,
 And bathe their leafy tresses in the stream.

Vict. My lord, it is uncivil in you thus
 My very words with mock'ry to repeat.

Bas. Nay, pardon me, did I indeed repeat ?
 I meant it not ; but when I hear thee speak,
 So sweetly dwells thy voice upon mine ear,
 My tongue e'en unawares assumes the tone ;
 As mothers on their lisping infants gaze,
 And catch their broken words. I pri'thee, pardon !

Vict. But we must leave this grove : the birds fly low ;
This should forbode a storm, and yet o'erhead
The sky, bespread with little downy clouds
Of purest white, would seem to promise peace.
How beautiful those pretty snowy clouds !

Bas. Of a most dazzling brightness !

Vict. Nay, nay, a veil that tempers heaven's brightness !
Of softest, purest white.

Bas. As tho' an angel, in his upward flight,
Had left his mantle floating in mid air.

Vict. Still most unlike a garment ; small and sever'd :
(*Turning round and perceiving that he is gazing at her.*)
But thou regard'st them not.

Bas. Ah ! what should I regard, where should I gaze ?
For in that far-shot glance, so keenly wak'd,
That sweetly rising smile of admiration,
Far better do I learn how fair heav'n is,
Than if I gaz'd upon the blue serene."

Behold the picture of the desponding, broken-hearted warrior,
in his melancholy hiding place.

" *Bas.* No sound is here : man is at rest, and I
May near his habitations venture forth,
Like some unblest creature of the night,
Who dares not meet his face.—Her windows dark ;
No streaming light doth from her chamber beam,
That I once more may on her dwelling gaze,
And bless her still. All now is dark for me !

(*Pauses for some time, and looks upon the graves.*)

How happy are the dead, who quietly rest
Beneath these stones ! each by his kindred laid,
Still in a hallow'd neighbourhood with those,
Who when alive his social converse shar'd :
And now perhaps some dear surviving friend
Doth here at times the grateful visit pay,
Read with sad eyes his short memorial o'er,
And bless his mem'ry still !
But I, like a vile outcast of my kind,
In some lone spot must lay m' unburied corse,
To rot above the earth ; where, if perchance
The steps of human wand'rer e'er approach,
He'll stand aghast, and flee the horrid place,
With dark imaginations frightful made
The haunt of damned sprites. O cursed wretch !
In the fair and honour'd fields shouldst thou have died,
Where brave friends, proudly smiling thro' their tears,
Had pointed out the spot where Basil lay !

(*A light seen in Victoria's window.*)

But ha ! the wonted, welcome light appears.

How bright within I see her chamber wall !
 Athwart it too, a dark'ning shadow moves,
 A slender woman's form : it is herself !
 What means that motion of its clasped hands ?
 That drooping head alas ! is she in sorrow ?
 Alas ! thou sweet enchantress of the mind,
 Whose voice was gladness, and whose presence bliss,
 Art thou unhappy too ? I've brought thee woe ;
 It is for me thou weep'st. Ah ! were it so,
 Fall'n as I am I yet could life indure,
 In some dark den from human sight conceal'd,
 So that I sometimes from my haunt might steal,
 To see and love thee still. No, no, poor wretch !
 She weeps thy shame, she weeps, and scorns thee too.
 She moves again ; e'en darkly imag'd thus,
 How lovely is that form ! (*Pauses, still looking at the window.*)
 To be so near thee, and for ever parted !
 For ever lost ! what art thou now to me ?
 Shall the departed gaze on thee again ?
 Shall I glide past thee in the midnight hour,
 Whilst thou perceiv'st it not, and think'st perhaps
 'Tis but the mournful breeze that passes by !
 (*Pauses again, and gazes at the window till the light disappears.*)
 'Tis gone, 'tis gone ; these eyes have seen their last !
 The last impression of her heavenly form :
 The last sight of those walls wherein she lives :
 The last blest ray of light from human dwelling.
 I am no more a being of this world.
 Farewell ! farewell ! all now is dark for me !
 Come fated deed ! come horror and despair !
 Here lies my dreadful way."

The progress of hatred which is traced with the hand of original genius, in the character of De Montfort, affords Miss Baillie an equally good occasion for evincing her knowledge of nature, and her acquaintance with the sources of the pathetic and the terrible. The hatred of De Montfort to the Marquis Rezenvelt is certainly inspired by no adequate cause : but such a constitution of mind as the authoress has given to De Montfort being once supposed, we have no difficulty in admitting the power of the little vexatious circumstances in the behaviour of Rezenvelt to exalt the passion of hatred to its highest excess. A tinge of natural goodness in the disposition of De Montfort raises in us a sort of melancholy commiseration for him, notwithstanding all the turpitude of his conduct, and the art with which this is done by the writer, blending opposites without inconsistency, and producing sympathy in the distress without diminishing the abhorrence of the guilt, cannot be too much ad-

nired. We are of opinion, however, notwithstanding the apology made by the writer at the end of the play, that the three last lines might well have been spared, though they are put into the mouth of an affectionate sister; as they are calculated to leave a last impression on the reader or hearer very opposite to the moral and just conclusion which ought to follow from such a tremendous exposition of the effects of a passion, the most odious among those which prey upon human happiness. We will extract the midnight scene in the wood in which the murderous effect of the horrid hatred of De Montfort takes place.

De Mont. How hollow groans the earth beneath my tread!
Is there an echo here? Methinks it sounds
As tho' some heavy footstep follow'd me.
I will advance no farther.

Deep settled shadows rest across the path,
And thickly-tangled boughs o'erhang this spot.

O that a tenfold gloom did cover it!

That 'midst the murky darkness I might strike;

As in the wild confusion of a dream,

Things horrid, bloody, terrible do pass,

As tho' they pass'd not; nor impress the mind

With the fix'd clearness of reality.

(An owl is heard screaming near him.)

(Starting.) What sound is that? *(Listens, and the owl cries again.)*

It is the screech-owl's cry.

Foul bird of night! what spirit guides thee here?

Art thou instinctive drawn to scenes of horror?

I've heard of this.

(Pauses and listens.)

How those fall'n leaves so rustle on the path,

With whisp'ring noise, as tho' the earth around me

Did utter secret things!

The distant river too, bears to mine ear.

A dismal wailing. O mysterious night!

Thou art not silent; many tongues hast thou.

A distant gath'ring blast sounds thro' the wood,

And dark clouds fleetly hasten o'er the sky:

O! that a storm would rise, a raging storm;

Amidst the roar of warring elements

I'd lift my hand and strike! but this pale light,

The calm distinctness of each stilly thing,

Is terrible. *(Starting.)* Footsteps are near—

He comes! he comes! I'll watch him farther on—

I cannot do it here.

[Exit.]

[Enter Rezenvelt, and continues his way slowly from the bottom of the stage: as he advances to the front the owl screams, he stops and listens, and the owl screams again.]

Rez. Ha! does the night-bird greet me on my way?

How much his hooting is in harmony

With such a scene as this ! I like it well.
Oft when a boy, at the still twilight hour,
I've leant my back against some knotted oak,
And loudly mimic'd him, till to my call
He answer would return, and, thro' the gloom,
We friendly converse held.

Between me and the star-bespangled sky
Those aged oaks their crossing branches wave,
And thro' them looks the pale and placid moon.
How like a crocodile, or winged snake,
Yon sailing cloud bears on its dusky length !
And now transformed by the passing wind,
Methinks it seems a flying Pegasus.
Ay, but a shapeless band of blacker hue
Come swiftly after.—

A hollow murm'ring wind sounds thro' the trees ;
I hear it from afar ; this bodes a storm.

I must not linger here— *(A bell heard at some distance.)*

The convent bell.

'Tis distant still : it tells their hour of prayer.

It sends a solemn sound upon the breeze,

That to a fearful superstitious mind,

In such a scene, would like a death-knell come.

[EXIT.]

For the progress and consummation of ambition the authoress in her play of Ethwald takes a larger space. She carries it on through two parts ; giving as her reason for it, that this is a passion which “acquires strength from gratification, and after having gained one object, still sees another rise before it, to which it as eagerly pushes on. To give a full view, therefore, says the writer, of this passion, it was necessary to shew the subject of it in many different situations, and passing through a considerable course of events.” The reasonableness of this apology could not be denied, if any thing could be a sufficient apology for the extension of any subject beyond those bounds at which the interest of the piece demands that it should stop. We cannot help confessing that Ethwald taken as a whole is dull and heavy ; but we claim for it, in respect to its detached parts, at least as much admiration as either Basil or De Montfort has deserved. We will endeavour to prove the truth of this latter observation, by the production of a passage or two. And first, we will present to the reader the soliloquy of a prince while in the dungeon, into which the ambition of Ethwald has thrown him, and in which he is murdered by his order.

“*Ed.* Doth the bright sun from the high arch of heaven,
In his all beauteous robes of flecker'd clouds,
And ruddy vapours, and deep glowing flames,

And softly varied shades, look gloriously?
 Do the green woods dance to the wind? the lakes
 Cast up their sparkling waters to the light?
 Do the sweet hamlets in their bushy dells
 Send winding up to heaven their curling smoke
 On the soft morning air?
 Do the flocks bleat, and the wild creatures-bound
 In antic happiness? and mazy birds
 Wing the mid air in lightly skimming bands?
 Ay, all this is; all this men do behold;
 The poorest man. Even in this lonely vault,
 My dark and narrow world, oft do I hear
 The crowing of the cock so near my walls,
 And sadly think how small a space divides me
 From all this fair creation.
 From the wide spreading bounds of beauteous nature
 I am alone shut out; I am forgotten.
 The air feels chill; methinks it should be night.
 I'll lay me down: perchance kind sleep will come,
 And open to my view an inward world
 Of gairish fantaisies, from which nor walls,
 Nor bars, nor tyrants power can shut me out."

The night-watching misery of the remorse-struck murderer is exquisitely portrayed in the following passage.

Ethw. Still must this heavy closeness thus oppress me?
 Will no fresh stream of air breathe on my brow,
 And ruffle for a while this stilly gloom?
 O night, when good men rest, and infants sleep!
 Thou art to me no season of repose,
 But a fear'd time of waking more intense,
 Of life more keen, of misery more palpable.
 My rest must be when the broad sun doth glare;
 When armour rings and men walk to and fro.
 Like a tir'd hound stretch'd in the busy hall,
 I needs must lie; night will not cradle me.
 (looking up anxiously to the windows.)
 What, looks the moon still thro' that lofty arch?
 Will't ne'er be morn?"

The horrors of his fancy are depicted in the following scene.

Ethw. Thou shalt not go and leave me thus alone.
Qu. I'll soon return again, and all around thee
 Is light as noon-day.
Ethw. Nay, nay, good wife! it rises now before me
 In the full blaze of light.
Qu. Ha! what mean'st thou?
Ethw. The faint and shadowy forms,
 That in obscurity were wont to rise

In sad array, are with the darkness fled.
But what avails the light? for now, since sickness
Has press'd upon my soul, in my lone moments,
E'en in the full light of my torch-clad walls,
A horrid spectre rises to my sight,
Close by my side, and plain and palpable,
In all good seeming and close circumstance,
As man meets man.

Qu. Mercy upon us! What form does it wear?

Ethw. My murder'd brother's form.
He stands close by my side: his ghastly head
Shakes horridly upon its sever'd neck
As if new from the heads-man's stroke; it moves
Still as I move; and when I look upon it,
It looks—No, no! I can no utterance find
To tell thee how it looks on me again.

Qu. Yet, fear not now: I shall not long be absent;
And thou may'st hear my footsteps all the while,
It is so short a space.

(*Exit Queen.*)

Ethw. (*returning to the middle of the stage.*)
I'll fix my stedfast eyes upon the ground,
And turn to other things my tutor'd thoughts
Intently. (*after pausing for a little while, with his clenched hands crossed
upon his breast, and his eyes fixed upon the ground.*)

It may not be: I feel upon my mind
The horrid sense that preludes still its coming.
Elburga! ho, Elburga! (*putting his hand before his eyes and calling
out with a strong voice of fear.*)

Enter Queen in haste.

Qu. Has't come again?

Ethw. No, but I felt upon my pausing soul
The sure and horrid sense of its approach.
Hadst thou not quickly come, it had ere now
Been frowning by my side."

The scene of the witches, predicting the future fortunes of Ethwald, is too close upon Macbeth to deserve the honour of invention; and upon the whole, we cannot help admiring the ambition of the authoress to tread in the steps of Shakspear in one of his best plays, and wherein it must be owned the progress of ambition, from its earliest symptoms to its fatal consummation, is finished within the ordinary compass of a single play, and so finished, as to leave nothing undisplayed, by which the nature and career of the passion can be indicated.

The subject of the first of the series in this third volume is *fear*: a passion, it must be owned, to which some contempt attaches, and which is apt to depress the character to which it

belongs so low in our esteem, as to deprive it of its power to excite our sympathies. Miss Baillie seems to have been fully aware of this consequence, and she has shewn great skill in avoiding it. In the first place, the fear which she has made the subject of this play, is superstitious fear; a modification of it which is known to inhabit many noble and generous minds, particularly where the imagination is lively and creative. There are perhaps few persons, whatever may be their general fortitude, in whose minds impressions of horror may not be gradually produced; where circumstances conspire to keep the thoughts for a considerable time employed upon these gloomy and terrific fancies. The more delicate structure of the female mind renders it more liable to fall under the dominion of such vain terrors; and surely we may imagine a female of great worth and excellence to be the victim of her own disordered thoughts, where pains are taken, with every help from time, place, and circumstance, to bewilder her brain, and conjure up before her the chimeras of supernatural horror. After all, however, it must be owned, that the passion of fear, though a most fit subject for poetic imagery, as no one can deny who is at all conversant with the *Fairie Queen*, is ill adapted for dramatic representation. Love, hatred, jealousy, revenge, ambition, are *active* instruments, affecting the happiness of others as much as that of the agent himself; they must have objects and victims; a sort of atmosphere of suffering and sympathy encircles and pursues them; but fear, especially superstitious fear, acts only upon itself; it spends itself in its own emotions; it has no companionship in suffering; a fanciful progeny of its own creation invests it, insulating it from the cheerful partnership of human interests, and the wants and cares, the sorrows and the joys of the surrounding throng.

The fear of Osterloo, who is the hero of the second play in this volume, is not superstitious fear, but a fear generated in the mind of a man naturally brave, and intrepid in the field, by the dreadful anticipation of a sudden removal to a new state of being by the stroke of the executioner, working upon a conscience defiled with the stain of murder, and aggravated by a night of confinement near the scene of the guilty transaction. "It is not," says Miss Baillie, "the want of fortitude to bear bodily sufferings, or even deliberately inflicted death, under the circumstances commonly attending it, that the character of Osterloo exhibits. It is the horror he conceives at being suddenly awakened to the awful retributions of another world, from having the firm belief of them forced at once upon his mind by extraordinary circumstances, which so miserably quells an other-

wise undaunted spirit. I only contend," continues this writer, "for the consistency of brave men shrinking from passive sufferings, and unknown changes, to shew that so far from transgressing, I have in this character kept within the bounds which our experience of human nature would have allowed me."

We are afraid, however, that a subject which requires so laboured a defence, is proved by that circumstance alone to be not a very fit subject for the drama, which ought surely to deal only in those representations, the probability of which has its witness in the heart, and its illustration in the experience of all mankind. Both these plays, however, contain passages of great splendor, and exquisite pathos. We will select two or three from the play of *Orra*. It is thus that the superstitious disposition of *Orra* is wrought upon by the designing *Cathrina*.

Or. Thou runn'st me fast, good Alice. Do not doubt
This shall be wanting to us. Ev'ry season
Shall have its suited pastime; even Winter
In its deep noon, when mountains piled with snow,
And chok'd up valleys from our mansion bar
All entrance, and nor guest nor traveller
Sounds at our gate; the empty hall forsaking,
In some warm chamber, by the crackling fire,
We'll hold our little, snug, domestic court,
Plying our work with song and tale between.

Cath. And stories too, I ween, of ghosts and spirits,
And things unearthly, that on Michael's eve
Rise from the yawning tombs.

Or. Thou thinkest then one night o' th' year is truly
More horrid than the rest.

Cath. Perhaps 'tis only silly superstition:
But yet it is well known the Count's brave father
Would rather on a glacier's point have lain,
By angry tempests rock'd, than on that night
Sunk in a downy couch in Brunier's castle.

Or. How pray? What fearful thing did scare him so?

Cath. Hast thou ne'er heard the story of Count Hugo,
His ancestor, who slew the hunter-knight?

Or. (*eagerly*) Tell it, I pray thee.

Al. Cathrina, tell it not: it is not right:
Such stories ever change her cheerful spirits
To gloomy pensiveness; her rosy bloom
To the wan colour of a shrouded corse.

(*To Orra*) What pleasure is there, Lady, when thy hand,
Cold as the valley's ice, with hasty grasp
Seizes on her who speaks, while thy shrunk form
Cow'ring and shiv'ring stands with keen turn'd ear
To catch what follows of the pausing tale?

Or. And let me cow'ring stand, and be my touch
The valley's ice: there is a pleasure in it.

Al. Say'st thou indeed there is a pleasure in it?

Or. Yea, when the cold blood shoots through every vein:
When every hair's-pit on my shrunken skin
A knotted knoll becomes, and to mine ears
Strange inward sounds awake, and to mine eyes
Rush stranger tears, there is a joy in fear, (*Catching hold of Cathrina.*)
Tell it, Cathrina, for the life within me
Beats thick, and stirs to hear it.
He slew the hunter-knight?

Cath. Since I must tell it, then, the story goes
That grim Count Wallenberg, the ancestor
Of Hughobert and also of yourself,
From hatred or from envy, did decoy
A noble knight, who hunted in the forest,
Well the Black Forest named, into his castle,
And there, within his chamber, murder'd him—

Or. Merciful Heaven! and in my veins there runs
A murderer's blood. Said'st thou not, *murder'd him*?

Cath. Aye; as he lay asleep, at dead of night.

Or. A deed most horrible!

Cath. It was on Michael's eve; and since that time,
The neighb'ring hinds oft hear the midnight yell
Of spectre-hounds, and see the spectre shapes
Of huntsmen on their sable steeds, with still
A nobler hunter riding in their van
To cheer the desp'rate chace, by moonlight shewn,
When wanes its horn, in long October nights.

Or. This hath been often seen?

Cath. Aye, so they say.
But, as the story goes, on Michael's eve,
And on that night alone of all the year,
The hunter-knight himself, having a horn
Thrice sounded at the gates, the castle enters;
And, in the very chamber where he died,
Calls on his murd'rer, or in his default
Some true descendant of his house, to loose
His spirit from its torment; for his body
Is laid i'the earth unblessed, and none can tell
The spot of its interment."

In another place, the same contrivance is carried on by the mischief-working Cathrina.

" (*They sit, Orra drawing her chair close to Cathrina.*)
What story shall I tell thee?

Or. Something, my friend, which thou thyself hast known
Touching the awful intercourse which spirits
With mortal men have held at this dread hour.
Did'st thou thyself e'er meet with one whose eyes

Had look'd upon the spectred dead—had seen
Forms from another world?

Cath. Never but once.

Or. (eagerly) Once then thou didst! O tell it! Tell it me!

Cath. Well; since I needs must tell it, once I knew
A melancholy man, who did aver,
That journ'ying on a time, o'er a wild waste,
By a fell storm o'erta'en, he was compell'd
To pass the night in a deserted tower,
Where a poor hind, the sole inhabitant
Of the sad place, prepar'd for him a bed.
And, as he told his tale, at dead of night,
By the pale lamp that in his chamber burn'd,
As it might be an arm's length from his bed.—

Or. So close upon him?

Cath. Yes.

Or. Go on; what saw he?

Cath. An upright form, wound in a clotted shroud—
Clotted and stiff, like one swaith'd up in haste
After a bloody death.

Or. O horrible!

Cath. He started from his bed and gaz'd upon it.

Or. And did he speak to it?

Cath. He could not speak.

It's visage was uncover'd, and at first
Seem'd fix'd and shrunk, like one in coffin'd sleep:
But, as he gaz'd, there came, he wist not how,
Into its beamless eyes a horrid glare,
And turning towards him, for it did move,——
Why dost thou grasp me thus?

Or. Go on, go on!

Cath. Nay, heaven forbend! Thy shrunk and sharpen'd features
Are of the corse's colour, and thine eyes
Are full of tears. How's this?

Or. I know not how.

A horrid sympathy jarr'd on my heart,
And forced into mine eyes these icy tears."

The horrid impressions that have bewildered Orra's imagination, and bereaved her of her senses, are represented with inimitable force; it is thus the meeting with her friends, after the night of horror is over, as she approaches from the cavern, in a wild distracted state, is described.

"*Or.* Come back, come back! The fierce and fiery light!

Theo. Shrink not, dear love! it is the light of day.

Or. Have cocks crow'd yet?

Theo. Yes; twice I've heard already
Their matin sound. Look up to the blue sky;

Is it not day-light there? And these green boughs
Are fresh and fragrant round thee: every sense
Tells thee it is the cheerful early day.

Or. Aye so it is; day takes his daily turn,
Rising between the gulphy dells of night
Like whiten'd billows on a gloomy sea.
Till glow-worms gleam, and stars peep thro' the dark,
And will-o'-the-wisp his dancing taper light,
They will not come again.

(Bending her ear to the ground.)

Hark, hark! Aye, hark:
They are all there: I hear their hollow sound
Full many a fathom down.

Theo. Be still, poor troubled soul! they'll ne'er return:
They are for ever gone. Be well assured
Thou shalt from henceforth have a cheerful home
With crackling faggots on thy midnight fire,
Blazing like day around thee; and thy friends—
Thy living, loving friends still by thy side,
To speak to thee and cheer thee—See my Orra!
They are beside thee now; dost thou not know them?

(Pointing to Eleonora and Alice.)

Or. *(gazing at them with her hand held up to shade her eyes.)*
No, no! athwart the wav'ring garish light,
Things move and seem to be, and yet are nothing.

El. *(going near her)* My gentle Orra! hast thou then forgot me?
Dost thou not know my voice?

Or. 'Tis like an old tune to my ear return'd.
For there be those, who sit in cheerful halls
And breathe sweet air, and speak with pleasant sounds;
And once I liv'd with such; some years gone by;
I wot not now how long."

If our space would allow us, we could devote many more pages, with great pleasure, to the consideration of these fine specimens of original genius. We are obliged, however, by the press of matter, to bring this article to a conclusion. Our readers will perceive that we have taken no notice of the comedies. But we cannot let it be supposed that it is only want of room which has occasioned us to omit them. After the delight we have received from the poetical beauties of Miss Baillie's tragedies, we feel it a sort of ingratitude to dwell at any length upon her failures. But critical justice imposes upon us the obligation of saying, that we have received but little pleasure from her comic muse. We are, indeed, of opinion that comedy was not a proper vehicle for her purpose. The passions, in their intensities, produce too dangerous a commotion, to correspond with the gaiety of the comic plan and purpose. They may be vulgar, brutal,

loathsome, and distorted ; but their effects are too injurious to be the sport of mirth, or the source of pleasurable emotions.

In a mixed and qualified state, these disturbers of the soul's rest may be exhibited with good effect in the comic scene ; but such comedies would be no proper parallels to Miss Baillie's tragedies, or consistent with her avowed purpose ; viz. to pursue the career of the passion, from its simple elementary beginnings, through the several stages of its increase ; from the spark that first sets the bosom on fire, to the conflagration that desolates the scene of its fury.

Transient bursts of passion, when their effects are restrained and prevented, are not inconsistent with the spirit of comedy : they stimulate the action, and afford opportunities for instructive displays of sentiment and character, without detaining the mind too long under the impression of painful emotions : but where a single passion is to be kept always in the view, and to be carried through its naturally tumultuous career, it must destroy, or be destroyed by, that varied exhibition of character and manners, and that vivacity of dialogue, which are the proper constituents of comedy. We can with great propriety, however, recommend the reader to peruse the admirable remarks of Miss Baillie, in her introduction, on the general nature, and the present state, of the comic drama. One of these remarks is really so just and important, at a time when it is so much the practice of our schools to make boys personate the low, tricking, and debauched characters of the ancient comedy, that we cannot pass it by.

“ In busy or circumstantial comedy, all those ingenious contrivances of lovers, guardians, governantes, and chamber-maids ; that bush-fighting amongst closets, screens, chests, easy-chairs, and toilet-tables, form a gay varied game of dexterity and invention : which, to those who have played at hide and seek, who have crouched down, with beating heart, in a dark corner, whilst the enemy groped near the spot ; who have joined their busy school-mates in many a deep-laid plan to deceive, perplex, and torment the unhappy mortals deputed to have the charge of them, cannot be seen with indifference. Like an old hunter, who pricks up his ears at the sound of the chase, and starts away from the path of his journey, so, leaving all wisdom and criticism behind us, we follow the varied changes of the plot, and stop not for reflection. The studious man who wants a cessation from thought, the indolent man who dislikes it, and all those who, from habit or circumstances, live in a state of divorce from their own minds, are pleased with an amusement in which they have nothing to do but to open their eyes and behold. The moral tendency of it, however, is very faulty. That mockery of age and domestic authority, so constantly held

forth, has a very bad effect upon the younger part of an audience ; and that continual lying and deceit in the first characters of the piece, which is necessary for conducting the plot, has a most pernicious one."

We cannot shut up these volumes, from which we have received so much instruction and delight, without lamenting that their pages should so frequently be stained with oaths and exclamations very useless as adjuncts of the glowing passages to which they are annexed, and very shocking to minds in which a just reverence for the awful name of the Creator prevails.

We can assure Miss Baillie that this remark is not dictated by puritanism or affectation. If we did not highly value her works, and respect her character, nay, if she had not made a solemn and interesting declaration of her religious impressions, we should not have stopped to make this remonstrance. We have no doubt that the instances have arisen from the impetuosity of her feelings in the ardour of composition. We refer her to Vol. i. pp. 391, 407. Vol. ii. p. 86. But many other instances occur.

There are a great many passages in the comedies, on the vulgarity of which we should have strongly commented, if we had more time and room. We must be content with making a general appeal from Miss Baillie to Miss Baillie ;—from her partial and occasional improprieties, to the clear and correct standard of her general taste.

ART. XI. ΕΤΡΙΠΗΔΟΥ ΙΠΠΟΛΥΤΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΣ. *Euripidis Hippolytus Coronifer. Ad Fidem Manuscriptorum ac veterum Editionum emendavit et annotationibus instruxit* Jacobus Henricus Monk, A. M. SS. Trinitatis Collegii Socius, et Græcarum Literarum apud Cantabrigienses Professor Regius. Cantabrigiæ: Typis ac sumptibus Academicis excudit J. Smith; Veneunt Londini, apud T. Payne, &c. 1811. 8vo. pp. 176.

FROM the opening of the last century, till within a very few years past, the Cambridge University press had appeared sunk in a kind of listless inactivity. Not a single work of importance had issued from it during the whole of that period. Its funds had been employed in committing to print little else but pamphlets and school-books; in a manner totally inconsistent with its former typographical celebrity. There was a time, when

it could put into the hands of the literary world such works as Kuster's Suidas, Taylor's Demosthenes, and Barnes's Euripides. The resources of the Clarendon press, it must be allowed, are much more copious; and this may help to account for the superiority which Oxford has in this respect acquired over the sister University.

Of late years, however, it should seem that Cambridge has felt sensible of her inferiority; and ashamed of her past neglect, has on a sudden risen up to dispute the palm in neatness, at least, of Greek typography. Excited by the example of her late Professor Porson, she has given to the public within the space of two years, two of the most beautiful specimens of Greek type ever exhibited by any press; Mr. Blomfield's edition of the *Prometheus Vincetus*, and Mr. Professor Monk's *Hippolytus Coronifer*.

Mr. Porson, as we have been told, some little time before his death, had it in contemplation to form models of each Greek character as nearly consistent as possible with the fashion of the letters in the earliest Greek MSS. Comparing these with Greek inscriptions of the earlier ages, he has been able to reduce the formation of the Greek character to a regular system. And we see the result of this minute attention in the perfection of his Greek transcriptions, superior in neatness and elegance to those of the ancient copyists. His zeal carried him a step further; and in order that the models of each letter, which were afterwards to become the standard Greek type of the Cambridge University press, might be minutely correct, we have been told that he put into the hands of the Syndics a complete Greek alphabet, with the form of each letter, as he conceived it should be represented, drawn upon black flints with pieces of copper wire.

The types of Bodoni, and those in which Auger's Demosthenes has been printed, have ceased to merit the applause of the scholar. The letters are disgustingly luxuriant, and, we will venture to say, very different from any thing ever written by the Greeks themselves. By a *British* press however has this vitiated taste been corrected; and the eye of the scholar now peruses, with a satisfaction bordering on delight, the PORSONIC TYPE.

It has been a general complaint amongst scholars that what has been left to us by the late Professor, bears a great disproportion, in point of *quantity*, to what might have been expected from the talents and acquirements of so great a critic. But these are general conclusions, made without a sufficient consideration of the sources from which they are drawn. Porson's life was comparatively short; he was a

man eminently conversant in almost every species of polite learning, though it was his study of the Greek that engrossed the greater part of his attention. When therefore, throwing for a moment all other pursuits out of consideration, we take into our view the immensity of matter connected with Greek literature, over which his mind must have expanded itself, to have performed what he has done, we cannot feel justified in accusing him of idleness and neglect. To have amassed materials sufficient to have enabled him to edit four plays of Euripides in the way that he did edit them, would have taken any man of ordinary abilities double the time that he lived.—And it is to be remembered that to him belongs the glory of having pointed out a new system of criticism, superior to all others, and to have thus rendered the path of the scholar secure and pleasant.

The *Hippolytus* of Euripides, which, it should seem, in general arrangement, has always been placed next to the *Medea*, has been taken up by Mr. Porson's successor, Mr. Professor Monk; who has certainly displayed a degree of learning and ability which it would be invidious to bring into comparison with those of his eminent predecessor. It is to be regretted that he was not possessed of an opportunity of referring to more MSS.; for in the list which he has prefixed to the play, it appears that he has merely given us the lections of MSS. already consulted by Musgrave and Valckenaer, and that they are all extracted from printed books. To make some amends, however, he has enriched his edition of the play with several observations of Professor Porson, which he has carefully collected, as well from the papers of that great critic, now lodged in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, as from the contributions of several learned men of the age. In the arrangement of the choric parts he has shewn so much metrical skill, that we hesitate not to class him among the greatest in that department.

In his notes on the four first plays of Euripides, Mr. Porson presents himself in the characters of *critic* and *grammarian*, almost to the exclusion of that of *commentator*; he has given the various lections of MSS. and early editions, compared them, sifted them, and communicated the reasons for his preferences among the various readings.

Mr. Monk has combined the offices of the grammarian, the critic, and the commentator, so that his notes, at times, savour strongly of German prolixity. It seems to us that he would have done better if he had followed Mr. Blomfield's plan, and separated the *critical* from the *explanatory* matter. In his quotations from Valckenaer he is too profuse: and for this he merits reprehension, as the notes of Porson on the *Phœnissæ*, which also has been

edited by Valckenaer, are not so long, when taken collectively, as those upon any other of the three plays. We are sorry too to see that Mr. Monk has not scrupled, once, twice, or even thrice, to borrow from Valckenaer without acknowledging it. This we are willing to impute rather to inadvertency, than design. But to forget obligations, is only less faulty than to remember them, without confessing them.

In imitating Mr. Porson in the style of his notes, he has approached at times almost to parody; and in the close of his preface he, as well as Mr. Blomfield in the preface to the Prometheus Vinctus, has copied not only the thought, but also the greatest part of the words, which form the concluding sentence in Porson's supplement to his preface to the Hecuba.

We are willing, however, to give Mr. Monk our humble praise for the manner in which he has executed this performance. He has been industrious in the extreme; and the chief fault which we venture to find in him, is a propensity to surcharge his notes with a multiplicity of observations. In the second edition of the Hippolytus, we hope to see them somewhat abridged; otherwise we shall begin to suspect that he has been giving us a *variorum* edition under another name.

For the convenience of our readers, we shall arrange our observations on the play in regular order, that they may be able with greater readiness to refer to the several parts, on which we are disposed to comment.

V. E. "κέκλημαι," says the professor, "significat sum, quo apud Tragicos non infrequens est." Of the truth of this assertion, which is evidently deduced from the remark of Porson appended to the note, we are thoroughly convinced. At the same time, upon more minute consideration, it should seem that its import is in general more emphatic than may at first sight appear; and we strongly suspect that of the parallel instances quoted in the note on this passage, all, except that from the Trachiniae, are foreign to the purpose. In the line from the Persæ,

οὐ τιμὸς δούλοι κέκληνται φαντός, οὐδ' ὑπήκοοι.

κέκληνται is meant to express more than εἶσι could have done; as common feeling and the spirit of the passage clearly shew. To have asserted merely the fact, that "they are the slaves of no man," would have been cold indeed, compared with what we conceive to have been the full force of the passage. The precise meaning we take to be this; "the Persians are known by the title of the subjects of the great king; but they [the Greeks] are by fame and character known to be the slaves of no man."

Generally speaking, the word has reference to *fame, character*, good or bad;—of the former class are the following instances:

ὁ δ' ἐν πολίταις τίμιος κεκλημένος.

Hecub. 629.

ὁ πασι κλεινὸς Οἰδίπους καλούμενος.

Œd. Tyr. 8.

of the latter;

ἐν ξείνῃ χθονὶ δὴ κέκλημαι Δούλα.

Hecub. 484.

* τὸ μηδὲν, οὐδὲν ἔνθαδ' ὦν, κεκλήσομαι

Ion. 594.

Here we should render the word κέκλημαι by *I am known in character as*, and so of the rest. If therefore in these cases the words κέκλημαι, &c. answer to *sum*, &c. all idea of *fame and distinction* is excluded, which it is evident from the context ought not to be the case.

The remainder of the note is taken from Valckenaer, which the Professor has not thought fit to acknowledge; ascribing however with some condescension *one* part out of *four* to that learned critic. We will give Valckenaer's words; "versum 1 et 2, ad vocem ἔσω pro ἔνδον positam, excitat Grammaticus de solæcismo, p. 200; eosdem παρωδεῖ Luciani Podagra, T. III, p. 665.—In Tragœdia quæ dicitur Χριστὸς πάσχων matri," &c.

V. 3. Πόντου τερμόνων τ' Ἀτλαντικῶν, we should conceive to be equivalent to ποντίων τερμόνων Ἀτλαντικῶν, by the well-known figure termed by grammarians ἐνδιαδῖς, h. e. ἐν διὰ δυοῖν. Virg. Georg. ii. 192. "Qualem pateris libamus et auro." Horat. Carm. iii. 29, 15. "Sine aulæis et ostro." How Musgrave could suppose that by Πόντου was meant the *Euxine* sea, we cannot comprehend; Mr. Monk says, "Πόντου malè intelligit Musgravius post Scholiastam de ponto Euxino." The Scholiast's words are; τερμόνων δὲ Ἀτλαντικῶν περὶ τὸ Ἀτλαντικὸν πέλαγος η̅κουσαν. ἔνιοι δὲ τὰ Γάδειρα, ἔνθα ἔστιν ὄρος, ὃ Ἀτλας, ὅπερ ἔστι δαίτικόν. ὁ δὲ Πόντος, ἀνατολικόν. Here is no mention whatever of the *Euxine* sea; why then impute the blunders of Musgrave to the Scholiast, who surely has enough to do to fight his own battles? The error lies with Musgrave; *ille habeat secum, servetque sepulchro*. Ἀτλαντικὰ πελάγη. Ἐσπέριος Ὠκεανὸς, καὶ ἘΩΟΣ, says Suidas; and from this idea arose the mistake of the Scholiast, which is much more reasonable than that of Mus-

* Thus we conceive this line, which has long puzzled the editors of Euripides, (see Barnes on the passage) should be corrected. We refer our readers to Cycl. 353. ἄλλως νομίζει, Ζεῦ, ΤΟΜΗΔΕΝ ὦν, θιός. The common reading of the line in the Ion is μηδὲν καὶ οὐδὲν ἰ. ὦ. κ.

grave. The passage from Demosthenes is quoted by Valckenaer.

V. 5. πρεσβεύειν· προτιμᾶν*, ἀρχὴν μεγαλύνειν. Hesychius. The latter exposition seems to apply in the present case, rather than the former. We should render the passage thus; "Of such, as respect my power, *I promote the interest*, and overthrow all those who are high-minded towards us." Of the parallel instances given by the Professor, the two last only seem to be to the purpose; the former of which is cited by Barnes. Σφάλλω, as expressive of the power of a deity, occurs in a fragment of Euripides;

πολλαῖσι μορφαῖς οἱ θεοὶ σοφισμάτων
σφάλλουσιν ἡμᾶς, κρείσσονες πεφυκότες.

This note contains much valuable information, but principally extracted from other writers. To the instances of the "pendens nominativus," it may be worth the while to add. Orest. 584. Hom. Il. Z. 506. The error which Mr. Monk has committed in his quotation of the instance from the Œd. Tyr. we see corrected in the errata. But why not consider αἶμα as the *accusative* absolute, rather than the *nominative*? so Aristoph. Plut. 277. & Ran. 1437. Mr. Elmsley, in his edition of the Œdipus Tyrannus, printed uniform with his Acharnenses, retains the reading ὡς τὸδ' αἶ. taking care to notice Brunck's reading. On the line he thus observes; "Ὡς τήνδ' αἶμα Mudgus. Sed vulgatam optimè defendit Erfurdus. *Ea cædes de qua dicturus sum.* Exemplis ab Erfurdio allatis, adde Soph. Œd. Col. 387. Ἐγὼ γε τοισίδ', ὦ πάτερ, μαντεύμασι. De qua scripturâ suo loco dicam. χειμάζει Trin. Aug. B. χειμαζον [lege χειμαζον] disertè Schol." We wait in earnest expectation for the note of so learned a man on the Œd. Colon. At the same time we suspect that it will be more difficult to defend the old reading than the emendation admitted by Mudge, Heath, Brunck, and Porson. Barnes (Phoeniss. 290) remarks that both that passage and this of the Hippolytus are cited by Eustath. Il. B. p. 236. On the latter he observes, "Alii quidam referunt ad *Atticismum*, alii ad *Archaismum*, ad *Solæcismum* alii:" &c. The passages from the Plut. et Greg. Corinth. are given by Brunck (Œd. Tyr. 101.)

* "ἀρχὴν Edit. Princ. Male. ἀρχὴν sine dubio. Cf. Thucyd. viii. ἐμεγάλυνε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ δύναμιν παρὰ τῷ Τισσαφέρνη. Adeas, lector, editionem Albert. quam, cum perrara sit, et impenso pretio veneat, ne vidi quidem, nedum consuluerim. Ei et si rēpius confusa. Vid. Pors. ad Med. 493. Obiter monendum est, Scholiasten adhuc Hippol. locum leviter ex Hesychio corrigendum. οὕτως Ἀττικοί· πρεσβεύειν γὰρ τὴν τιμᾶν. Πρὸ τοῦ τιμᾶν lege προτιμᾶν."

In the note on the twenty-fifth line too, after the passages cited from Plutarch, Plato, Andocides, and Ovid, it would have been as well if the Professor had added—"Hæc omnia, notante Valckenaerio." These instances are too glaring to pass unnoticed. In imitating Porson's *manner*, we ought not to forget Porson's *candour*. See his note on the Medea (1011.)

V. 27. We transcribe Mr. Monk's note; "MSS. et editiones habent κατέσχετο. Sed passivam vocem sensus postulat, et dubitare videtur Porsonus ad Orest. 1330. an unquam κατάσχω pro κατέχω usurparint Attici. Edidi igitur levi mutatione κατέσχετο. Cf. Bacch. 1134. Fragm. Dan. 27." Did Mr. Monk then suppose that the form κατέσχετο, the regular second aorist middle of κατέχω, had no existence? Must κατάσχω necessarily exist to warrant the existence of κατέσχετο? Let us turn to the Heracleidæ (634) φροντίς τις ἦλθ' οἰκείως, ἥ συνέσχετο. Which Barnes rightly translates, *quâ angebâr*. Κατέσχετο must be considered as the second aorist middle from κατέχω; not as the imperfect from κατάσχω.

V.V. 30—33.

πέτρῃ παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος κατόφιος
 γῆς τῆσδε ναὸν Κύπριδος ἐγκαθίστατο,
 ἔρωσ' ἔρωτ' ἐκδήμον Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ
 τολοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρῶσθαι θεῶν.

So all the editions before Valckenaer; who, in the text of his edition, punctuates after Παλλάδος and τῆσδε, reads ἐγκαθίστατο on the authority of MSS. and personifies ἔρωτα. The question of Phædra having built a temple, having placed a statue in it, and having dedicated them to Venus on account of her disappointment in love, have been fully and elaborately discussed by Valckenaer.

The substance of his long note on the passage is taken from the learned Meursius, (Thes. § 21.) Valckenaer, it should seem, could not divest himself of the idea of a Cupid having been presented to the goddess by Phædra. His defence of this opinion is exceedingly ingenious. In the instances, however, cited in support of it, there is not one which specifies a temple as the scene of such dedication. Could the word *σπῆν* actually be personified, ἐκδήλον perhaps, the reading of more than one MS. might be substituted; though, it should appear, it is not a word much in use amongst the tragic writers. Hesychius, it is true, thus explains it; ἐκδηλος φανερός ἢ ὑπερέχων: and words of this import are often applied to temples and their appendages; so the word ἐπιφανής in Pausanias; Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ

Θησέως τέμενός τε ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΝ ἀνεῖται, καὶ ναὸς ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἑγαλμαῖ ἐστὶν ἀρχαῖον. Could this reading be reconciled, ἐκδήμων possibly may have come into the text from the thirty-seventh line; for, it must be confessed, the circumstance of the word being repeated so soon is somewhat suspicious. The next difficulty that presents itself to us, is the word ἐγκαθείσατο, as it is written in most of the MSS. Barnes however, with the Flor. MS. has ἐγκαθίστατο, which appears to us more than a casual alteration, when we take into the account the reading of Aldus, and from him of the other editions, which is ἐγκαθίστατο; a word consisting but of one letter less. Ναῶι too is the reading of one MS., and upon this it seems that Valckenaer founds his reading of ναῶ. Considering therefore these circumstances, and allowing that Phædra did dedicate to the goddess an image as well as a temple, the whole might possibly run thus;

πέτραν παρ' αὐτὴν Παλλάδος, κατὰ ψιν
γῆς τῆσδε, ΝΑΩΙ ΚΥΠΡΙΔΟΣ ΕΓΚΑΘΙΣΤΑΤΟ
ἐρῶσ', Ἐρωτ' ἘΚΔΗΛΟΝ Ἴππολύτῳ δ' ἐπὶ
τόλοιπὸν ὠνόμαζεν ἰδρυσθαι θεῶν.

With this reading perhaps we might admit Mr. Monk's κατεῖχεται, and so preserve a congruity of tenses; κατεῖχεται, ἐγκαθίστατο, ἐγκαθίστατο. Brunck's conjecture of καθείσατο, which Mr. Monk has introduced into his text, seems not without foundation, and his reasons for adopting the reading are ingenious; though we shrewdly suspect that the phrase ἐρῶσ' Ἐρωτ' ἐκδήμων, if meant to correspond to the Latin *ardans amore* [*Hippolytus*] *absentis*, is quaint and difficult to reconcile. Our readers will observe that we have changed the accentuation of θεῶν, considering it as equivalent to θεῶμα, in which sense it is often found. This affords an additional reason for thinking that ἐκδήλων and not ἐκδήμων came from the pen of Euripides. Mr. Monk, properly enough, rejects Jortin's substitute for ὠνόμαζεν, as well as that of Valckenaer.

V. 37. ἀνεῖται· συγκατατίθεται. Hesych. Mr. Monk observes, that the future of αἰνέω, in Homeric Greek, is αἰνήσω; in Attic, αἰνέω. In the word αἰνέω, so used, there seems to be this peculiar government, which Mr. Monk has neglected to state; viz. that with the tragic poets, when any case is expressed with it, that case is invariably the accusative; so in the *Alcestis*, cited by Mr. Monk;

ὦ δόματ' Ἀδμήτει', ἐν οἷς ἔτλην ἐγὼ
θῆσαν τράπεζαν αἰνέσαι, θεός περ ὦν.

In heroic verse, the word αἰνέω is followed both by the dative and the accusative.

V. 38. Καμπεπληγμένη MS. Cott. et Flor. κακπεπληγμένη Barnes, Beck, and alter them Mr. Monk. Valckenaer contends for the simple πεπληγμένη; Musgrave, and in Musgrave's words Mr. Monk, for the compound ἐκπεπληγμένη. The note of Valckenaer on this occasion shews at once the ingenuity, learning, and candour, of that celebrated critic.

Ἐκπλήσσω, as well as πλήσσω, is used in this sense by the tragic writers, as in the *Medea*, ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγεῖσα; in the *Helena* (1413) τοῦ πρόσθεν ἀνδρὸς χάρισιν ἐκπεπληγμένην, and in a fragment of the *Antiope* (quoted by Mr. Monk from Musgrave). Valckenaer, however, clearly demonstrates that, of the two, the simple πλήσσω is by far the most usual in this sense. One of Porson's rules, we have been told, was this; of two readings, "*cæteris paribus*," prefer that which is most usual. This Valckenaer has done exactly; not only citing instances to overpower the instances objected, but proving into the bargain from two lines in the *Christus Patiens*, the probability of their having both been parodied from the passage in question. Generally speaking ἐκπλήσσω seems to have been applied to cases of *fear* and *surprise*, rather than to the tender sensations of *love* and *affection*. We refer our readers to Eurip. Suppl. 160. Troad. 183. Auct. Rhes. 291. Soph. Trachin. 24, 386. Philoct. 226. Aristoph. Nub. 806. Plut. 673.

V. 49. Barnes too reads τοῦ μὴ οὐ, absurdly enough. Το μὴ οὐ, the reading of the *editio princeps*, as Mr. Monk informs us, is the true reading. To the instances given of the two syllables μὴ οὐ forming one metrical syllable, we add the following; Orest. 766. Av. 37. Acharn. 320. Ran. 68, 707.

Barnes rightly enough remarks that the same is the case with ἡ οὐ, and refers to line 596 (589 edit. Porson) of the same play, ἡ οὐκ ἀξιόχρεως ὁ θεὸς ἀναφέροντί μοι. Cf. S. c. Theb. 99. 208.

In line 53 τόπων is the reading of the Scholiast, Musgrave, and Valckenaer; why then obtrude this upon the public as a *new* reading?

V. 54. ὀπισθόπους· ὑποστρέψας· Hesychius. Mr. Monk, without any scruple, condemns this exposition of Hesychius. Does it follow from the usage *here* being different, that ὀπισθόπους should never be equivalent to ὑποστρέψας? Stephens, in his Thesaurus, says under the word, "*pone gradiens*. Exponitur et retrocedens." The former, beyond a doubt, is the meaning here; and we should render in Latin the words ὀπισθόπους κῶμος προσπόλων, by *turba pedissequarum*. It may be worth the while to compare Phœnis. 148. et Virg. Æn. vi. 866.

ὀπισθόπους δίκη, as Mr. Monk observes, is in all probability

cited by Suidas from some tragic writer. Tragic. apud Stobæum et Plutarchum;

ἡ δίκη,
——— σῖγα καὶ βραδεῖ ποδὶ
στείχουσα, μάρπτει τοὺς κακοὺς, ὅταν τύχη.

et Plutarch. p. 9. edit. Wytt. Eurip. Fragm. Antiop. Stob. p. 123. edit. Grot. et Horatianum illud *raro antecedentem*, &c. Θεάν, the emendation of Brunck, is rightly approved of by Mr. Monk.

V.V. 66, 67. In the annals of criticism scarcely do we any where recollect a more happy or more judicious emendation, than the one introduced here by Mr. Monk. It is to Mr. Gaisford, one of the best critical scholars that Oxford has produced since the days of Toup, that we are indebted for it. All the MSS. and editions down to the present day have εὐπατέρειαν αὐλάν. A phrase like this, could it have stood, would have been a solæcism, to have said the least of it. Mr. Gaisford reads εὐπατέρει' αὐλάν; referring εὐπατέρεια to Diana, as an epithet often applied to that goddess. This Mr. Gaisford was induced to think, we should suppose, from the passage given by Mr. Monk (as cited by Valckenaer) from Apollonius Rhodius. Valckenaer adds; "Minerva *virgo* dicitur εὐπατέρεια Comico in Schol. inedit. in Aristid. Codice MS. Clar. Burmann. p. 132." From this we conclude that this epithet was not confined to Diana exclusively. In Iliad Z. 292, Helen is termed εὐπατέρεια. Ὀβριμοπάτρη on the other hand is, if we mistake not, applied by Homer to *Minerva* only. Mr. Monk rightly reads *ναῖεις* with the *editio princeps*, and consequently α̃. For the expression Διὸς αὐλή see Blomf. Prom. Vinct. 121. To the instances given there by Mr. Blomfield, we add Aristoph. Pac. 168. Διὸς εἰς αὐλὰς.

V.V. 76, 77. μέλισσα λειμῶν' ἡρινὸν διέρχεται,
αἰδῶς δὲ ποταμίαισι κηπεύει δρόσοις.

Mr. Monk says, "ἐαρινὸν plerique MSS. Sed altera forma ἡρινὸν, quam exhibent Lascaris et Aldus, Atticis *usitata est*." *Usitatio est*, would have been more correct, for who ever doubted the more frequent occurrence of ἡρινόν? The Professor, we suspect, will find it a hard matter to produce a single instance of the form ἐαρινὸν in any tragic writer. But this is not all: Jortin, says the Professor, proposes ἡρινὸς, and Porson approves of the conjecture; "luce meridianâ clarius;" but the Professor is not satisfied with this; he retains the old reading ἡρινὸν, and defends it by an instance of that epithet being applied to λειμῶν in the Supplices. Did Porson or Jortin suppose that ἡρινὸς λειμῶν was not Greek? surely not; it was the harshness of the two epithets, without a

copulative, which they objected to;—~~ἀκηράτων ἡθύνων λεημῶνα~~—and with good reason. Instances of this sort of neglect occur often in the chorusses of Æschylus, seldom in Sophocles, and still more so in Euripides; the letter Σ, we have been told by Porson, is frequently interchangeable in the MSS. with the Ι; and it was on the strength of this that Jortin's emendation pleased the Professor.

In the next line the word αἰδῶς seems long to have been a thorn in the side of critics; Porson, we are informed by Mr. Monk, for some time thought the passage incorrect. Valckenaer proposes ἔως, Musgrave Ναιάς. Brunck is content to defend the old reading αἰδῶς; to whose opinion Porson afterwards accedes, referring the quaintness of the expression to the philosophy of Anaxagoras, of whom Euripides was a follower. Mr. Blomfield, however, from the passage Ἡρίδανος ἀγνοῖς ὕδασι κηπεύει κόρας, suspects that αἰδῶς is corrupted from the name of some river, and that possibly that river may have been the *Ladon*. But the *Ladon*, we fear, (a river in Arcadia that discharges itself into the Alpheus,) approaches too near to the interior of the Peloponnesus to admit of its being near Trœzen, the scene of the play. If any thing should be altered, we should propose Χάρις; on the authority of a passage in the *Aves* of Aristophanes, (1099. seqq.) ἡρινά τε βοσκόμεθα παρθέναι λευκότροφα μύρτα, ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝ τε ΚΗΠΕΥΜΑΤΑ. Αἰδῶς τε may have somehow, through the negligence of the copyists, found its way hither from line 387.

V. 78. Mr. Porson's alteration of ὅστις for ὅσοις is decisive; in the passages quoted in support of it, Professor Monk has given us at large "in gratiam lectoris," three from Sophocles and Euripides. We should have been grateful to him if he had given us instances not so immediately within our reach.

V. 89. Mr. Monk, we are inclined to think, has been too hasty in condemning the reading of Barnes and Beck, φανοίμεθ' ἐν. The combination of particles ἡ γὰρ ἂν, is generally, if not universally, followed by a *past* tense. *Iliad* A.

ἡ γὰρ ἂν, Ἀτρεΐδῃ, νῦν ὕστατα λωβήσαιο.

Beyond a doubt, in the case before us, the *past* tense δέξαίῃο must be followed by another *past* tense.

V. 91. Mr. Monk's reasons for rejecting the alterations of Valckenaer and Brunck are perfectly correct; nothing can be more settled or decisive. Porson laid down the rule; Mr. Monk has availed himself of it.

V. 95. πλεῖστη γε, καὶ κέρδος γε, so Barnes, Beck, Mr. Monk, and all the editions, except those of Brunck and Valckenaer.

We can entertain no doubt whatever, as to the incorrectness of *τα*. In line 98, as it stands in all the editions, *πῶς οὖν σὺ σεμνὴν δαίμον' οὐ προσενέπεις*. there seems scarcely enough to provoke a reproof so severe as what comes from the mouth of Hippolytus in the next line; *τίν' ; εὐλαβοῦ δὲ, μὴ τι τὸν σφαλῆ στόμα*. Lusac too, it should seem, in his observations on Euripides, felt the same objection, and proposes an emendation suggested by a learned friend. We give his words; "*πῶς οὖν σὺ ΣΕΜΝΗΝ δαίμον' οὐ προσενέπεις*; corrigat Elkidius, vir (si quisquam alius), modo per valetudinem licuisset, his literis ornandis natus; *πῶς οὖν σὺ ΣΕΜΝΟΣ δαίμον' οὐ προσενέπεις*; *quid tu, morosus nimium et severus, Venerem deam nullo cultu, nullis adis precibus?* Quâ lectissimâ restitutione sententiæ multum ponderis accedere nemo diffitebitur, et optimè cum totâ fabulæ œconomiâ illam conspirare." Either *σεμνὴν δαίμονα* or *σεμνόν*, the reading of Suidas, is good Greek, as Valckenaer observes. How Musgrave, and after him Mr. Monk, could suppose that by *σεμνὴν δαίμονα* is meant *Furiam*, we are totally at a loss to conceive. It is quite preposterous to imagine that the servant could have spoken of Venus as a *Fury*, particularly since we learn from line 113 that his opinion with respect to the worship of Venus was different from that of Hippolytus. If so, at all events, the article would have been prefixed to *σεμνὴν*.

V. 100. For *πύλαισι*, says Mr. Monk, the *editio princeps* reads *πύλῃσι*, which however he rejects. As the introduction of this form into *Attic* Greek, seems to have for a long time perplexed the critics, not excepting even Porson himself; we will present to our readers, at one view, the opinions of Mr. Monk, Mr. Blomfield, and the late Professor; all of which seem to differ widely.

"In his terminationibus," says Mr. Monk, "*parum sibi constant libri, [ita] ut adeorum auctoritatem in talibus vix provocemus. Res quidem ad liquidum perducere non potest; vulgares autem formas in Euripide semper retinere malui.*"

In the *Prometheus Vincetus* (363 edit. Blomf.) we have this line, as it stands in Shütz's edition;

σμερδναῖσι γαμφηλῇσι συρίζων φόνον

We give Mr. Blomfield's note; "*γαμφηλῇσι* Ald. Turn. Codd. aliqui et Eustath. ad Il. E. p. 579. Sæpissimè librarii formas Ionicas invexerunt, circa Homerum maximè versati, quos Bruackium toties secutum esse miror. *δειναῖσι γαμφηλαῖσι* Rob. et Eudocia apud Villosion. Anecd. Gr. p. 406," &c.

From these two notes of Mr. Blomfield and the Greek professor, it appears that their mode of thinking with respect to the propriety of admitting the termination *ῃσι* instead of *αῖσι*, in these cases, is different. Mr. Blomfield, too hastily perhaps, seems to

imply in his note a total exclusion of the form from Attic poetry. Mr. Monk, more moderately and more consistently with the practice of his predecessor, expresses his belief that the form ought not to exist in Euripides—merely. On what grounds he forms this opinion, is not given to us to say, or whether he be justified in so doing or not.

Porson, however, thought differently from either of his pupils: let us turn to his note on line 479 of the Medea,

ζεύγλησι, καὶ σπεροῦντα κ.τ.λ.

“Ζεύγλησι Ald. ζεύγλαισι membr. Lasc. Perpetua in his formis confusio. Quare* priorem, [h. e. ζεύγλησι] ubi dant codices vel codicum pars, accipio; contra universos codices non obtrudendam opinor.”

Here the Professor decidedly gives the *preference* to ζεύγλησι, and plainly declares, that if a tolerable proportion of copies should give the termination ησι, and all the rest αισι, he would prefer the former. In the Phœniss. (59.) he does not however think the reading of *one* MS. sufficient to induce him to alter. For πόρπαισιν Valckenaer, Brunck, and Beck read πόρπησιν, from a Leyden MS.

If no other reason can be alleged as to the incorrectness of such a form, than the bare fact of its being an Ionism or a Dorism, we certainly make no scruple in agreeing with Mr. Porson. If the Attics can introduce into their dialogue the forms Ἀθάνα, δαρὸς, ἑκατι, κυναγὸς, ποδαγὸς, λοχαγὸς, ξεναγὸς, ὀπαδὸς, (see Porson. Orest. 26.) ξειῖνος, μουῖνος, γούνατα, κοῦρος, δουρὶ (Pors. Pref. Hecub.), and other instances given by Mr. Monk at line 1093 of this play; it seems reasonable to conclude, that they would not be offended with the words πύλησι, πόρπησι, ζεύγλησι.

V. 106. We entirely coincide with Mr. Monk's idea of τιμαῖσιν. The error, which Valckenaer has fallen into, is the error of a scholar,——“si deficient vires, audacia certè Laus erit.” In line 114 Mr. Monk has judiciously retained the old reading λέγειν, though, as he justly observes, Reiske's alteration is specious. We should translate the line thus: *entertaining such thoughts in our minds, as is fit for slaves to express.* We almost wish however that, like Porson in the Phœnissæ (861), he had given us at large the conjectures of Brunck and Jacobs.

V. 117. For εὔτονον, says Mr. Monk, Aldus and the *editio princeps* read ἔντονον; which appears to us to be the better reading. So also Barnes, Beck, and the other editions. Only three or four MSS. have ευτονον; all the rest ἔντονον. Hence,

* Yet Mr. Blomfield in the Prom. Vinct. (472.) has thought fit to retain ζεύγλαισι, though more than one MS. have ζεύγλησι.

it appears, we have the majority of MSS. and editions in our favour. True; but we will go further. *Ἐντονος*, if we recollect rightly, occurs but twice in Euripides; once here, and once in a fragment of the Bellerophon, preserved by Stobæus, (Tit. 112.) We give the passage as it stands in all the editions before Valckenaer,

ὦ παῖ, νέων τι δρᾶν μὲν ENTONOI χέρες,
γνώμαι δ' ἀμείνους εἰσὶ τῶν γεραιτέρων.

O! nate, *juvenum quidem manus ad agendum VALIDÆ sunt, sed consilia seniorum meliora.* Valckenaer, with much boldness, alters the passage; reading,

ὦ παῖ, νέων δρᾶν EYTONΩTEPAI χερες,

not however on the authority of a single MS.

Thus, we see the reading of *εντονος* for *ἐντονος*, in the passage before us, was adopted by Valckenaer before Mr. Monk; which, without any harm to himself, he might have told us. Mr. Monk founds his belief of this lection upon a line in that confused mass of right and wrong, the *Christus Patiens*, (1042.)

εἴ τις ὑφ' ἡβης σπλάγχνον EYTONΩΣ φέρων

and upon Hesychius's exposition of *εὐτόνως* by *ισχυρῶς*. This is somewhat ingenious; but, it should seem, that *εὐτονος* was seldom, if ever, used in the sense of *ισχυρὸς*, except by the later writers; and to these Hesychius must have alluded. But ENTONON· *ισχυρὸν, ὀξύ·* says Hesychius. Add to this what Suidas says under the word; ENTONA· *ισχυρά·* Herodot. iv. § 11. *καὶ δὴ τὰς γνώμας σφένων κεχωρισμένας, ENTONΟΥΣ μὲν ἀμφοτέρας, ἀμείνω δὲ τὴν τῶν βασιλῆων.* With such a cloud of evidence before us, it appears that of the two *εὐτονος* ought to be excluded from the Attic writers, and not *ἐντονος*. In the *Plutus* of Aristophanes (1096) we suspect that *ἐντόνως* ought to be read, not *εὐτόνως*: no mistake more frequent in the MSS. than that of *υ* for *ν*, and *vice versa*. EYTONOΣ is explained by Hesychius by *εὐμενῆς, γενναῖος*.

Having thus far entered into a minute examination of the several passages in the Hippolytus referred to by us, we trust that the remarks we have already made will enable our readers to form a proper estimate of the book before us. It would be, we fear, much too tedious to detail our opinions with the same minuteness upon the remainder of the work. We proceed therefore to draw our observations to a close, and to content ourselves with one or two remarks upon what may appear to be most deserving of our attention.

V. 265. This was a saying of Hippocrates too: *πάν τὸ πολὺ πολέμιον φύσει.* It may be worth the while to give to our

readers the much-admired Scolium of Alpheus of Mitylene, (Brunck's *Analect.*) which Mr. Monk might at least have referred to;

οὐ στέργω βαθυλήτους αἰεῖρας
οὐτ' ὄλβον πολύχρυσον, οἷα Γύγης·
αὐτάρκους εραμαι βίου, Μακρίνε·
τὸ ΜΗΘΕΝ γὰρ ΑΓΑΝ, ἄγαν με τέρπει.

So Horace: "Auream quisquis mediocritatem," &c. and Cicero, "mediocritatem illam tenebit, quæ est inter nimium et parum."

V. 268. Possibly Mr. Monk's conjecture of ὀρῶ μὲν for ὀρῶμεν may stand: but what is gained? of two readings, which are equally good, we should prefer the common one. Lusac's reading is plausible. In line 270, αὖ for ἄν, (which words are often interchanged) is proposed by Brunck and Reiske; and we think with propriety; particularly if we read with Mr. Monk ὀρῶμεν; then the sentence is connected thus: (1.) ὀρῶ ΜΕΝ (2.) ἄσημα ΔΕ [ἐστίν] (3.) σοῦ Δ' ΑΥ. And so in the *Aves* of Aristophanes, (1478. seqq.)

τοῦτο ΜΕΝ γὰρ ἦρος αἰεὶ
βλαστάνει, καὶ συνοφαντεῖ
τοῦ ΔΕ χειμῶνος πάλιν
τὰς ἀσπίδας φυλλορρόεϊ.
ἔστι Δ' ΑΥ χώρα κ.τ.λ.

297. For εἰεν Brunck reads ἔα: this is specious, to say the least of it. Instances of ἔα followed by an interrogatory sentence, as τί σιγᾶς; which is caused by some sudden alarm or surprise—are very frequent. In these cases we should doubt whether εἰεν is ever found. Hippolyt. 989. ἔα τί χρήμα; Heraclid. 73. ἔα, ἔα τίς ἡ βοή βωμοῦ πέλας ἔστηκε; Aristoph. Thesmophor. 1111. ἔα τίν' ὄχθον τόνδ' ὀρῶ; Av. 1504, ἔα τοῦτ' τί ἦν; Plaut. Rud. ii. 7. 20. EHO! an te pœnitet? Terent. Andr. i. 1. 61. EHO! quid Pamphilus? It is needless to say that the passage quoted by Mr. Monk from the *Hecuba*, affords no exception. We refer our readers to Brunck's note on line 607 of the *Ranæ*.

V. 480. "Quivis comparabit," &c. Is Barnes to have no credit for this?

V. 482. Mr. Monk's emendation is entitled to applause; he has restored the passage with uncommon ingenuity and accuracy. We wonder that Valckenaer, and more especially Brunck, should have been ignorant of a point so essential in verbal criticism. See Porson's note on *Med.* 863.

V. 547. See Ovid. *Epist. æn. Parid.* 117. Horat. *Carm. ii.* 8. 21.

V. 719. See *Med.* 285 (Edit. Porson.)

V. 851. "Brunckius, homo, vel se judice, metri imperitissi-

mus," &c. Why this severe attack upon Brunck? We are sorry to find Mr. Monk appreciating so low the merits of such a man, whom we do not fear to call the "*spes altera*."—One of the best critical scholars of the age has not hesitated to give his opinion of that great critic in terms of the strongest admiration. Speaking of Brunck, he says,—"*cui tantum debent Græcæ literæ, quantum haud scio an nemini, uno excepto Porsono*." Mr. Monk ought to have recollected that Brunck had not the advantage of having Porson for his predecessor; he had his own battles to fight, and was his own pioneer. Brunck was certainly not a bad metrical scholar, though much inferior in that respect to Porson; he never had occasion to think himself deficient in that department of literature, much less to proclaim and avow it.—"*Homo, vel se iudice, metri imperitissimus!*"—is a censure as harsh as it is unmerited.

V. 977. Valckenaer, says Mr. Monk, observes that *ἐρπω* is of frequent occurrence, that its compounds are more rare. Mr. Monk however recollects to have seen an instance in the *Flere. Fur.* 259.—Was Mr. Monk then ignorant that that very line is referred to by Valckenaer in his note on the passage? See *Aristoph. Nub.* 785. *Eccles.* 169. *Pax.* 1291.

V. 1089. *Κλαῶν*] "*Asi*, *Piersone jubente, Brunckio non nolente, semper sine diphthongo scripsi, idem facturum in αἰεὶς, κλαῶ and κλαῶ.*" *Pors. iv. Pref. Hecub.*

Among the instances of *χαλῶν* in the sense of *impund*, it is surprising that Mr. Monk should have quoted the famous line from the *Medea* (399) without referring to Toup's celebrated note on the lines from *Eupolis* which ridicule that passage. See *Toup on Longin.* § xvi. p. 318—19.

Having now, as we apprehend, pointed out to our readers, what we may call a fair specimen of the merits and demerits of Mr. Monk's edition of the *Hippolytus*; we conclude with strongly recommending to the *Regius Greek Professor*, a system less tedious, and more original. In avoiding the brevity of Porson, he has fallen into a prolixity exceeding that of some of our German editors: he is too fond of foisting into his notes (as Dr. Bentley would call it) a multifarious mass of omnigenous matter; and not fond enough of declaring the sources of his borrowed criticism. The style which we should recommend, is exactly that, which has been suggested by a learned critic of the present day;—"*cum eo annotationum & variarum lectionum delectu, qui medium quodammodo locum teneret inter largum illud & prolixum interpretationis genus, quo ad Euripidis Phœnissas & Hippolytum usus est Valckenaerius, & nimiam, ut quibusdam videtur, brevitatem, quam in quatuor primis ejusdem poetæ fabulis recensendis studiose coluerat Porsonus.*"

ART. XII.—*The Situation of Great Britain in the Year 1811, by M. M. de Montgaillard; Author of Remarks on the Restoration of the Kingdom of Italy, by the Emperor Napoleon; of the Right of the Crown of France to the Roman Empire, &c. &c. &c.*—Faithfully translated from the French. London, 1812. Sherwood, Richardson, Ridgway. 8vo. Pp. 225.

WE think it was Dr. Johnson who observed, that if you took a Frenchman to St. Paul's Church-yard, and told him it was lawful to walk half round the church, but that he would be hanged if he walked entirely round it, he would believe you. Meaning thereby, as we presume, that the habits, manners, prejudices, and general turn of thinking of a Frenchman ran in currents so directly opposite to those, in which our laws and institutions bear along with them the happiness and prosperity of the people, that there is no common medium of mental intercourse, by which he can be made to understand or judge of the real tendency of any part of our political arrangements. If this were true before the French revolution, when the intercourse between the countries was comparatively free, and a general system of courtesy pervaded the European republic, it must be emphatically so at the present moment, when a strict separation has subsisted for near twenty years, during which an inveterate enmity to the national character of England has been diligently inculcated in France, without an attempt to found it upon any results of deliberate inquiry; and when in point of fact, the habits, the morals, the government, and the polity of the two countries have been more and more diverging from a common centre. The prejudices of education have, therefore, assisted the views of the French rulers, in estranging the minds of their people from all dispassionate contemplation of the English system.

A curiosity, however, concerning this anathematized nation of shopkeeping Islanders, seems throughout the whole of this latter period to have existed in the minds of the people, if not of the rulers of the continent, and of France. Certain rumours of engagements by sea, of victories or defeats by land, in various and distant quarters of the world, seemed to announce a display of power, that had the effect of casting a shade of doubt over the incessant official predictions concerning the immediate ruin and subjugation of England. At once to satisfy the curiosity and remove the doubt, it has been at various intervals the custom of the creatures of the French government to put forth, by means

of hired pamphleteers, exposés of the state of England and of her colonies; interspersed with a great deal of good advice to our domestic parties. During the last war we had many obligations of this sort to Mr. Talleyrand; conferred upon us, no doubt, out of gratitude for the asylum which was afforded him here, as ex-bishop of Autun, in the first periods of the revolution. M. Hauterive and several inferior hands have since taken up their pens with the same laudable view, and have afforded many a wise apophthegm to the politicians of the continent, and many a hearty laugh to those of England. Thus we recollect having read of a French gentleman, who having, during his visit to England, been squeezed into the gallery of the House of Commons, where he heard the usual call of "Places, Places," to produce order in the house when the Speaker makes his appearance, very gravely informed his nation upon his return, that the venality of which the democratic members accused the House of Commons had "*effectivement*" risen to such a pitch of grossness, that upon the appearance of the *minister* he was actually assailed with one general outcry "*pour des benefices.*"

The last few months have been signally fruitful in these efforts of French genius and patriotism. Not long ago we cast a hasty glance over a large octavo published by a Frenchman, for some time past and now resident in this country; in which absolute power is the theme of great eulogy, and the character of James the Second held up as the pattern of every kingly virtue; the English are very much derided for their folly in supposing, that they have gained any real benefit by the liberties acquired at the revolution; advised to curtail the freedom of speech, and of the press; accused of propensities, which upon accurate data he finds to be *just sixteen times* more cruel, unnatural, and dishonest, than those of the French; and finally given to understand, "*qu'ils avoient encore des larmes de sang a verser, de ce que Henri VIII. ait réussi d'annihiler a jamais la portion démocratique du gouvernement, en détruisant, ce que je répète etre le principe vital et unique de la liberté, les établissemens monastiques.*"

We find however to our surprise, that this gentleman still continues to prefer an asylum in our degraded and dilapidated country, to one where his ideas might have been more completely carried into execution, and their consequences more fully exemplified; and we find also, that the alien office gives him no disturbance.

Next comes M. de Montgaillard, who kindly informs us in a very long and logical dissertation, that England must be

inevitably *ruined* by France in thirty years or thereabouts, unless she will consent to ruin herself at the present moment, by laying her maritime superiority at the feet of France, leaving the possession of the continent and of the world to "the Emperor Napoleon, the invincible child of victory, whose power has begun the real race of the Cæsars; that which will never end; that which will never have an Augustulus nor a Louis le *Debonnaire*; that which will direct the fate of the world for a long series of ages." (P. 125.) In a word, he cannot help stating for the sake of the continental nations, and if we will allow him, out of pure love and regard to the *English people* also, that it is "by peace and by the measures of a *wise and enlightened* administration, one that is alive to the *real interests* of the nation," (as they are stated by M. de Montgaillard, and corroborated by the jacobinical English pamphlets), that the British people can yet avoid the misfortunes, the revolutions, and the calamities of every kind, which threaten Great Britain with total subversion." (P. 225.) Again he observes, "in the present financial, political and commercial exposé, our only object is to remove, if possible, the *film* which obscures the sight of the people of England, and thus to prevent the sanguinary catastrophe which threatens them." Thus the exuberant benevolence and humanity of this philanthropic Frenchman extends even to the enemies of his country.

We shall not toil through the whole tissue of lying absurdities by which M. de Montgaillard arrives at his conclusions. Many of them are so gross, that no British mind could be perverted by them; they are evidently intended only for the benefit of the continental nations, and perhaps to flatter Buonaparte concerning the efficacy of a system of policy, exclusively of his own contrivance, but which he begins to perceive not quite likely to answer his impatient views for the subversion of English power and happiness. To these a French answer should be written, and if possible circulated on the continent. The nations should be told that England, so far from being the cause of their distress, affords their only remaining chance of escaping from it. But as that is not our task or office, we shall confine our observations to such parts of the argument as (rotten as they are) may yet be used as pillars to the failing sophistry of some particular parties or individuals in the state. We shall hope thus to secure the less informed of our countrymen from any possible bad effects of this Frenchman's fallacies.

To begin then, we cannot help considering the pamphlet before us as the first (*continental*) fruits of the Bullion Report; the whole argument is evidently built upon reasoning and asser-

tions to be found in that document, or in the several pamphlets written in its support; misunderstood indeed ridiculously enough in some instances, and *illustrated* (as the Frenchman would probably say) by extracts, equally misapplied, from the reports of the finance committee, and various pamphlets on the same subject. But we are well persuaded, that the principal effect, which this contemptible work may produce either at home or abroad, will be chiefly ascribable to the impression previously made upon the minds of the ignorant by the Bullion Report. A French disquisition on the state of England is perhaps the only disguise, in which the exhausted mind of the public would not now nauseate a further dissertation on the Bullion question; and the present translation may therefore be compared to those placards of the dealers in lottery tickets, which attract the unwary passenger by announcing A CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION, in large capitals; and repay his neverfailing political curiosity by a notice in small type, that Lady Branscomb has removed her lottery-office to Holborn-bars.

The following extracts will give our readers some idea of the propositions which M. de Montgaillard considers as *data* with respect to the political systems of France and England.

“ Nature has decreed that the French empire should be the centre of power and protection for all the nations of the continent: this political decree is fixed and immutable. Hence it will be evident that the *momentary* transfer of the sceptre of the ocean to the hands of England has been occasioned by circumstances radically false, corrupt, and unstable; and by these alone. Such adventitious circumstances on the one part, and the maritime tyranny of Great Britain on the other, have caused all the ravages, and engendered all the plagues, under which both the sovereigns and the people have groaned, down to the present hour.

“ Every impartial man, of a correct understanding, whatever may be his country, profession, or political opinion, is forced to acknowledge in the conduct and will of the government of France, the fixed and liberal intention of giving freedom to *the commerce and industry of the people* of Europe; of protecting their sovereignty and their maritime independence, and of ensuring to them the honourable enjoyment of those commercial rights inherent in every crown.”

This is the *faithful* picture of France and the continent. Then follows that of England and her allies.

“ It is necessary to explain the naval power and the commercial riches of England, and to explode in the face of all Europe, this phantom of prosperity which has deluded every government, which oppresses every people, and which might have enchained the universe by the most scandalous and rigid laws, if, amidst all the prodigies and every kind of glory which can do honour to human na-

ture, Providence, in its eternal justice, had not indicated to all nations the avenger of their rights, and the protector of their liberties—such, in short, might have been the result, if Providence had not granted to the French empire a statesman profound in his councils, a warrior invincible in the field, the wisest administrator, and the greatest as he is the best of monarchs. Far be from us *every idea of flattery.*”

“Commerce is attended with results which are infinitely advantageous; but its spirit of enterprise is frequently injurious, because the love of gain tends to obliterate sentiments of liberality, and always ends by substituting self-interest in the place of honour; so that amongst people essentially or generally commercial, riches obtain too much consideration and influence, to the detriment of honour and good faith.”

“Thus we see why England has not, nor ever can have sincere and constant allies. She has deserted the great social family, and the rights of mankind; *while deceit, ambition, and violence constitute the public law of her ministers.* The mass of injustice and depredations committed by their orders is scarcely credible; and this (shall we say it,) is the inevitable effect of the prodigious and immoderate extent of the commercial power of Great Britain. This false prosperity, this policy at once capricious and violent, is daily digging for the country an abyss of calamities. The obstinate and ignorant conduct of *the present administration* tends still farther to accelerate the ruin of the state; for though powerful fleets may give, during a time, possession of the empire of the seas, never will they be able to obtain the empire of commerce! Markets are necessary for the sale of goods, and these markets are on the continent of Europe; the preponderating power on the continent will therefore always be, after the strictest scrutiny, the mistress of commerce.”

If commerce then is in its nature variable and uncertain, and therefore hostile to an adherence to treaties, we would ask M. de Montgaillard, is ambition less so? Let him inquire of the deposed sovereigns of Europe. Is it by reasoning like that which we have seen in the preceding extracts, that we are to be satisfied with the *restoration* by the emperor Napoleon of the kingdom of Italy, that we are to be convinced of *the right* of the crown of France to the Roman empire; and of its just and equitable claim to the thrones of Spain and Portugal*?

That such a slave as this should wear a sword
 Who wears no honesty! Such smiling rogues as these,
 — smooth every passion
 That in the natures of their lords rebels;

* See the title to this article.

Bring oil to fire, snow to their colder moods;
Renege, affirm, and turn their halcyon beaks
With every gale and vary of their masters,
As knowing nought, like dogs, but following.

But it is superfluous to exclaim against this writer's instinct for discovering where "thrift may follow fawning;" we shall therefore proceed to those particular facts and inferences, for the gracious reception of which, as tending to shew the inevitable ruin of England, the preceding extracts had prepared every *liberal* mind.

The Berlin and Milan decrees, and the cheerful submission of all the states of Europe to the continental system, that is, to an obedience to Bonaparte's decrees, at the expence of their own comforts and their people's prosperity, are the great engines by which the work is to be performed. The prosperity of England rests *solely* on its commerce, "it has not within itself a principle of strength sufficient for the developement of its naval power;"—its population is diminished;—its money gone, and its taxes proportionably increased;—its sinking fund misapplied;—its power *entirely* built on East Indian commerce and returns, Calcutta being the real capital of England;—her manufactures rivalled by the products of French industry, and her colonial exports by the products of the French soil. It is required only that the sovereigns of the continent should cure their subjects of the "the British leprosy," and that France *should gain that preponderance at sea*, which she has often had before, which nothing but a series of unfortunate *accidents* and misconduct prevents her having now, but which the invincible hero will soon acquire, and the ruin of England is sealed. "It is in this light that we may justly say, that the fate of Great Britain is at the disposal of the Emperor Napoléon." (P. 157.) To Holland, therefore, and to all the nations groaning under the privations imposed by the French decrees, he promises peace and abundance, "when the liberty of the seas shall have been regulated;" and in the mean time, with a considerable degree of *persiflage*, desires them to consider their annexation to the French empire as an important, commercial, and political privilege.

But it must of course have occurred to M. de Montgaillard, that some proof of the lamentable picture he draws of the state of England would be required by those, who saw it every day belied by her gigantic efforts in the cause of freedom and of Europe! He accordingly comes forward with his proofs and documents in form; and first, he undertakes to prove, that the prosperity and existence of England rest *solely* on her commerce, and as our author explains it, on her commercial inter-

course with the European markets, by considering, that the interest of the national debt and the expence of the naval and military establishment, are paid by the proceeds of the sales of East and West Indian produce, to the continental states: "The sums thus required must therefore evidently be insufficient, if the war be prolonged, and the ports of the continent be strictly shut against British merchandize." (P. 28.) This is the burthen of the pamphlet, and is repeated at least an hundred times in its two hundred pages, and exemplified by as many analogies. We are compared by turns with Tyre, Palmyra, Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and other commercial states of contracted territory. The author knows not (how should he?) that more than two-thirds of the British revenue are levied upon, and an equal proportion of the manufactures purchased by, the domestic population and internal resources of the kingdom. He knows not, that the capital raised by our commerce is every day realized in the cultivation of unbroken soil, and the improvement of old inclosures; and that we have means as yet unexplored to double or treble our produce and population. And, although, in point of fact, the storehouses have been glutted by colonial produce, both because we possess all the colonies in the world, and because many of their accustomed vents on the continent are closed; yet M. de Montgaillard may learn from the official returns of the revenue for the last year, during which his favourite continental system has been in full operation, that whatever individual distress this state of affairs may for a time produce, the effect upon the public revenue is, if not trifling, at least by no means such as seriously to distress and impede the operations of government, and the general prosperity of the country. In fact, the defalcation in the average produce of the revenue has scarcely amounted to any sum worth mentioning in a total of upwards of sixty millions; for, although the receipts of the present year have fallen short of those of the last, by nearly three millions, yet one million and a half must be ascribed to an extraordinary collection of arrears in 1810, and the remainder to an excess of trade in the same year above the average amount of former years. The receipts of 1811 were nearly as great as those of 1809, and exceeded those of 1808; and in every one of those years there has been a *considerable surplus* of the ordinary revenue applicable to the extraordinary expences of the war; so that there is not, on the whole, the smallest ground for distrusting the competence of the united kingdom, not merely to continue the struggle, but even to increase its exertions in proportion to any exigency that may arise.

But it is impossible not to perceive, that the wants of men

and the venality of douaniers will find out new channels of supply, in proportion as the scarcity of colonial produce on the continent enhances its price; and we should not be surprised to find the revenue of 1812 exceeding that of 1811, as much as that of 1810 exceeded that of 1809. Such a fluctuation, under the present circumstances of the continent, is naturally to be expected, notwithstanding all M. de Montgaillard's asseverations, that not a bale of English goods shall reach the continent; and all his exhortations to the European sovereigns to ruin themselves and their people, in order to forward the destruction of their best friend.

We are next informed, that the population and agriculture, as well as the commerce and manufactures of England, are on the decline, and therefore, that the continuance of the payment of domestic taxes to the same amount will soon become impossible; much less can the necessary increase be provided for. To this it is enough to answer, that the population has *substantially* increased, at least a million of souls in the last ten years; and that more than one hundred acts of parliament for the enclosure of waste lands are passed in every session. And as to the pressure of taxes, every tyro in political economy knows, that a tax paid to the English government is immediately paid away again to the people, for goods manufactured, or for the remuneration of labour employed in the public service. The effect is, therefore, that property changes hands; but so far from being annihilated, it is, when justly and honestly applied, only thrown into quicker circulation, being paid to the most active and enterprizing artisans. And, as in every step of its progress it is employed about objects which pay a revenue to government, the consequence to the state is beneficial, however it may excite the complaints of those whose enjoyments are curtailed by the original subtraction from their incomes. But we do not believe that those complaints will ever be very loud or serious, so long as the obvious alternative of noncompliance with the reasonable wants of government is *subjugation to France*; provided always that every due precaution is taken to prevent the public money from being squandered and embezzled; a precaution which every wise minister for his own sake will be most eager to secure. With respect to the inability of the country to discharge the weight of taxes, we would just remind our readers, that this is no new alarm. The conviction was so prevalent in 1801, that Mr. Pitt actually despaired of raising any large sum within the year as war taxes, and had again recourse to the system of loans. Yet so far was the ability of the country to bear additional taxes, when convinced of their necessity, materially diminished, that we all re-

collect, that in the first year of the peace which followed, an addition of five millions, and in the first year of the present war an addition of twelve millions and a half, were cheerfully paid by the people; making a total addition of nearly double the interest of the national debt as it stood in the year 1793.

Now, we would ask a man of observation, if there is any thing in the habits, enjoyments, and general condition of the people at the present moment, which makes them less able to increase their exertions in a cause in which their hearts and affections are engaged, than they were in 1802 or 1804.

But it is said, the enormous and increasing load of public debt must at length overwhelm us, considering the temporary accidents to which all nations may be exposed, to interrupt for a time their national prosperity, and produce occasional defalcations from their revenue. The sinking fund, of course, offers an answer to this objection;—of this M. de Montgaillard appears to be aware: and his reasoning on this subject constitutes so delectable a specimen of the absurdities of a Frenchman, when he bewilders himself in the details of English polity and finance, that we cannot withhold the passage from our readers.

“ Nevertheless, some wise and enlightened ministers, in the early part of the reign of George I., jealous of the honour of their country, formed the project of the *sinking-fund*, intended to effect the extinction of the national debt. This is an excellent institution of finance, perfectly proper to inspire confidence, and capable of guaranteeing the credit of a nation. But this institution, like the best of laws, is not protected against abuses which may be exerted by force and corruption, when it is at the mercy of *the venality or the ambition of ministers*. By a clause of the act on which it is founded, the residue of the taxes appropriated to the *sinking-fund* is left at the disposal of parliament. This clause has been sufficient to cause the suspension of all reimbursement or liquidation in time of war, under the pretext of enabling the government to meet the public service of the year. Ambitious or knavish ministers may dispose, at pleasure, of the sums appropriated to the discharge of the national debt: they need only, in order to succeed in their manoeuvres, to ensure a slight majority in the parliament. New loans may be proposed, and they will not be filled up, except *at an increase of interest*; but the loans supply ministers with new means of internal corruption.”

To this galimatias we shall briefly and plainly reply, that in all our difficulties and dangers the sinking fund has been kept sacred; that it does at this time pay off more than a million every month of the national debt; and that even upon the present scale of our expenditure, it would probably ere long (with the aid of the war taxes and the surplus of the consolidated

fund) enable us to maintain the contest with France without any actual augmentation of public debt. It is evident that this will be the case when the sum redeemed by the commissioners for managing the sinking fund is equal to that of the loan for the service of the year.

With respect to our dependance upon the East Indies for our existence, and to the exaltation of Calcutta into the metropolis of England, it must be observed, that M. de Montgaillard qualifies the assertion, by admitting on the other hand, "that *in reality* Plymouth is the *citadel of Calcutta*. It is therefore only necessary for Great Britain to receive an unexpected defeat on her own shores, to enable the imperial fleets to convey to the Mahrattas and the nabobs of the peninsula the news of their liberty, and the advantages of independence." (P. 91.)

We shall think it time enough to surrender to this reasoning when our existence and dependance are tottering, our metropolis and citadel in jeopardy, and the fleet and army of France are triumphantly proceeding to confirm M. de Montgaillard's predictions.

We shall begin to be seriously alarmed when we find that they are actually on their way to throw fire and discord among the nabobs and the Mahrattas; of which events we confess that we do not at present perceive any immediate prospect. Such speculations may gratify his emperor, may amuse the badauds of Paris, and may perhaps be cheered by the half-smothered acclamations of an abject people; but we do not think they will have the least effect upon any enlightened foreigner, much less give one moment's alarm to the well-informed people of England. We have no doubt, however, that we shall all agree with this ingenious gentleman, that, as France is neither oppressed with the *fleeting possessions* of colonies, commerce, a sinking fund, East Indian returns, or the capital of Calcutta; it remains that Paris is her metropolis, and "that in *this sense* the *facts will shew* that the French empire is the richest, and Great Britain the poorest, government in Europe." (P. 40.)

But as M. de Montgaillard well observes, what signify the teas and the muslins of the Eastern, the sugar and coffee of the Western Indies, when the products of the French soil, and industry, shall rival them in the foreign markets. When the grass of Paraguay, transplanted into France, shall be chopped into their teapots, and the juice of the grape, instead of being fermented into an intoxicating liquor, shall, with due sobriety, be evaporated and crystallized into a saccharine competitor with the produce of Jamaica; to say nothing of the French looms and beans which are to be respectively instrumental in the pro-

ductions of muslin and coffee. To this formidable array of French rivalry we really know not what resource to oppose. We fear that M. de Montgaillard has at length driven us to the wall. We must, indeed, fall at the feet of Buonaparte, conclude a maritime peace, and permit "the liberty of the seas to be regulated;" and if it seems good to M. de Montgaillard and his emperor, it shall be upon these terms.—That we shall gradually withdraw from our eastern and western possessions, and give up our marine, in proportion as their products shall be replaced by those of the same description and quality raised on the soil of France, manufactured by French industry, and imported in French ships. In the mean time, it is proposed, that we shall continue in the full and undisturbed possession of our ships and colonies and commerce, and that France shall not, of course, adopt a plan so *ruinous to herself* as to employ her ships and capital in cultivating, and importing from the East and West Indies, articles of commerce, for the production of which the capacities of her own soil and people are so much better adapted. Nothing can surely be more in unison with the views and objects of France, as set forth in this Exposé of her hired agent.

Having thus yielded up the palm of victory to M. de Montgaillard, we shall now withdraw from the contest, little doubting that our readers are by this time fully competent to judge of his soundness as a politician, and his prowess as a controversialist; and, we trust, that they will scarcely expect us to unravel the intricate skein which his ingenuity has woven out of the arguments of the bullion report, and its advocates. If in the hands of their original framers they were sufficiently unintelligible as to any practical or useful application; we are not ashamed to confess, that, passed through the alembic of a Frenchman's brain, they are infinitely surpassing our slender intellect. All that we can clearly perceive is, that he thinks them very conclusive himself, as to the immediate ruin of England, and seems to have no doubt that the same impression will be made upon others.

In aid of these convictions the procedure of Lord King, and its necessary consequence, the bill of Lord Stanhope, furnish him with a most triumphant postscript. We recommend the following extract to the notice of the first of those noble lords, and of the other advocates of the bullion committee; gently insinuating, that as a very large majority of the legislature and of the nation has decided their measures and arguments to be perfectly unwarrantable, *de facto* at least, if not *de jure*, in the present state of affairs,—we trust that on future occasions they

will be cautious of maintaining theoretic speculations, by means which may eventually afford to the enemies of their country extensive means of injuring its interests among its friends.

“When we sketched the picture which has just been perused, we were far from supposing that the ministers would themselves expose to the whole universe the mortality of the wounds of Great Britain. This will, indeed, be an astonishing epocha in the history of nations, as such an one ought to be, wherein we see a country that pretends to command the empire of trade, in all parts of the civilized world, suddenly obliged to expose its commercial misery, and to adopt the fatal resource of paper money, because a single landholder, Lord King, wishes to put in force the rights which a legitimate contract gives him over his tenants.

“England, how deplorable is thy situation!—This extension of trade, this increase of industry, which caused a political power to rise from the midst of its navy, which have rendered a little island the rival of the greatest empires, themselves become the causes of its decline and ruin! A few months which have passed since the execution of the decrees of Berlin and Milan have been sufficient to shake, even to its foundations, that grand and majestic edifice, which philosophy, legislation, and commerce, had given to Great Britain. It is all over with the splendour of that kingdom; its greatness is extinct!”

At length this serious opera, this “sottise magnifique,” ends with all due solemnity: “Le Lord King a mis le feu au temple d’Ephese, et les ministres consomment sa destruction.”

ART. XIII. *The Life of the Right Reverend John Hough, D.D. successively Bishop of Oxford, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester: formerly President of Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, in the Reign of King James II. containing many of his Letters, and Biographical Notices of several Persons with whom he was connected.* By John Wilmot, Esq. F.R.S. and S.A. London, 1812. White and Cochrane, Longman and Co,

THE perusal of the work before us has given us pleasure and instruction. Bishop Hough is one of those characters which must always excite interest, and can surely give offence to none but those who hate virtue because it is virtue. The qualities with which he was most eminently gifted were of the mild and unobtrusive kind; yet in one event of his life, when the circumstances in which he was placed made political firmness a moral duty, he displayed an intrepid moderation, which neither the

best nor greatest need blush to own. We allude to the well known and memorable incident of his contention with the crown in 1687, as president of Magdalen College, when he boldly withstood the attempts of a bigotted prince to force upon his college a Roman Catholic president. The account of the whole proceeding is curious; but as our limits will not allow us to give it in detail to our readers, we shall only produce an extract or two, referring them to the book itself for the remainder. We need scarcely remind our readers, that the college petitioned against the appointment of Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, as their president, on account of his being a papist.

“ This petition the king repeatedly refused to accept, and they were threatened by him, in a very gross manner, with the whole weight of his displeasure, if they did not admit the Bishop of Oxford, which they intimated was not in their power. The king said, among other things, ‘ Ye have been a turbulent college. I have known ye to be so these twenty-six years. You have affronted me in this; get you gone; know I am your king, I will be obeyed; and I command you to be gone: go and admit the Bishop of Oxford principal, what do you call it, of the college (one who stood by said, President), I mean president of the college. Let them that refuse it look to it; they shall feel the weight of their sovereign’s displeasure.’ This he repeated, and added, ‘ Get you gone home, I say again, and immediately repair to your chapel, and elect the Bishop of Oxford, or else you must expect to feel the weight of my hand.’ The fellows went immediately to their chapel, and being asked by the senior fellow whether they would elect the Bishop of Oxford their president, they all answered in their turn, that it being contrary to their statutes, and to the positive oath which they had taken, they did not apprehend it was in their power. It appears from Anthony Wood’s account of this visit, that W. Penn, who attended the king to Oxford, went afterwards to Magdalen College; and although he at first hoped to persuade the fellows to comply with the king’s wishes, yet when he heard the statement of their case, he was satisfied that they could not comply without a breach of their oaths.”

Shortly after the fellows of Magdalen received a citation to appear at Magdalen College, before certain lords commissioners appointed specially to visit the college. These were Cartwright, bishop of Chester, Sir R. Wright, chief justice of the King’s Bench, and Sir T. Jenner, baron of the exchequer. We shall give part of the conversation which passed at their visit, as being replete with characteristic features of the king and his government.

“ Bishop to Dr. Hough. What is the reason you act as president, since the election was declared void and null by the lords commit-

pioners sitting at Whitehall, in June last, and the fellows stand out in contempt of the king's mandate?—Dr. Hough. My lord, both myself and the fellows have taken oaths so strong and binding, that we cannot depart from them, without offering the greatest violence to our consciences. It was according to the statutes of the college that they made choice of a president, and therefore they were not capable of proceeding otherwise; and as to myself, I have been condemned at Whitehall, and turned out of my property without giving me a hearing, or so much as a citation to appear.

“Bishop. But how say you, doctor; do you now submit to our visitation?”

“Dr. Hough answered in his own name and that of the greater part of the fellows, ‘That they submitted to it as far as was consistent with the laws of the land and the statutes of the college, and no further.’”

“The statutes being sent for and read, and found to be very strict and close to the purpose, the bishop said, ‘Dr. Hough, do you imagine that a private statute can contradict our commission, and that it is not in our power to alter any of your statutes?’”

“Dr. Hough. My lord, thus far I acknowledge your power reaches: you may alter statutes in respect of persons who come after, which, when altered or made, are proposed to them before they swear to the observance of them; but not in respect of us, who have sworn to keep them as they are already made, without the least addition or diminution; for sure I am, that no power under Heaven can free me from the obligation I have taken.

“The bishop said, that the king had dispensed with the statutes, and asked the president if he thought they came there to act against law?”

“Dr. Hough. My lord, it would not become me to say so; but I will be plain with your lordships. I find that your commission gives you authority to change and alter the statutes, and make new ones as you think fit. Now, my lords, we have taken an oath not only to observe these statutes (laying his hand upon the book), but to admit of no new ones or alterations in them. This must be the rule of my behaviour; I must admit of no alteration from them, and, by the grace of God, I never will. Being asked why he did not read mass then, as there was a statute for mass; Dr. Hough replied, ‘My lord, the matter of this statute is unlawful; besides the statute is taken away by the law of the land. Besides, my lord, that statute having been abolished by the law of the land, it could never have affected me; for as long as the saying mass is *malum in se*, and in my conscience I know the matter of it to be unlawful, that obligation ceases, and I am in no sort of duty bound by it.’”

“Chief Justice. In the king's mandamus is implied an inhibition with respect to all others, and a dispensation of private statutes.

“Dr. Hough. That is past my understanding, my lord; nor since the foundation of the college has there been an instance of that nature.

“ Bishop. Will you deliver up the keys to the use of that person whom the king has appointed president, as the statutes require ?

“ Dr. Hough. As the statutes require, my lord ?

“ Bishop. Yes, as the statutes require.

“ Dr. Hough. My lord, I will immediately do it, if that appear.

“ Bishop. Turn then to the statutes, where he promises to submit quietly, if he shall be expelled, either for his own fault, or other cause.

“ Dr. Hough. My lord, this statute doth not concern me, if I be not expelled for any cause committed by me.

“ Bishop. Vel ob aliam causam ?

“ Dr. Hough. Then to speak the truth, my lord, here is no cause at all.

“ The keys of the college were then demanded.

“ Dr. Hough. We never deliver up the keys even to the Bishop of Winchester, and we own no greater visitorial power. He has the king's authority: 'tis by virtue of a royal charter that we live together, and enjoy the benefits of this place: this empowered the founder to give us a rule, and obliges us by oath to live suitably to it. But your lordship knows it has been controverted whether the king can visit a private college or not. But, my lord, I humbly beg of your lordship that I may have leave to ask one question. Your lordship is pleased to demand of me to give up my keys and lodgings ; does your lordship own my right ? For if not, what is it your lordship would have me give up ?

“ Bishop. No ; we look upon you as an intruder.

“ Dr. Hough. If I am an intruder, the Bishop of Winton has made me one, and I thank God for it. My lord, the time we have been allowed to prepare ourselves for this appearance has been very short,—but one day between that and the citation. We are men ignorant in the laws, myself in particular. I have endeavoured to give your lordship a plain and satisfactory reply to such questions as you have been pleased to put to me. It is very probable that through ignorance and inadvertency I may have exposed myself unwarily ; if so, I beseech your lordship, let no advantages be taken of it. My intention has been all along to express myself with all imaginable duty to his majesty, and respect to your lordships. If I have done otherwise, I beseech your lordships' candour, and a favourable interpretation of what I have said, that nothing may be taken amiss where all was dutifully intended. And now, my lords, I have thus far appeared before you as judges. I now address you as men of honour in the last degree, as I always have been and always will be, as far as conscience permits me, to the last moment of my life. And if I am dispossessed here, I hope your lordships will intercede that I may no longer lie under his majesty's displeasure, or be frowned upon by my prince, which is the greatest affliction that can befall me in this world.

“ Upon this the president was ordered to withdraw, and after a little time he and the fellows were called in again. Then the bishop repeated the question.

“ Bishop. Dr. Hough, will you deliver up the keys and give possession of the lodgings to the person the king has appointed president?”

“ This being repeated a second and third time, and Dr. Hough having answered, that he had neither heard nor seen any reasons to induce him to it, the king’s proctor stood up and accused him of contumacy; when the bishop admonished him in these words, three times: ‘ Dr. Hough, I admonish you to depart peaceably out of the lodgings, and to act no longer as president, or pretended president, of this college.’ This being done, the commissioners struck his name out of the books of the college, and admonished the fellows, and others of the society, no longer to submit to his authority. Having adjourned till the afternoon, the president came again into the court, and having desired to speak a few words, they all took off their hats, and gave him leave; whereupon he said, ‘ My lords, you were pleased this morning to deprive me of my place of president of this college: I do hereby protest against all your proceedings, and against all that you have done, or hereafter shall do, in prejudice of me and my right, as illegal, unjust, and null; and therefore I appeal to my sovereign lord the king, in his courts of justice.’ ”

By this firm and manly conduct of Dr. Hough and his colleagues, the king and his friend and coadjutor William Penn (whose activity in the cause reads a sort of lesson to our contemporaries, which we shall presently recall to their minds), were defeated in their attempt to force a Roman Catholic president upon the college, and at length quitted Oxford *re infecta*.

We cannot but be struck with this choice by James II. of William Penn the quaker, as an instrument to forward his designs against the established church in favour of popery. Who can help comparing it with the partnership entered into at a late catholic meeting in Ireland, between its members and a modern quaker of celebrity? The fact proves, that it is not a new thing for popery and quakerism, however discordant in their principles, to become friends in a confederacy against the established church.

The scene of which we have just read an account is the more creditable to Dr. Hough, as the whole tenor of his subsequent life exhibited a continued proof, that his firm stand against arbitrary power in no wise originated in a turbulent spirit, or factious motives. The happy times which succeeded the revolution were little fruitful in acts calculated to call forth conscientious resistance to ecclesiastical oppression, and the good bishop consequently confined himself to the quiet discharge of his pastoral duties, and to a charitable and paternal interest in the welfare of his friends. In 1690 he became bishop of Oxford, and successively filled the sees of Lichfield and Coventry,

and of Worcester, where he remained 26 years, having lived to the advanced age of 92. He retained complete possession of his faculties to the last, and what was still more valuable, seems to have been free from that peevishness and querulousness of temper which are among the moral infirmities of age. In short, he appears to have possessed the happy art of growing old with a good grace. The source from which this serenity flowed will appear from the perusal of his letters and other writings, which we recommend to the attention of our readers, who are yet to acquire a taste for the beauty of regulated affections, gentle habits, and polished humanity.

The following specimens are given by Mr. Wilmot of the bishop's pleasantries, good humour, and benevolence.

“A young clergyman, curate of a neighbouring parish, taking his leave of him one day, and making many awkward bows, ran against, and threw down on the floor, a favourite barometer of the bishop's: the young man was frightened and extremely concerned; but the good old prelate, with all the complacency possible, said to him, ‘Don't be uneasy, sir; I have observed this glass almost daily for upwards of seventy years, but I never saw it so low before.’”

The other is as follows: He always kept 1000*l.* in the house for unexpected occurrences, perhaps to pay funeral expenses or legacies. One day the collectors of one of the noble societies in this country came to him to apply for his contribution: the bishop told his steward to give them 500*l.* The steward made signs to his master, intimating that he did not know where to get so large a sum. He replied, “You are right, Harrison; I have not given enough: give the gentleman 1000*l.*—you will find it in such a place:” with which the old steward, though unwillingly, was forced to comply.

The Bishop of Worcester's chief correspondent was Lady Kaye, widow of Sir Arthur Kaye, of Woodsome, in Yorkshire, and great grandmother to the late Earl of Dartmouth. She was daughter to Lady Marow, whose funeral sermon the bishop preached in St. James's church in 1714. This lady appears to have been a most exemplary person, and as far as a judgment can be formed by the evidence given by Mr. Wilmot, to her may be ascribed the singular glory of having literally earned the fame bestowed upon her in a long and laudatory epitaph*.

The bishop also corresponded with another daughter of Lady Marow's, Mrs. Knightly. In one of his earliest letters to her,

* Lady Marow's epitaph is to be found in St. James's church, and is transcribed in the work before us, p. 80.

is a short passage upon the advantages of epistolary intercourse with friends, which pleased us much from its new and original turn.

“Good sense in manuscript is what we may dwell upon with pleasure: we can oblige the author to repeat, over and over again, those thoughts and expressions we are so much taken with, and every time find out new beauties in them, with this great advantage, that modesty is not provoked on one side, nor does satiety rise on the other. For this reason, I have often thought it no small happiness to have friends at a distance, who are so good as to think of us, and so kind as to let us know it; and I really believe it would prove to our loss, if we could see each other so often as we desire it.”

We have no doubt but *one half* at least of our readers will approve highly of the bishop's ideas of domestic management contained in the following extract from a letter to Mrs. Knightly.

“I congratulate Lady Delves on her good fortune, and I think I may say Sir Thomas too, for I hear he is much pleased, and that the lady carries herself with a decent complaisance, which cannot chuse but be engaging, to one who was not used to it in his former wife's time. She governed, so ought this to do; but her good sense will prevent her from letting the world, or even himself, discern it: it is the true art of maintaining a comfortable correspondence in a family; and it was the saying of the Archbishop Dolben, that every good husband willingly gave up the government to his wife, but every prudent wife kept the secret to herself.”

A short letter from the bishop to Mrs. Knightly, after the death of her son, aged 20, is so well deserving of attention, that we shall insert it.

“Madam,

May 1st, 1732.

“Your last letter makes me sensible that prudence and good understanding are superior to the greatest trials, and that an even temper, which calmly bears, and does not impatiently struggle under adversity, overcomes it; slowly, indeed, and by leisurely degrees, but this makes the conquest more effectual. The reason is obvious, for then a man's conduct is such as the almighty Governor of the world expects it to be, who would have the sufferer know, that he is under his hand, and ought humbly, nay, thankfully to submit; but does not forbid him the use of all proper endeavours to lighten the weight; so far from such severity, that he sends the blessed Spirit to influence and assist him, whereby he is enabled to consider of his present state with true judgment, to make useful reflections upon it, and proceed to resolutions, which he may promise himself he shall soon have power to accomplish. This is that strength of mind, which philosophy vainly boasts she has at her disposal, but never could bestow it upon any of her votaries; for human nature has it not. The great Author of nature reserves it in his own hand, a gift only to those who seek it worthily, and none but the

sincere Christian can obtain it. I am confident, Madam, you have felt this by experience, and found that when a course of reasoning has made but little progress towards it, an humble prayer has brought it down from above. Let this, therefore, be your chief resort, your constant refuge, and be assured it will never fail you.

“Mr. Palmer of Ladbroke is now at Hartlebury, and tells me it is not long since he saw you in very good health, which is a blessing I pray God you may long enjoy, not only for your own sake, but for the sake of one who, well disposed as he is, will daily improve by your example and instruction; on whom duty and a tender regard for all you do and say will make a deeper impression than the most solemn lectures and discourses from an indifferent person. As I take myself to have more than a common interest in him, I cannot but express an equal concern, that he may in all respects make such a figure as you may look upon with comfort and pleasure.

“I am,

“Madam, &c.”

We shall conclude our extracts by presenting to our readers part of a charge delivered by the bishop to his clergy, when in the eighty-first year of his age. He is treating of the obstacles which exist in the human mind to the reception of the truth.

“They are many, but I will instance only in three: 1st, self-conceit; 2dly, prejudice; and 3dly, prepossession. The first in the opinion of the wise man, was invincible. He no where vouchsafes his advice to it, concluding it would be thrown away, and gives a very good reason; for ‘seest thou,’ says he, ‘a man wise in his own conceit? there is more hope of a fool than of him.’ Accordingly wherever such a one comes in his way, his severest reproofs are sure to fall heavy, but not in a manner as if he expected amendment. A fool may, by proper treatment, in some degree become tractable: he is not absolutely incapable of being influenced by hopes and fears; as far as his small knowledge and apprehension goes, he will obey those on whom he depends: but the self-conceited man is entirely unmanageable, full of sufficiency, and not to be wrought upon. If you disapprove his conduct, he smiles, and pities your judgment. He is very sure he is not in the wrong, and therefore is incapable of being set right. He is, in short, impenetrable to good advice; and yet from such a temper as this we must not turn aside. The husbandman must scatter his seed on rocks, on stony ground, and even in the highways: it may be trodden under foot, or not take root; but he has not been sparing either of that or his pains; and if the product does not answer, the fault is not his. What Solomon thought impossible, is extremely feasible to one who is greater and wiser than he; who can, when he pleases, even by means of our endeavours (poor as they may be) make the opinionated sinner ashamed of his follies, and, which is more sick, of himself.

“The second ill quality which I mentioned to stand often in our way is prejudice, sometimes against the doctrine, sometimes against the preacher, and in either case we shall not easily remove it. For

If your reprehension be turned upon a favourite vice, or you set up a virtue that interferes with it, he must be a man of more than ordinary candour who will hear with patience and impartiality. All who are not thoroughpaced and hardened sinners find out ways to reconcile their principles to their practice, till they come to be easy in their own minds, and to look upon those things as very tolerable wherein they indulge themselves. Let these alone, and you shall say what you please, without contradiction; but such and such doctrines are not to be digested; they bear too hard, and do not make, as they think, reasonable allowances; and if you will not forbear to insist upon them, you provoke their spleen. 'Is there not,' says Jehosaphat, 'a prophet of the Lord, besides these that stand before us, of whom we may enquire?' 'Yes,' says Ahab, 'but I hate him.' 'Why so?' 'Because he does not prophecy good concerning me.' A covetous man is as ready as any body to applaud the preacher upon the subject of frugality, if he will but leave his hearers to adjust the measures of it. But if he takes upon him to define the virtue, and expose the sordid vice it may degenerate into, he thwarts the man's inclination, and loses his esteem. On the other hand, a luxurious man is so far from being shocked, when you tell of the blessings that attend a liberal hand, that he fancies himself well entitled to them. He does not with the miser keep all to himself, but calls his neighbours and friends to share in his plenty. But when you come to shew in what degree and in what manner hospitality must be exercised to make it commendable; when you talk of limits and restrictions, of proper objects and justifiable ends, you spoil all, and his complacency forsakes him.

"Thus it is obvious we might make ourselves acceptable enough, by 'prophesying only smooth things;' but the direct contrary is our duty, and will be, till the world comes into a better state. Sometimes the instruction is ill entertained, because not delivered gracefully and with a becoming air. The preacher's figure, or his mien, or his elocution does not please, and then the substance of what he says shall be little regarded. A foolish prejudice, and justly to be despised; but yet we find the great St. Paul laboured under it. The Corinthians could not but confess that his letters were weighty and powerful: the strength of reason and the truth of his doctrine were undeniable; but his bodily presence, it seems, was weak in their eyes, and the manner of expressing himself not tuneable to their ears. He did not appear great and awful, like one who ought to be revered; he spoke very good sense, that they allowed him, but he set it off poorly; and these trifling considerations, added to their vicious dispositions, made them bold to demur to his authority.

"The third, and of all others the most obstinate enemy we have to encounter is prepossession; for it sticks at nothing. Where education and interest have settled falsehood, neither shame nor remorse can touch it. How imperiously and how impudently does it maintain the ground! Dressed out in the most specious colours that can be invented, she insults the plainness and simplicity of

truth, yet (fearing her innate strength, and knowing she will at last prevail) she calls in the succours of a furious zeal, a zeal that admits of all arts, and refuses no means conducing to its end; a zeal that makes use of the most barbarous cruelty, under pretence of good nature, and breaks faith with men for the glory of God. An honest, well-meaning stranger may be apt to say, this is a heavy charge, can it possibly be made out? We will allow a stranger in christendom to doubt; for human nature cannot think it easily credible. But you, my brethren, who are exercised in the defence of truth, are able to convince him; you who are not ignorant with what weapons she is attacked, and how treacherously she is assaulted. Many of you have had experience, and are able to testify, that 'if the Lord himself had not been on our side, when men rose up against us, they' (the great and most insolent assertors of falsehood) 'had swallowed us up quick, when their wrath was kindled against us.' "

There is a curious and interesting fac simile of a letter, written by this amiable prelate a few months before his death, when in his ninety-second year. Its style is excellent, and we cannot help wishing that the hand-writing of our beaux and belles were as legible as that of the good bishop at his advanced age: for this letter we must refer our readers to the book.

We have thus given a short account of this pleasing work. It exhibits a specimen of that combination of public spirit with private urbanity, of vigour in the great with suavity in the little concerns of life, which softens admiration into affection, and mellows the hero into the friend and companion. The general execution of the book by Mr. Wilmot is such as we might naturally expect from the literary leisure of a gentleman and a scholar.

ART. XV. *A Refutation of Calvinism; in which, the Doctrines of Original Sin, Grace, Regeneration, Justification, and Universal Redemption are explained, and the peculiar Tenets maintained by Calvin upon those Points are proved to be contrary to Scripture, to the Writings of the ancient Fathers of the Christian Church, and to the Public Formularies of the Church of England.* By George Tomline, D. D. F. R. S. Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and Dean of St. Paul's. London, 1811. Cadell and Davies.

WHEN England and Scotland were as yet separate kingdoms, a narrow tract on the boundary of the two realms, denominated the debatable land, was the scene of the most bitter hostility, the object of the most vehement contention. Though this unfortunate stripe of territory along the Sark and the Tweed had been so frequently ravaged and *peeled* by alternate inroads from the north and from the south, that the fee-simple of the soil was scarcely worth the expence of a single predatory excursion, it was there that the rival nations were constantly wasting the courage, and lavishing the blood, by which the power of France might have been broken. Even when treaties had suspended public war, well might the litigated confines deplore their lot, as

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell.

Garrison frowned upon garrison, camp lowered against camp on the border. Insult and invasion, fire and sword, still characterized this region of discord and devastation.

It is with religious associations as it is with empires. The jarring parties in matters of faith are often observed to be exercising their strength, expending their zeal, and we fear it may be added, indulging their resentment, not mainly, nor with the firmest pertinacity in exertions against their common enemies, nor in efforts to fortify themselves in those positions which the combatants ought respectively to consider as the most essential to the interests of piety and holiness; but in contests about some debatable corner, which, though not without its value, cannot reasonably be deemed of higher than secondary importance. In the days of Elizabeth, and of her immediate successors, it was the cross in baptism, or the surplice, or the episcopal vesture, or the station of the communion table, which called forth into action the energies of religious party. At present the debatable corner is Calvinism. If we attend to a charge delivered at a visitation, it is against tenets regarded as calvinistic, that we expect the maximum of vigour to be dis-

played. On other topics advice is gently intimated; on Calvinism the thunders roll. If we open a visitation sermon, it is the tremendous poison of Calvinism which rouses the voice of alarm and abhorrence. It is on the luckless Calvinist, real or supposed, that the young theologian fleshes his maiden steel. It is for his gallantry against this selected adversary, that he exults by anticipation in the dreams of self complacency, and receives almost before he has struck a blow, the gratulatory acclamations of his brethren.

Let us not be misunderstood. We know that it is at all times the indispensable duty of Christians, *earnestly to contend for the faith which was once delivered to the saints*: (Jude 3.) to maintain publicly and privately *the truth as it is in Jesus*, (Ephes. 4. 21.) not only in its general form, but in every one of its discriminating features. We are not of the opinion of those who pronounce that minor errors in religion are of trifling consequence, provided that the great fundamentals are held. We judge, that error in doctrine is naturally followed by serious effects in practice, and that error of every description is to be combated with assiduity and zeal, proportioned to its magnitude, and to the mischief of its tendencies.

Our complaint is not that Calvinism is combated, but that it is often combated ignorantly and unfairly; that the opinions and proceedings of modern Calvinists are in part misconceived; that truths of the first moment, truths essentially belonging to the gospel and the church of England, truths in which Calvinists and anti-calvinists agree, are occasionally hunted down as dogmas of Geneva; that men do not generally discern, that the existing evils of lukewarmness and indifference as to religion, are far, very far more prevalent and more pernicious than the existing evils of Calvinism.—We now proceed to the bishop's work.

An inquiry into the import of those passages in the Old and in the New Testament, on which the calvinistic system is rested; a detailed statement of the sentiments of all the ancient fathers, from the apostolic age down to Theodoret, who flourished A. D. 423; a series of quotations from the writings of Calvin; and an exposition of the tenets of the established church, as developed in our public formularies; these combined form the groundwork on which the bishop avowedly builds his superstructure. To these previous commendatory circumstances is to be added the name of the author; a prelate highly respectable in character, understanding, and attainments; followed by the mathematical reputation that he deservedly acquired at the University of Cambridge; and sincerely desirous, as we are satisfied, actively to watch over his diocese, and

according to his views of the tenor of scriptural doctrine, and of the nature of scriptural holiness, to lead forward his clergy, and through the medium of the clergy, the flocks committed to them, in soundness of faith, and in excellence of conduct.

We have repeatedly heard the observation made, and we think with justice, by persons each differing from the other in sentiments concerning the work before us, that the bishop ought graphically to have delineated in the outset the enemy with whom he intended to engage in battle: that in professing to refute Calvinism, it behoved him at once to put the public in possession of the tenets which he designed to refute. But this is but one instance, among many which might be named, of what appears to us to be the characteristic defect of the bishop's work; we mean great want of clearness in his lordship's views, and of unity in his plan and the execution of it. That the tenets of Calvinism, as existing among us, are frequently misconceived, partly as to their nature, and partly as to their practical results; and misconceived by persons from whom a description more accurate might reasonably be expected, we have already intimated. We shall therefore endeavour to furnish a general view of those tenets; and at the same time shall add some observations, which, as we trust, may have their use in clearing the subject, and in assisting our readers to form a just judgment on the Bishop of Lincoln's book. It is our purpose to investigate in an intelligible and simple manner the several topics to which we shall advert; and carefully to shun the thorny intricacies, and the bewildering twilight of metaphysics.

Of the system of Calvin, the following passages which we give from his institutes, in the words of the bishop's translation (p. 538, &c.), may be regarded as containing the sum.

“Predestination we call the eternal decree of God, by which He has determined with Himself, what He willed to be done concerning every man. For all men are not created in an equal condition (*pari conditione*): but eternal life is preordained to some, eternal damnation to others. Therefore as every one was formed for the one or the other end, so we say that he was predestinated either to life or death.” *Inst. lib. 3. cap. 21. sect. 5.*

“We assert that this counsel, with respect to the elect, was founded in his gratuitous mercy, without any regard to human worth: but that the approach to life is precluded to those whom he assigns to damnation, by His just indeed and irreprehensible, but incomprehensible judgment.” *Ib. sect. 7.*

“Therefore, if we cannot assign a reason why He (God), thinks his own worthy of mercy, except because it so pleases Him; neither shall we have any other ground for His reprobating others, except His will.” *Ib. cap. 22. sect. 7.*

“ Since the disposition of all things is in the hand of God; since the power of salvation and of death resides in Him: He so ordains by His counsel and His will, that some among men should be born devoted to certain death from the womb, to glorify His name by their destruction.” *Ib.* cap. 23. sect. 6.

“ I confess that it (the decree of reprobation), is indeed a horrible decree, (*decretum quidem horribile* fateor*). No one, however, will be able to say, but that God foreknew what would be the end of man before he formed him. . And he therefore foreknew it, because he had so ordained by his own decree.” *Ib.* sect. 7.

“ Therefore it is a false dogma, and contrary to the word of God, that God so either chooses or reprobates as he foresees, that every one will be worthy or unworthy of his grace.” *Rom.* 9. 11.

“ I acknowledge that this is my doctrine, that Adam fell not by the mere permission of God, but also by his secret counsel, and that by his fall he drew all his posterity to eternal destruction.” *De Occ. Dei Provid.* p. 735.

“ I confess that I wrote that the fall of Adam was not accidental, but ordained by the secret decree of God.” *Ib.* p. 736.

To the supreme predestinating decree of the most high, as announced in the preceding quotations, Calvin consistently ascribes the conduct of individuals. “ Holiness, innocence, and whatever virtue there is in men, is the fruit of election.” *Ephes.* 1. 4.

“ Behold, He (God) directs his voice to them, (the reprobate) but it is, that they may become more deaf: he lights up a light, but it is that they may be made more blind: he proposes a doctrine, but it is that they may become more stupid by it; he applies a remedy, but it is that they may not be healed.” *Inst.* lib. 3. cap. 24. sect. 13. “ That the reprobate do not obey the word of God, when explained to them, will be rightly imputed to the wickedness and maliciousness of their own hearts, provided it be at the same time added, that they are therefore addicted to this wickedness, because they are raised up by the just but unscrutable judgment of God, to illustrate his glory by their damnation,” *Ib.* sect. 14.

Those followers of Calvin who agree with him in ascribing not only the fate of individuals after the fall, but the fall itself to the predeterminating counsel of God, are called supralapsarian Calvinists.

From the full measure, however, of this tremendous fiat, numbers of predestinarians have shrunk appalled. They have therefore undertaken to establish the substance of their Calvinism on another basis. They disclaim all retrospect beyond the creation, except to the everlasting covenant of redemption.

* We are of opinion that the word “ horribile” ought rather to be translated “ awful,” than “ horrible,” which implies something of guilt.

They commence with the state of man immediately after the fall. Considering Adam as appointed the federal head of the whole race of individuals, who to the end of time were to descend from him; considering him as thus having their eternal weal and woe committed to him, and suspended on his own obedience or disobedience to the command of his Maker respecting the tree of knowledge; considering him as in his federal capacity, having by transgression forfeited for all his posterity the divine favour, and the inheritance of heaven, and subjected them universally to the condemnation of hell; they describe the Deity as having thought fit, in the antecedent contemplation of the transgression and of its consequences, from eternity to select in his divine purpose certain individuals from the entire number of the condemned species, and to ordain them by free grace to indefeasible salvation through the future sacrifice of his incarnate Son, while the reprobated mass was consigned to everlasting punishment. Occasionally they will illustrate their views of the divine determination, by the hypothetic case of a sovereign visiting a prison crowded with criminals under a deserved sentence of death, for the purpose of magnifying his mercy by gratuitously bestowing pardon on particular persons selected, not through any distinction of comparative inferiority in guilt, but merely according to his own will, of the grounds of which he owes no account to any man; and at the same time of exalting his justice, by abandoning all the rest to the severity of the law.

Thus the Supreme Being is by them represented as having from eternity chosen, not from any regard to foreseen faith and good works, but simply by his sovereign pleasure, certain individuals out of a world prospectively lying before him under total damnation; and, as having given them to Christ by an everlasting covenant of particular grace; and predestinated them to sure and immortal bliss. Those who maintain Calvinism according to this explanation of its doctrines are denominated *sublapsarian Calvinists*. And to this description, it is understood that in the present day the generality of English Calvinists belong.

There is yet a third class of Calvinists. The persons in question are termed *Baxterians*, from the truly pious and able, though fallible Baxter, whose opinions on the subject before us they adopt. He contended for predestination as to some, but disclaimed reprobation as to any. He affirmed that the Deity had from the beginning ordained, by his sovereign will, particular individuals to salvation; but that to all who were not thus elected to life eternal, he really and fully vouchsafes the capacity of attaining, through the universal Redeemer, an inheritance in heaven.

According to each of these views of Calvinism, it is manifest, that the doctrine of predestination necessarily involves within itself the sanctification and the final perseverance of the elect. If the elect are preordained to be saved, and if without holiness no man shall see the Lord, the elect will necessarily be sanctified. Again; if the elect are preordained to be saved, of necessity they will persevere to the end; that is to say, when once sanctified, they will either remain stedfast in a righteous course, or, if they depart from it, will assuredly be brought back to it by divine grace before they die. If a Calvinist object to the preceding expression "of necessity," and contend that the will of the elect is to close with the means of sanctification and of perseverance; it may suffice to reply, that their will cannot but of necessity close with those means; otherwise the predestination of God might fail of its accomplishment. As little force will be found, on discussion, in other metaphysical explications, and distinctions without a difference, which are not seldom advanced to repel anti-calvinistic arguments. Predestination is a firm and indissoluble chain, the first link of which commences in the eternal election of the favoured individual; and the last terminates in his establishment in glory at the day of judgement. The decree of God must stand; the elect must be saved. It is decreed from everlasting that the elect *shall* be called to the knowledge of religion; they *shall* listen to the call; that they *shall* be justified; that they *shall* be sanctified; that they *shall* persevere unto the end; that they *shall* be glorified for ever. According to the tenets also of Calvinists, (such persons only as agree with Baxter excepted), it must equally be manifest that the links of the chain of reprobation cannot be broken. The decree of God must stand; the reprobate must be lost. They *shall not* be called to the knowledge of religion, or *shall not* listen to the call; they *shall not* be justified; they *shall not* be sanctified; they *shall not* escape the final destruction to which they are ordained.

From the doctrine, however, of reprobation, with its difficulties and its horrors, modern Calvinists, who disclaim the views of Baxter, are frequently seen labouring to disentangle themselves and their system. Some would dispose of the doctrine by a change of name. "Our doctrine," they say, "is not reprobation, but preterition. We do not affirm that those who are not of the elect are reprobated, we only aver that they are *passed over* in the dispensation of grace." *Passed over!* What! when a man is lying under a sentence of damnation, and is purposely *passed over* in the dispensation of grace by which alone he could be delivered; is not he thus consigned necessarily and in-

evitably to damnation? Is not he as plainly consigned, purposely and necessarily and inevitably to damnation, as he could be were even a special decree to go forth for his perdition? Is common sense to be blinded by a phrase? Let Calvin himself return the answer. *Quos Deus præterit, reprobat.* "Those whom God passes over, he reprobates." *Instit. lib. 3. cap. 28. sect. 1.*

Others again speak thus, "Predestination we hold; of reprobation we say nothing." But does your silence alter the fact? The question is not whether you are willing to admit that you believe the doctrine; but whether you do believe it. Is it or is it not a component part of your system? Do you believe it, or do you disbelieve it? If you believe it, how is it that you shrink from confessing that which you consider as revealed in the word of God? If you disbelieve it, why hesitate to declare your disbelief? and on what principle, if you are not Baxterians, do you disjoin reprobation from predestination?

"We are no Baxterians," replies a third set; "we believe that God bestows his saving grace only on the elect, whom he predestinated from eternity to salvation: and we believe that no person on whom that grace is not bestowed can be saved, still we do not believe in reprobation." On this distinction we will observe presently. But first let us be informed on what grounds you would establish it. "We believe," it is answered, "in predestination, because we see that doctrine unequivocally announced in the scriptures. But reprobation we do not perceive to be asserted there; consequently we do not feel ourselves bound to receive it among the articles of our faith."

Hear then in the first place Calvin himself, "Many, indeed, as if they wished to repel odium from God, so acknowledge election that they deny that any one is reprobated; but too ignorantly and childishly: since election itself would not stand unless opposed to reprobation." *Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. sect. 1.* In the next place, is reprobation in the sense meant by Calvinists to be perceived in the scriptures? Be it assumed for the sake of fairly meeting your reasoning, that your doctrine of predestination is asserted there. How is it possible on your own admission, on your own principles, to separate it from reprobation? If conformably to your statement, the scriptures unequivocally affirm that saving grace is vouchsafed exclusively to the predestinated; do not the scriptures thus affirm by implication, as unequivocally as they could have affirmed by express words, that all who are not predestinated are reprobated? If the scriptures had affirmed that no individual should be saved unless he should be born in Europe, would not they thus have reprobated every person born in any of the other quarters of the

globe? Would not the natives of Asia, Africa, and America, have been excluded from salvation as decisively as if they had been specifically named? If there be such a thing as reasoning applicable to religion, is not this conclusion inevitable and inextinguishable? If you deny this conclusion, on what ground do you call upon us to admit any conclusion whatever respecting any religious truth? Again, a Calvinist pressed by the weight of anti-calvinistic arguments, will sometimes endeavour to render his system more tenable by stating his own doctrine to be a *qualified* predestination. A qualified predestination is to our apprehension a direct contradiction. An event is predestinated, or it is not predestinated. It is left contingent, or it is not left contingent—there is no medium between predestination and non-predestination—between contingency and non-contingency. If a person affirms predestination, we understand him. If he denies it, we understand him. If he declares himself in doubt, whether predestination be the scriptural doctrine or not, we understand him. But when he speaks of a *qualified* predestination, we do not understand him: and we think—and it is without any arrogant or disrespectful meaning that we would state our persuasion—that he does not understand himself. Another softening explanation, which is very general among modern Calvinists who are not Baxterians, and is advanced by them, we doubt not with perfect sincerity, must not be left without notice. They allege that every man may be saved, *if he will*; that it is not a *natural* impossibility, but a *moral* impossibility, which prevents a man from obtaining salvation: that if he will turn unto God he shall be accepted through that Redeemer, who by his death gave a ransom sufficient for all, and who invites all to take advantage of that ransom. What is the difference between a natural and a moral impossibility? Is not the moral nature, with which fallen man is born, the important, the distinguishing, the characteristic part of his nature? And what is the meaning of the assertion, that every man may be saved *if he will*, when on the calvinistic doctrine none but the predestinate ever *can* will? Can a man *will* to turn unto God, except he have the grace of God? No. Can he have that grace but by the divine purpose? No. Is not that grace on the calvinistic hypothesis before us, limited by the divine purpose to the predestinated? Exclusively. Is it not then idle, is not it more than idle to declare of a person not of the number of the predestinated that he may be saved *if he will*; when by the divine purpose he is precluded from the grace by which alone he could be enabled to will? What would be our opinion of similar reasoning, if we were to hear it employed on any other subject?

It is thus that we have thought it requisite to shew what in our

estimation the calvinistic system, under its various modifications and expositions, really and essentially involves. We have now to perform a different duty, a duty strongly impressed upon us by the perusal of the bishop's work, that of vindicating the Calvinists against some misconceptions and misrepresentations with which they are not unfrequently assailed by their opponents. And lest, in this age of misconstruction, our own sentiments should, in consequence of this act of justice, be doubted; we must premise, if after the preceding remarks it can indeed be needful to premise, that we are certainly not Calvinists.

In the first place, eager anti-calvinists speak and write, as though calvinistic clergymen were continually preaching and teaching Calvinism. The reverse is the general fact. That *some* individuals among them bring forward their own tenets sedulously, and press them pertinaciously, is not to be denied. But among the calvinistic ministers within the establishment, we believe the number of such persons to be small. The generality of the calvinistic clergy in the English church but seldom bring forward their peculiarities from the pulpit; and produce them only in select cases to individuals in private. While they regard their own system not only as accurately scriptural, but as highly conducive to their personal consolation, and to their growth in grace, they regard it also as strong meat wholly unfit for babes; and are so aware of its liability to be perverted to the encouragement of evil, that they deem circumspection and judgment requisite, in order to decide when it may be mentioned with advantage to the hearer. And in their frequent declarations, that every man may be saved if he will seek salvation, and that no man is shut out from the kingdom of heaven unless he exclude himself, (topics on which we have already offered some remarks), they hold such language as, however consistent it assuredly is in their own estimation with their doctrinal tenets, would naturally give, in the ears of common auditors, an anti-calvinistic character to their discourses.

• In the next place, from the arguments of anti-calvinists, it might not seldom be supposed that the Calvinist maintains that particular individuals are intuitively known by themselves, and distinctly by others, to be of the number of the predestinated; and, perhaps, even that all Calvinists are of that number. Such suppositions are altogether groundless. Whatever may have been the meaning of the 6th article rejected at Lambeth, the Calvinist affirms, that although God knows his own elect, no person has any foundation for being deemed, either by himself or by others, to be one of the elect, except so far and so long as he possesses the evidence of a holy life.

In the third place, anti-calvinists often speak and write of their

predestinarian opponents, as of men who depreciate moral obligation, and the importance of good works : nay rather, as of men who either must deny the necessity of christian virtue, or be totally inconsistent with the radical principles of their system. " Why," it is demanded, " is the Calvinist either to inculcate or to practise piety or morality? What can his efforts, or the efforts of any man avail in matters of salvation? What remains for any man to do, but to sit as tranquil as he may, until death shall dismiss him for eternity to his predestinated and inevitable condition?" Such controversialists ought to begin with enquiring, whether the Calvinist may not perhaps be practically inconsistent with his system? They ought to remember, that it may be entirely fair to charge upon a system certain consequences as following from it by logical induction, and at the same time wholly unfair to charge an individual, who maintains the system, with holding those consequences. He may disavow those consequences, whether consistently or inconsistently, yet with sincerity. We see not ourselves how the calvinistic system, as a system, can logically escape from the consequences with which the anti-calvinists, as we have stated, charge it. For if it be answered, according to the customary reply, that God has decreed the means, no less than the end; that he has preordained alike the holiness and the salvation of the elect; then is holiness a component part of the chain of predestination. But if you assure a Turk, who believes the precise moment of his death to have been unalterably fixed from eternity, that in consequence of that belief when he goes into battle, he uniformly offers his naked bosom passively to the sword of the enemy, while that Turk is conscious that he has invariably fortified himself with an iron breast plate, and has defended his life in every conflict with the most watchful and vigorous exertion; will your peremptory induction of consequences have any effect upon his conviction? Will it alter facts? Will it promote your character for understanding, or your credit for equity as a disputant?

Let us now advance to the actual proceedings of the Calvinists. We admit, for we know, that among the dregs of the calvinistic body, there are instances of the most detestable antinomianism. But the dregs are not the body, whether in the church of England or out of it. And of calvinistic ministers, considered collectively, and without a larger proportion of exceptions than is usually to be allowed in general descriptions of any class of men, we believe, and we do not speak without some experience and observation, that they are earnest, sincerely earnest, in pressing the indispensable obligation of every moral duty. They see the scriptures replete in every part with exhortations to piety, to holiness, to every good word and work. They see the scriptures

authoritatively commanding every minister of the gospel, if he would be saved, habitually to teach these duties; and every man, if he would be saved, habitually to practise them. Hence, scarcely perhaps enquiring as to theoretic consistency, perhaps even acknowledging theoretic inconsistency, they faithfully exert themselves in preaching christian virtue, and in exemplifying it by their personal conduct: and we are able to produce, according to their aggregate number, many eminently active and useful pastors, many burning and shining lights of the church of God.

In the fourth place, it is sometimes affirmed, that Calvinists cannot be true members of the established church. That none but Calvinists are true churchmen, is a proposition which we have also sometimes known to be asserted, or strongly implied by Calvinists; and it is one which we deem to display the stamp of ignorance, or of bigotry. That the reverse of the proposition exhibits traces of the same stamp, we equally believe. But a more fit opportunity for giving our reasons for this belief will occur, during our examination of the work of the Bishop of Lincoln.

In the chapter on original sin, free will, and the operation of the Holy Spirit, which stands first in the book, (and thus occupies a place, which, in our opinion, the materials now composing the seventh should have possessed in conjunction with additional and explanatory statements,) his lordship argues, that human nature, though greatly corrupted and depraved in consequence of the fall, was not divested by that event of all tendencies to holiness, and that free will was left to all men. To establish the truth of these doctrines, he advances a variety of passages from the Scriptures: and to prove them to be tenets of our church, he subjoins extracts from its public formularies.

The opposite doctrines he denominates calvinistic. We could have wished to have seen more of discrimination than we find in this position. The denial of free will is a calvinistic tenet. But the denial that any inherent tendency to holiness belongs to human nature in its present state, antecedently to the operation of divine grace upon the heart, is so far from being a peculiarity of Calvinism, that it is as strongly maintained by large numbers of strenuous anti-calvinists, who deem themselves completely warranted by our church in its homilies and forms, and inevitably compelled, by the emphatical and reiterated language of sacred writ, to believe, that *in our flesh*, in our unameliorated nature, *dwelleth no good thing*, Rom. 7. xviii.—The difference between them and the Calvinist is, as to the extent, not of the evil, but of the remedy. They hold, that divine grace to coun-

teract the evil is fully bestowed, not merely on the elect, but on every man. When the bishop alleges individual cases, as that "Enoch walks with God," that "Noah was a just man," that "Job was perfect and upright," (p. 5), that "some acts of mercy, justice, and self-denial are recorded in profane history," (p. 9), it is plain, that neither Calvinist nor anti-calvinist will be moved, as to his sentiments concerning human nature. Each will ascribe the effect, not to original tendencies of nature, but wholly to grace given in Christ. But the universal call addressed in scripture to every man, satisfies us, that every man is truly and morally rendered capable of obeying it. We cannot accord with the bishop in his applications of some of the texts which he adduces; and we think, that the interpretation of Matt. ix. 13. which he combats (p. 11, 12.), that the word "righteous," there means, "those who consider themselves righteous," (an interpretation which he erroneously treats as calvinistic,) is supported by the context. But we cordially agree with him, that

"God gives to every man, through the means of his grace, a power to perform the conditions of the Gospel—a power, the efficacy of which depends upon the exertion of the human will. To deny this power to any individual, would be inconsistent with the attributes of God; to make this power irresistible, would destroy the free-agency of man." (P. 64).

The following passage is also very deserving of attention.

"In what manner, or in what proportion, if I may so say, God and man co-operate, I am utterly unable to explain or discover. But this is no more a reason for my disbelief of this co-operation, than my inability to comprehend the union of the divine and human natures in Christ is a reason for my disbelieving, that Christ was both God and man: *Modum quidem concursus gratiæ divinæ cum humana voluntate exacte definire, ac dicere, quid sola præstet gratia, quid cum et sub gratia liberum agat arbitrium, non exiguæ difficultatis res est. Imo hoc ipsum inter Θεῶ ἐλπίδι et ἐνεξίχνιστος τὰς ὁδοὺς* non immerito fortassis a viris doctis ac piis reponitur. Sed modum rei utcunque ignoremus, res ipsa certe firmiter credenda est. Even Augustine himself seems to admit, that the exercise of free-will is not irreconcilable with the operation of divine grace, although in discussing these subjects it is difficult to maintain the one without denying the other: *Si non est Dei gratia, quomodo salvat mundum? Et si non est liberum arbitrium, quomodo judicat mundum? Quia ista quæstio, ubi de arbitrio voluntatis et Dei gratia disputatur, ita est ad discernendum difficilis, ut quando defenditur liberum arbitrium, negari Dei gratia videatur; quando autem asseritur Dei gratia, liberum arbitrium putetur auferri.* That man possesses free-will, and that God by his spirit influences this free-will, without destroy-

ing it, is indisputably true; but how this is effected is to us an inexplicable mystery." (P. 35).

Upon the subject of the operation of the Holy Spirit, the bishop says, "I only maintain, that the operations of the Holy Spirit cannot be discerned from the operations of our own minds;" and he adds, "let those who think differently point out the authority in Scripture, or in our public formularies, for saying, that a man may feel the influence of the Holy Ghost, so as to distinguish what sentiment, what intention, what inclination, or what resolution is owing to that influence." (P. 75.) Now the perception of this influence is chiefly a matter of experience. His lordship may never have discerned it in himself, but we think we may confidently appeal to many other sincere Christians, whether they do not, in most actions of their lives, distinctly perceive two opposite principles within them, perpetually at war with each other, and prompting contrary "sentiments, intentions, inclinations, and resolutions."—The one principle indolent, self-indulging, irritable, inconsiderate towards others, indifferent towards spiritual things.—The other, active, benevolent, placable, forgetful of self, and full of the love of God. These, we apprehend, may, without either superstition or enthusiasm, be pronounced, upon the authority of the Bible itself, to be nature and grace.

These opposite and contending principles seem to answer nearly to the description given by St. James, of the wisdom, not from above, and *that* from above. The former, "earthly, sensual, devilish," the latter, "pure, peaceable, gentle, easy to be entreated, full of good fruits, without partiality, without hypocrisy." (James, iii. 15. and 17. vide also Rom. vii.) We must confess, that we think the bishop's doctrine upon the operation of the Holy Spirit a lowering one, calculated to mislead the inexperienced, to make them satisfied with their low attainments in religion, and to prevent their seeking further measures of grace.

In the 2d chapter, the bishop proceeds to treat of regeneration, a term which he states to be

"Frequently used by modern Calvinists, when speaking of their favourite tenets of instantaneous conversion and indefectible grace."

On this statement we would observe, that indefectible grace is a tenet truly calvinistic: but that instantaneous conversion, though it may be a favourite idea with some Calvinists, is no part of Calvinism: and is a persuasion, at least as prevalent among the followers of Wesley, who are well known to be universally

and radically hostile to Calvinism.—A similar remark may be made respecting the “experiences,” (p. 74.) which the bishop seems to identify with Calvinism.

After the production of sundry passages from the New Testament, the learned prelate thus delivers his opinion concerning regeneration.

“The word regeneration therefore is in Scripture solely and exclusively applied to the one immediate effect of baptism once administered, and is never used as synonymous to the repentance or reformation of a Christian, or to express any operation of the Holy Ghost upon the human mind subsequent to baptism.” (P. 86.)

“There cannot be a second baptism, or a second regeneration.” (P. 85.) “We shall find this word used exactly in the same manner in “our liturgy, articles, and homilies.” (P. 87.) After various quotations from these documents, he adds,

“Hence it appears, that neither Scripture, nor the writings of our church, authorize us to call upon those who have been baptized, whether in their infancy, or at a mature age, to regenerate themselves, or to expect regeneration through the workings of the Holy Ghost. It is highly proper to exhort them to repent and to reform, to preserve or to repair that regenerate state which the spirit once gave them; to remind them, as St. Paul reminded his converts, that ‘they were buried with Christ by baptism into death, and that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so they also should walk in newness of life.’ But this is very different from teaching them to wait for a second regeneration—a sudden conversion—a sensible operation of the Holy Spirit effecting a total and instantaneous change in their hearts and dispositions.” (P. 92).

The bishop, we cannot but say, ought to have been much better informed, or much more considerate, than to have represented persons, who, whether rightly or wrongly, preach regeneration to baptized Christians, as generally meaning, “a sudden conversion, a sensible operation of the Holy Spirit, effecting a total and instantaneous change in their hearts and dispositions.” We believe, that such preachers among the calvinistic clergy in the establishment would be a phenomenon. With respect to the real question, whether the term regeneration be, or be not the word, which accurately describes the doctrine to be preached to adults in our church; we should have passed it over slightly. But as we apprehend, that actual doctrine is at issue between the two parties, and that untenable ground is commonly occupied by each party; we shall add some few words on the subject.

In disagreement then more or less from sundry pious men, Calvinists, and anti-calvinists (for with the bishop, to deem the

point calvinistic, is to misconceive it), and in concurrence thus far with the tenets of the work before us, we contend as follows : In the first place, we think that the term regeneration is employed in Scripture, to designate christian baptism. In the New Testament the word occurs twice, and only twice. Its meaning in Matt. ix. 28. is doubtful ; and is greatly dependent on the collocation of a comma. In Tit. iii. 5. it seems plainly to be baptism. The verse appears to be parallel to John, iii. 5. *The washing of regeneration*, answers, to *being born of water* : *the renewing of the Holy Ghost*, to *being born of the spirit*. 2dly. We believe the term to have been used by the fathers, to denote baptism. The bishop adduces instances ; as from Irenæus (Refutation, p. 301.), one of which, perhaps, speaks conclusively in behalf of infant baptism ; from Clement of Alexandria (p. 311.), from Cyprian (p. 340.), from Gregory of Nazianzum (p. 374.), and quotes Wall's History of Infant Baptism, sect. 6. as affirming, that

“ The Christians did in all ancient times continue the use of this name for baptism ; so as that they never use the word regenerate or born again, but that they mean or denote by it baptism.” (P. 87.)

3dly. We acknowledge, that sanctifying grace is bestowed at baptism. The very circumstance that baptism is a sacramental ordinance of Christ ; the analogy of baptism with circumcision ; the words, and the conduct of our Lord respecting young children ; not to dwell on the language cited by Irenæus, nor on that of any other of the fathers, unite in leading us to this judgment. We deem, that if an infant, born of heathen parents, (we purposely keep clear of all privileges ascribed, 1 Cor. vii. 14. to the child of a christian father or mother,) were baptized, and were immediately afterwards to die, it would die sanctified, entitled to the covenanted mercies of redemption, meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light. 4thly. We are clear that these are the doctrines of our church. In the service for the public baptism of infants, the minister prays that the child “ may be washed and sanctified with the Holy Ghost, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration,” and pronounces him when baptized, to be “ now regenerate,” and returns thanks to God, that it hath pleased Him “ to regenerate this infant with the Holy Spirit.”—Other accordant passages are specified by the bishop (p. 89, 92.) from the book of Common Prayer, and from the homilies.

So far we admit, so far we contend, on the one hand. But on the other, the indisputable fact stares us in the face, that multitudes of baptized and professed Christians are daily proving

themselves by their principles and conduct to be the slaves of sin, absorbed in iniquity, enemies to the grace of God, similar in heart and in life to the unbaptized heathen. When the inspired records divide all mankind, when they divide all professed Christians between two classes, *the children of God, and the children of the devil* (1 John, iii. 7, 10.); if persons baptized in their infancy continue in adult life, *unchaste, or thieves, or covetous, or drunkards, or revilers, or extortioners*; is the minister of the gospel to proclaim to them—*But ye, having been baptized, are washed, but ye are sanctified; but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the spirit of our God* (1 Cor. vi. 9, 11.)? Is he to announce to them from the pulpit, and in his private instructions, that, in their actual state, *they have put off the old man with his deeds*; that they are *born again of the spirit*; that they are *children of God*; that they are *new creatures in Christ Jesus*? We argue not for the word regeneration; we are not anxious about words, but about things. Even Dr. Paley, in his posthumous sermons, which, while they advance so much more nearly than his former publications to the genuine doctrine of Scripture, do not in every point come up to it; states, that to one part of our congregations *conversion* must be preached. And if we are rightly informed, that a prelate has said concerning Dr. Paley, that, had he lived half a year longer, he would have become a methodist; we should not be surprised if the saying was the consequence of that statement. When persons, such as have been described, and others living in other ways in a state of habitual alienation from God, abound in our congregations; when the number of the true servants of our Redeemer may often, perhaps, bear but a small proportion to the whole audience; is the preacher merely to admonish his hearers to repent and reform? Is he not to warn them, is he not most solicitously to press upon them, that the seed of divine grace implanted in them at their baptism may have been through subsequent wickedness smothered or taken away; that the spark of spiritual life, then kindled in their bosoms, may thus have been quenched: that they may now be in the same state of heart as an unbaptized heathen: that if they are practically proving themselves to be the children of the devil, they *are* in that state of heart, and their baptism profits them nothing? Is not he frequently and strenuously to exhort every individual to search, whether such be the case with himself: whether his heart bear the image of corrupt nature, or of sanctifying grace? And while he animates beforehand to persevering earnestness, in faith and in good works, those whom the result of humble and devout examination shall authorise to hope that their heart is decidedly

changed from its natural state, that they have in reality *put on the new man, which, after God, is created in righteousness and true holiness*;—is not he under the most solemn obligation, previously to declare to those who shall be found of a directly opposite character, that the total and momentous change, without which no man shall enter into the kingdom of God, call it regeneration, or being born again of the spirit, call it conversion, call it being renewed (made anew) in the spirit of the mind, call it being a new creature in Christ Jesus, call it by whatever scriptural designation or description you may prefer, is still to take place in them?

The third chapter is allotted to justification, faith, and good works. A dead and a living faith are thus discriminated, p. 103.

“The faith, which a man may possess, and yet be ‘nothing,’ is a bare belief of the truth of the Gospel, without any love or gratitude to God for the blessings it conveys, or any practical regard to the duties it enjoins. The faith, which is the means of salvation, is that belief of the truth of the Gospel, which produces obedience to its precepts, and is accompanied by a firm reliance upon the merits of Christ.” (P. 103.)

Respecting justification, the bishop states that the “meritorious cause of justification is exclusively the blood of our Redeemer;” that the “mean” or “condition” of being admitted into a justified state is faith; that no human works can possess any merit in themselves before God, but that good works are indispensable to salvation.

From these positions, it might perhaps be inferred, that the bishop assents to the doctrine of *justification by faith only*, in its ordinary and true acceptation: that is to say, that he maintains that faith, as the only mean by which an interest can be at any time gained by any man in the meritorious cause of justification, alone justifies at all times; and that, so far as justification is concerned, the office of good works, fruits, and evidences of faith, which are indispensable to salvation, is to prove that the faith of the individual is not a barren conviction of the intellect, but is the living *faith which worketh by love*, the influential faith by which *with the heart man believeth unto righteousness*.

Such an inference, however, would be materially erroneous. The bishop is not contented with maintaining, as in truth he does maintain, scripturally and energetically, that without habitual holiness no man shall be saved; that the faith which does not produce good works, is a useless and dead faith. He distinctly and repeatedly ascribes a justifying efficacy to works. His doctrine is briefly this. As it is by faith that a man is

placed at his baptism in a justified state; so it is by works that he is thenceforward continued in it. Thus he represents faith and works as two co-ordinate and successive means of justification. This view of the subject will be disclaimed not merely by Calvinists, but by anti-calvinists: and will not be found, as we are firmly persuaded, to have the sanction of our church, or of the scriptures.

It has been, we presume, either one of the sources, or one of the consequences (we know not which branch of the alternative to prefer), of the bishop's inaccurate sentiments concerning justification, that he regards Saint Paul, whenever the apostle contends, and in whatever language, that we are justified by faith without the deeds of the law, as universally meaning to exclude from the office of justifying only the *ceremonial* works of the Mosaic law. If there be any unfounded positions in theology, the defence of which is singularly hopeless; we think that this position, however it may be the fashionable divinity of the day, is one of them. It will be sufficient to produce three or four proofs from among those which might be advanced. In the first place, when St. Paul says (Gal. iii. 10, 11, 12.—and see also Rom. x. 5.), *As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them: But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God it is evident; for, the just shall live by faith; and the law is not of faith; but the man that doeth them shall live by them:* if you maintain that it is only of the ceremonial law that the apostle speaks, you must impute to his argument this extravagant absurdity, that the man who should punctually do the works of the ceremonial law would obtain life by them, utterly regardless as he might be of every one of the demands of the moral law. Nay you must impute to the apostle that extravagant absurdity in the face of this fact; namely, that the curse which the apostle quotes in the preceding passage, is the conclusion and the summing up of a long catalogue of curses denounced (Deut. xxvii. 13—26.), on a series of specified transgressions, every one of which transgressions is a breach of the moral law, and of the moral law only. In the next place, St. Paul represents the justification of Abraham by faith only (Rom. iv.), as the pattern of the justification of all believers: and he studiously guards us against the supposition, that the works which he excludes from any share in the justification of the patriarch, are merely ceremonial works, by observing that the *faith* which was reckoned unto Abraham for righteousness, was so reckoned *not when he was in circumcision, but in uncir-*

cumcision; and that he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had, yet being uncircumcised. Thirdly, the apostle when asserting justification *by faith, without the deeds of the law* (Rom. iii.), avowedly comprehends in his reasoning the Gentiles, who had never been subjected to any part of the ceremonial law; and pronounces that, as to justification, there is no difference between them and the Jews. Fourthly, St. Paul, as it were to cut off the very possibility of mistake, produces a specific instance to identify the law of which he is treating. What is the instance? a precept of the moral law: *Thou shalt not covet*. Rom. vii. 7.

If there be a doubt in the mind of any man, whether the doctrine of our church on this point, be that of the Bishop of Lincoln, or the reverse; it may be removed, by referring to the authoritative homily concerning justification, (the homily to which the 11th of the 39 articles directs us), as quoted by the bishop himself, p. 150. "This is that justification of righteousness which St. Paul speaketh of, when he saith, No man is justified by the works of the law, but freely by faith in Jesus Christ.—This saying, that we be justified by faith only, freely and without works, is spoken, for to take away clearly all merit of our works." By "our works" the homily necessarily means works of the *moral* law; it could not intend works of the ceremonial law, which had never pertained to us, and had at that time been abolished 1500 years.

The expression "*our own good works*" speedily occurs, and with a renewed reference to St. Paul; and the homily proceeds in the same train of argument.

Unhappy as we deem the bishop to be in his reasoning throughout considerable portions of the present chapter, there is yet an intermixture of many useful observations, and he successfully repels the calvinistic tenet, that justification once attained cannot be lost. In the latter part of the chapter he makes vehement and indiscriminate war on a class of men "who," as he states, "invidiously arrogate to themselves the exclusive title of Evangelical Clergy," p. 174. They are the persons, as appears from certain retrospective words, whom he had previously characterised, p. 170, as "the enthusiasts of the present day," and concerning whom he intimated, that

"If these preachers do not in so many words tell their hearers, that their moral conduct will have no influence upon the sentence which will be pronounced upon them in the last day; or if they do not entirely pass over in silence the great duties of morality,

yet that

"they dwell so much more earnestly and more frequently upon the

necessity and merit of faith, as to induce an opinion that good works are of little comparative importance." (P. 171.)

In another place (p. 164) he represents them as making faith the constant subject of their discourses; and p. 165, as preaching that a man "has only to cherish faith in his mind, and he will be eternally happy," &c. as not enjoining their hearers "to abstain from lying, drunkenness, theft, and fornication;" and he further says of the corruption of manners which we perfectly admit would follow from such preaching, "whoever has lived in the neighbourhood of certain preachers, will testify that it has taken place." Again, when he speaks, p. 182, of calvinistic ministers, "with all their zeal to support the doctrine of salvation through faith alone, and all their anxiety to depreciate the importance of moral virtue," he designates the same persons. And having charged them, p. 176, as teachers who "encourage vice and immorality among their followers;" he adds in the following page,

"I give them credit for zeal and good intention, but I think the manner in which they perform the duties of their ministry, both public and private, injudicious and mischievous in the extreme; and the dangerous tendency of their tenets and practice cannot be exposed too frequently, or with too much earnestness."

Our opinion of the evangelical clergy (so denominated, as we trust, by other men, rather than by themselves) we have recently given, as well as the admirable effects which their exertions have upon the moral conduct of their flocks* (Nos. II. p. 424. III. 104.): and we see no reason for altering it. Whatever justice there may be, and we think that there appears to be much, in some of the censures which the bishop directs against Mr. Overton personally; we cannot hesitate to affirm, that the description which the preceding extracts profess to give of the body of clergy in question merits any character rather than that of likeness to the original. Let men well informed and without prejudice decide for themselves upon this point. It is one of the errors into which the bishop has fallen respecting the clergy termed evangelical, that he regards them as a consolidated mass of Calvinists. There are many anti-calvinists among them; and the number has been, and probably will continue on the increase. It is now becoming the custom among the ignorant and the lukewarm, to style any clergyman, nay any layman, who appears more anxious than his neighbour on the subject of religion, a Calvinist. This term, in its general application as a stigma, is gradually stepping into the place of the term Methodist. But this is an evil of small magnitude compared with the still more prevalent habit, a habit with which the Bishop of Lincoln is not

* See also the article in this number on Dr. Butler's Sermon.

a little infected; that of considering parts and very important parts of the common ground of genuine Christianity, as the private and exclusive territory of Calvin. If doctrines which Calvinists hold in union with anti-calvinists are to be thus denounced, we may live to hear the inspiration of the scriptures, and the being of a God, branded as tenets of Calvinism. Party in the church is altogether repugnant to our sentiments and our feelings. Of any evangelical party in the church we wish the extermination as cordially as the Bishop of Lincoln does. By what means do we wish it exterminated? By the entire concurrence of all the clergy in preaching in every respect according to the gospel. We are completely of the opinion of an archbishop eminent for nervous sense and for sobriety of mind—"We have in fact lost many of our people to sectaries, by not preaching in a manner sufficiently evangelical, and shall neither recover them from the extravagancies to which they have run, nor keep more from going over to them, but by returning to the right way ourselves, and declaring all the counsel of God."—Secker's Charges; 3d edit. p. 299.

The bishop now at length approaches the citadel of his antagonists; his fourth chapter discusses universal redemption, election, and reprobation. That redemption through Jesus Christ is offered universally, and that every man is enabled to attain it, the bishop forcibly shews from the Old Testament and from the New.

"As by the offence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation, even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men to justification of life; for as by one man's disobedience many were made sinners, so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.' The sin of Adam and the merits of Christ are here pronounced to be co-extensive; the words applied to both are precisely the same; 'Judgment came upon all men,' 'the free gift came upon all men'—'Many were made sinners,' 'Many were made righteous'—Whatever the words 'all men' and 'many' signify, when applied to Adam, they must signify the same when applied to Christ. It is admitted, that in the former case the whole human race is meant; and consequently in the latter case the whole human race is also meant. The force of the argument is destroyed, and the most acknowledged rules of language are violated, by so interpreting this passage, as to contend, that all men are liable to punishment on account of the sin of Adam, and that a few only are enabled to avoid that punishment through the death of Christ. Nay, we are even told, that 'where sin abounded, grace did much more abound:' but how can this be, if sin extends to all, and grace is confined to a part only of mankind?" (P. 189.)

"God so loved the world, that he gave his only-begotten Son,

that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' In this and many other passages of the New Testament, relating to the motive and design of Christ's Advent, God's love for the world is declared in general terms; and surely these texts are irreconcilable with the idea of God's selecting out of mankind a certain number whom he ordained to save, and of his leaving the rest of mankind to perish everlastingly. How can God be said to love those to whom he denies the means of salvation; whom he destines, by an irrevocable decree, to eternal misery? It might be said, that God loved the individuals whom he delivered from the sentence of punishment; but it seems impossible to say, that he loved those, to whom he would afford no assistance, and who he knew, from want of that assistance, must inevitably suffer all the horrors of guilt and the pain of eternal punishment." (P. 195.)

Surely the mode of interpretation by which Calvinists sometimes endeavour to elude the force of the text, namely, by contending that *the world* which *God so loved* is the world of the elect, is below criticism!

It should be observed, that Calvinists frequently describe themselves as holding the doctrine of universal redemption. And it is true that, believing the scriptures, they assent in some measure satisfactorily to themselves to the scriptural declarations, that our Lord died for all men, and to other similar texts. But the sense, in which the assent is given proves on examination to be either that all men may be saved, *if they will* (a sentiment which, as maintained by Calvinists, we have already discussed), or that the atonement of Christ was *in value sufficient* to be a ransom for the sins of all men; or some other restricted meaning, radically different from the anti-calvinistic, and in our estimation, the genuine import of such passages. To hold those passages in their genuine and universal import, is incompatible with the calvinistic tenets of election and predestination. If without any regard to foreseen faith and obedience, certain individuals are exclusively pre-ordained to salvation; redemption cannot be universal. And we deceive ourselves in affirming it to be universal, while we join with it other tenets which of necessity constitute it particular redemption.

The bishop proceeds to evince from the Old Testament, and from the New, that the terms elect and predestinated are applied in scripture only to collective bodies of men in outward covenant with God, and it might be added, if to an individual, to that person as being one of such a body, (see 2 John x. 13.) without implying any certainty of final salvation; and that the scriptural use of the word reprobate is totally free from the calvinistic signification.

“ The election and predestination here spoken of relate to God’s eternal purpose to make known to the Ephesians the mystery of his will in the blessings of the gospel, and he calls them ‘ saints’ and ‘ faithful,’ because of the firmness and constancy with which they hitherto held fast the profession of their faith; but still, instead of representing their salvation as certain, he earnestly exhorts them to ‘ walk worthy of the vocation wherewith they were called;’ guards them against those deceits which bring down ‘ the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience;’ and commands them ‘ to put on the whole armour of God, that they may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil:’ it was therefore possible for those, who were ‘ saints,’ ‘ faithful,’ ‘ chosen,’ and ‘ predestinated,’ to walk unworthily, to incur the wrath of God by disobedience, and to yield to sinful temptations, and consequently to fail of salvation.” (P. 207.)

Thus also when that apostle says of himself,

“ ‘ I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away,’ or reprobate, the word in the original being *ἀδόκιμος*; he could not mean, lest he should be a person destined by God from all eternity to everlasting punishment. In the preceding verse he says, ‘ I so run, not as uncertainly;’ and upon other occasions he expresses a confident hope in his own salvation, founded in a consciousness of his exertions and sufferings ‘ for the gospel’s sake,’ and of his sincere obedience to that religion, which ‘ he had preached to others.’ He was at the same time aware, that if he did not ‘ keep under his body, and bring it into subjection,’ if he did not resist the evil propensities of his nature, and walk worthy of his holy vocation, his employment as a minister of Christ and apostle of the Gentiles would not prevent his being ‘ rejected’ at the great day of final retribution. On the other hand, had he conceived himself to be one of the elect, he could not have admitted the possibility of his becoming a reprobate, in the calvinistic sense of those words.” (P. 221.)

The examination is satisfactorily pursued through other texts, which, though not specifically naming election or reprobation, have been thought favourable to the calvinistic system. If in any point our private interpretation of any of these texts differ from that of the bishop, it is still an interpretation equally disjoined from Calvinism.

On the subject of the divine foreknowledge, and the freedom of the human will, the bishop justly observes,

“ I do not attempt to explain, or pretend to understand, how the free-agency of man is reconcileable with the prescience of God. I cannot comprehend how those future contingencies, which depend upon the determination of the human will, should be so certainly and infallibly foreseen, as to be the objects of the sure word of pro-

phesy ; still, however, I believe both in the prescience of God and free-agency of man, for the reasons already stated ; and I see in them no contradiction to each other, or to any acknowledged truth. Here is a just exercise of my faith, upon a subject which exceeds the limits of my understanding ; it is above, but not contrary to, reason." (P. 250.)

Surely there is no room to doubt whether an omnipotent God *can* leave foreknown things contingent. That he does leave foreknown things contingent is manifest ; for otherwise you represent him as necessitating every sin that is committed. The mode in which the foreknowledge and the contingency are harmonized is undisclosed to us, and is of no concern to us. The fact that they are harmonized is sufficient.

Towards the conclusion of the chapter, ample proof is given from the articles, offices, and homilies, that our church inculcates the doctrine of universal redemption, and considers all Christians as the elect people of God, and capable of attaining salvation. With respect to the 17th article, we unwillingly feel ourselves compelled in one point to stop short of the bishop's conclusion. We agree with him "that the calvinistic doctrines of election and reprobation are not maintained in this article," but we are not convinced, that "they are disclaimed and condemned in the strongest terms," p. 269. Neither the phraseology of the article, nor the history of the period when the articles were compiled, seems to bear out such a conviction. We apprehend, that although Cranmer and some of his coadjutors were not Calvinists, calvinistic opinions were adopted by so many persons at that time, and were deemed of such moment by their adherents, that the framers of the articles did not judge it expedient either to pass over the subject in silence, or to weaken the national church, by excluding from it a large division of English protestants : but purposely couched the article in broad and indefinite terms, in the hope that it might be fairly capable of being understood by both parties, as not contradictory to their respective tenets, and thus might obtain the conscientious subscription of both. Hence we infer, that the church intended to leave its door open to the Calvinist ; and we therefore allow that a Calvinist may be a true churchman. When we turn our eyes on Hopkins, on *the judicious* Hooker, on the many other splendid luminaries of our church, who have been Calvinists, are we to reject and disclaim them ? Can we think of such men, and in the bigoted fury of modern controversy (we deny any supposeable allusion to the Bishop of Lincoln) talk of the calvinistic *heresy* ?

The succeeding chapter, though highly creditable to the industry of the learned prelate, and very powerful in its bearing on

his subject, does not easily admit of being abstracted. It contains 220 pages of quotations from the fathers commencing with Ignatius, a contemporary with the apostles, and terminating with Theodoret, who flourished about A. D. 423, forming a collective body of evidence adverse to the tenets of Calvinism; and elucidating the primeval opinion of the Christian church.

Such authentic testimony the cogency mainly results from the length and the continuity of the chain. Some few extracts could but state the sentiments of some few individuals. And the extent to which the review of the work before us is already carried, admonishes us to draw our observations to a close.

In the sixth chapter the bishop strengthens his general argument, by shewing that some among the early heretics maintained opinions resembling tenets of Calvinism, and were on that account censured by nearly contemporary fathers.

Although we think some of his evidence rather equivocal, yet as we do not conceive the object of this chapter to be of much importance, we forbear making any extracts from it, our article having already made a large demand upon the patience of our readers.

The seventh chapter contains ample quotations from the writings of Calvin; from which we have produced sufficient extracts in our preliminary statement of the calvinistic system. Those which we have not cited are in unison with the passages which we have laid before our readers. The bishop subjoins the Lambeth articles proposed by Archbishop Whitgift and others, on the part of the calvinistic clergy, A. D. 1595, and speedily suppressed by the command of queen Elizabeth, and again rejected by James I. at his accession, when they were again demanded in the conference at Hampton Court; and also adds the five articles decreed at the synod of Dort, which synod was a representative of all the calvinistic churches of Europe, those of France excepted; and was attended by some divines from England. The bishop desires, and with entire tranquillity as to the result may desire his readers to judge, "whether any thing like these doctrines be contained in the articles, liturgy, or homilies, of our church." (P. 560.)

In a short concluding chapter, an historical sketch is given of the origin and the progress of the doctrines now termed calvinistic. The bishop, though he mentions traces of them among the Basilidians, Valentinians, and other early heretical sects, observes that,

"The peace of the church seems to have been very little disturbed by any dissension upon these points during the first four centuries; and as a proof of this, it may be observed, that there is

nothing of a controversial spirit in the exposition the fathers have given of the texts in scripture, which have since been the subject of so much dispute." (P. 573.)

Augustine, in his controversy with the Pelagians, brought forward these doctrines. Of that father, the Bishop of Lincoln says, "I know of no author ancient or modern, in whose works there are so many inconsistencies and contradictions." (P. 575, note.) His predestinarian tenets gained no extensive influence, and little was heard of them until Góteschal, in the ninth century, was scandalously persecuted for reviving them. They were in repute with the early schoolmen; and nearer to the time of the reformation were maintained by the Dominican and the Augustine monks against the Franciscan, and the Jesuits. A brief account of the growth of calvinistic opinions in our own church is added. Among some just observations tending to evince that calvinistic tenets are not taught in any of our public formularies, we lament to see the bishop again representing sudden conversions, instantaneous operations of the Holy Spirit, and the denial of the necessity of good works, as component parts of Calvinism.

We would willingly hope that we have so conducted our examination, as to qualify our readers to form a rational judgment both respecting the bishop's work, and respecting our own observations upon it. The book has deservedly attracted the attention of the public; and in our opinion, has sometimes been censured with little candour, and at other times has been loaded with very extravagant and undistinguishing praise. It contains an abundance of valuable matter, mixed with much error and want of discrimination, and we must fairly say, no slight infusion of prejudice. The gold is blended and incorporated with so large a proportion of alloy, that we should be deeply concerned to see the mass regarded as a material fit to constitute the current coin of religion among us.

ART. XV. *An Attempt to estimate the Increase of the Number of Poor during the Interval of 1783 and 1803; and to point out the Causes of it: including some Observations on the Depreciation of the Currency.* London, Murray. Edinburgh, Blackwood. Dublin, Maheon. 1811. 8vo. pp. 113.

In stepping a little aside from the ordinary custom of our fraternity, to put our readers in possession of the opinions contained in the last number of the *British Review*, on the principle

of population, we were well aware of the connection which it holds with the subject which we have now undertaken to discuss. Our expectation that the return of the census to parliament would be followed by some inquiry into the number and increase of the poor has not been deceived*. And as the mere numerical returns to any such inquiry would lead the judgment of persons not conversant with the practical tendency of the poor laws, or who have not deeply reflected on their principles, into very erroneous conclusions, both on the actual state of the people, and on the tendency of the laws themselves;—we have not hesitated to secure the occasion offered by the pamphlet before us, to lead the public mind into a view of the subject which has not yet, we believe, been extensively presented to its consideration. We must first, however, beg the indulgence of our readers for the following general remarks.

We think that it must be obvious to every man who has attentively studied, and reflected upon, the laws and constitution of Great Britain, that our ancestors have bequeathed to us a system of polity exclusively calculated for a country in a career of progressive prosperity, and of continual advancement in public happiness and civilization:—nay, that the system has been so providently constructed, or so fortuitously mixed together, that so long as we are faithful to its leading features, moral and political, we may feel an assurance little short of certainty, that this progressive course will continue. This may be called by some a British prejudice—a theoretic assumption of unenlightened partiality:—but if it be a prejudice or an illusion of theory, it is built on the semblance of solid fact more apparently real, than any that ever yet proved to be essentially void of substance. For we will venture to assert, that in no country of which the page of history, or the researches of travellers, have rendered an account, has the impulse of voluntary and steady exertion descended so low in the scale of society; because every man in every condition of life is satisfied not only that the fruits of his industry will be sacredly preserved to him and his posterity, but that if he be actually moral in his conduct, and industrious to the extent of his means, the laws of his country have ordained that any deficiency in those means shall be made up to him from the superfluity of his fellow-citizens.

The interests of the higher orders are so intimately blended with those of the lower, through every gradation of society, without break or chasm, that the smallest disarrangement of any part is felt in the remotest extremities. And the

* See Mr. Brougham's notice in the House of Commons, Jan. 17, 1812.

glorious result of this combination is, what no age or country ever before exhibited, the gratuitous assistance of the great body of enlightened and independent men in carrying on the legitimate operations of government, precisely in those remote branches to which no hired agent can effectually penetrate ; but the care of which, if neglected, can only be supplied by the ramifications of arbitrary power. What country can exhibit the minds of a *free people* brought into *voluntary* submission to great personal and pecuniary sacrifices, by the example and intermediate agency of their natural protectors, whose feelings and interests are nearly identified with their own ? And how many countries have thought it necessary to supply the defect of such an arrangement by exacting from an enslaved people forced contributions, through the agency of their natural oppressors, whose feelings and interests run in a directly opposite current ?

That our periodical elections, the substantial equality of our laws, and the freedom of parliamentary discussion, are the main causes of this enviable distinction, we readily admit ; but we are also convinced, that the bond of union between the higher and the lower orders provided by the poor laws should not be overlooked in the account, inasmuch as they place the *gratuitous performance* of the duties we have before detailed upon the solid and permanent basis of *self-interest*. Proprietors are placed in this dilemma—either they must prevent the distresses of the lower orders by attention to their moral and political condition, or they must incur the necessity of relieving those distresses when aggravated by neglect, at an increased expence to themselves. We think that we are justified in ascribing this merit to the poor laws, by a comparative view of the condition of the people of England, and of another country where their non-existence has gone far to neutralize many of the advantages of a free and representative system of government. In Ireland the peasantry has for many ages been generally neglected by their superiors, with perfect impunity ; and we had occasion to show the lamentable result in an article in our 2d Number, on Mrs. Leadbeater's Cottage Dialogues. But had the proprietors of Ireland felt conscious that all the ignorance, the vice, the idleness, and the misery which they have suffered to grow up among the unemployed population of that country, would have recoiled upon themselves in the shape of legal demand for redress and relief, they would necessarily have exercised a greater portion of personal superintendence, and the peasantry would only have increased their numbers in proportion as their labour was required in the pursuits of regular industry.

We believe that it may be admitted as a general axiom in the

politics of a free and extensive country, that when once a strong bond of reciprocal interest is established between the higher and lower orders of the community, the statesman's task is half-performed to his hand;—and that such a people, by their native energy and internal resources, will not only preserve the integrity of their own empire, but must, by the force of their institutions, gradually triumph over their enemies.

In Scotland the feudal system prevented the introduction of a state of degeneracy, similar to that in Ireland;—and as *poor laws* have for a very long time subsisted in Scotland, poor's *rates* have been regularly called into operation, in proportion as the feudal system has worn away, and commerce, manufactures, and tillage usurped the seats of baronial splendour, and encroached upon the idle hospitality of the lords of the waste *.

An institution, which produces such phenomena in society, must necessarily rest on grounds of deep moral and political expediency. It has been asserted by some, particularly by foreign writers, to be the millstone around the neck of England, which must at length engulf her with no tardy fate in a sea of ruin; and we are willing to admit that it is, in the spirit of our other institutions, calculated for a state of progressive prosperity, but that it may accelerate our downfall, should the circumstances of the country begin to decline. But to compensate this evil we think it will appear, that, under Providence, so long as the several ranks of the people are true to themselves and to each other, such a state of declension is not within the scope of probability. And we have yet to learn, that a law or institution is objectionable, because it is inconsistent with a selfish neglect of duty in those for whose government it is intended.

It is not, therefore, to this class of objections to the poor laws that we now think it necessary to call the attention of our readers. They have been attacked by arguments that much more forcibly affect their moral and political expediency: they have been said to hold out a premium to idleness—to aggravate, instead of relieving, the miseries of the poor—to call forth a superabundant population, which they make an audacious pretension of ability to support, only to plunge them into deeper misery—and, finally, that they have a direct and obvious tendency to multiply the objects of their pretended charity, and thus to reduce the mass of the population into the state of paupers, dependent upon the public purse for their daily sub-

* The subject of the poor and the poor laws of Scotland has been much misrepresented and misunderstood. We should be glad of an early opportunity to lay before the public some information which we possess on that interesting subject.

sistence, and to depress the national character below the level of other countries.

It might perhaps be sufficient to appeal to the evidence of facts and daily experience against some of these assertions; but as controversial writers of a certain description have a very ingenious mode of explaining away *general proofs*, of however sturdy a nature they may be, we are willing to grapple a little more closely with these objections. We are the more desirous of being indulged in this wish, as we are not without the hope of suggesting certain considerations on this most important and deeply interesting subject, which are intimately connected with the view of the principle of population laid before our readers in the last number of the *British Review*.

The pamphlet before us is the result of some research; and though we are disposed to believe that it originated principally in a desire to add one additional argument to the unfortunate list which the advocates of the bullion report have with exemplary perseverance pressed against the general conviction of the public; yet the author has certainly had sufficient regard to propriety to induce him to look with some attention into the authorities extant on the subject he professes to treat. Considering the lights hitherto let in upon it, he has in some instances treated his question ably, in many others with considerable want of caution and correctness. That the nominal amount of the sums collected under the poor laws has increased in proportion to the diminution in the value of money, is obvious to common sense. But this is no proof whatever, that the diminution in that value has been caused by an excessive issue of paper. It leaves the main argument of the bullion report exactly where it found it; and we shall not therefore think it necessary to take any further notice of this the main object of the pamphlet. We shall occasionally refer to the other arguments in the course of this article, and shall now be content with briefly remarking, in justification of the author, that there is no subject of political economy more difficult than that which he has undertaken to handle. It involves not only the general principles of the science, but their practical application to the minds and manners of a set of beings, who are by no means to be known or understood by analogy with any other order of society. We shall not wonder, therefore, that the attempt to investigate it has so often failed, when we reflect that few squires, or magistrates, are great adepts in the science of political economy; and still fewer political economists, conversant with the labouring poor, with the interior of a cottage, or with the rules and regulations of a work-house.

But a reader of judgement, who views this subject as he ought, will always look upon theory with suspicion, whenever it appears to contradict open and palpable fact. In truth, when he considers the confined nature of the human intellect, and how incapable it is of fathoming the principles which determine the condition of mankind, and consequently of bringing abstract positions to bear upon the real state of society; when he reflects moreover, how often principles dogmatically promulgated as universal by one set of philosophers, have, in the progress of human science, and the further developement of facts, been relinquished as absurd, by their successors; nothing will appear more amusing than the magisterial tone of our modern philosophers, and their peevish impatience of contradiction. There is something very captivating in paradox, and a writer, to secure admiration, must take care to soar above ordinary comprehension. Men are apt to suppose they have made great discoveries when they have learned to reason against received opinion and ancient practice, and the prejudices supposed to be founded upon them. The dogmas of contradiction are the most difficult to be dislodged from our minds. These observations seem particularly true in respect to the arguments against the poor-laws; those arguments appear to be all teeming with paradox, and for the reasons given at the close of the last paragraph, as well as from their intricacy and diffused nature, are with difficulty understood by ordinary writers and readers.

To embrace the whole system on the present occasion is, we fear, impossible; but we may at least attempt to lay bare the foundations, leaving the superstructure to future opportunities, which we doubt not will frequently occur.

The consideration, then, of the fundamental principles of the poor laws, naturally divides itself into two parts: 1. Their policy; and, 2. Their humanity. And, unless both can be conspicuously and decidedly proved, the only remaining point must be to consider of the best means of their abolition; for policy inconsistent with humanity is disgraceful to a Christian country; and humanity that cannot be made to square with true policy, must rest on false pretensions, and be in fact a weakness which we should be among the last to tolerate.

1. The policy of the poor laws evidently depends very much on their effect upon population, and the wages of labour. It will be found, upon reference to the returns of 1803, that about one-third of the people live in towns large enough to prevent them from reproducing their own numbers; and it is obvious to common observation, that of the remainder a very large portion, compared with other countries, are lifted, by the general

spread of civilization, out of that state of society most favourable to the increase of population. (see p. 467 and 470 of our last volume.) The returns just presented to the House of Commons, though they exhibit a general increase of numbers in every county, yet prove that this increase has borne a greater proportion in the manufacturing than in the agricultural districts. Now as we know that the people could not have been reared in those situations, it is evident that they must have been bred in the agricultural districts, and afterwards have been attracted to the manufacturing towns by the demand for employment. And we find that the moderate and steady increase in the agricultural districts is about sufficient to supply the demand of the towns for recruits, according to the mode of calculation stated in the 468 and 469 pages of our last volume. Keeping these facts steadily in view, and bearing in mind the statement in p. 466 of our last volume, in proof that a country in the manufacturing state of society can only increase its supply of food from the soil in consequence of a pre-existing demand for it from an increased population, we think that the policy of the poor laws may be illustrated somewhat in this manner.

In a country where the demand for men is so rapidly and continually increasing, and the natural means of supplying it constantly diminishing, from the increase of artificial habits, and of commercial and manufacturing towns, it would appear almost impossible even by *direct* encouragement to population, to accelerate its increase faster *than the wants of the state* require.

But a necessary precaution suggests itself, that the acceleration should not proceed faster than the rate at which the demand thereby created for food can be conveniently supplied, in time to prevent a pernicious pressure against the means of subsistence. For although we saw, in the last number of the *British Review*, that population will not *naturally* press to an inconvenient degree against the means of subsistence, if left to itself, under a moderately good and free government, yet it is easy to perceive, that artificial encouragements may be so constituted as to produce that effect. Now it should seem, that there cannot be a more complete and advantageous method of obviating this evil, than by providing, if possible, that the same artificial means by which the rate of population is increased, should be so contrived as to afford, at the same time, a corresponding encouragement to cultivation, without diminishing that which is due to commerce and manufactures. Because by this triple effect all the conditions necessary to a healthy progress in prosperity are fulfilled, and it becomes, under Providence, complete, permanent, and secure.

This triple object must be attained first, by artificially increasing the number of persons resident in situations best calculated for rearing large families, somewhat beyond the natural demand of those places for labour. These persons must, therefore, be assisted in rearing more children than a low average rate of wages would enable them to preserve. But, secondly, this object must be attained by a mode that will not, in general, raise the wages of labour so as permanently to affect manufactures, nor that will, thirdly, diminish the demand for food so as permanently to injure the interests of agriculture. According to the ordinary principles of political economy, these two latter conditions are incompatible:—we shall presently see how far the poor laws may tend to reconcile them. The cheapest and most effectual mode of maintaining an additional set of the most healthy breeders for the community, is to place them in the agricultural villages, which are the situations most favourable to childbearing, and to the health of children. A smaller number of parents will thus produce an equal increase of people, more will be reared to perfection, and the individuals, when reared, will be finer and more efficient animals. In England, therefore, our peasantry should be enabled to rear large families. But in England, the wages of the peasantry are not more than enough to enable a labourer to support his wife and two children on an average. They cannot, therefore, raise large families without assistance, or a proportionate increase of their wages. But as wages must be paid to labourers in proportion to the work which they perform, and not to the size of their families, we are reduced to this dilemma, either we must pay *to all*, to the unmarried and vigorous youth, and to the married with small or no families, the same amount of wages as will be sufficient to enable a peasant to rear a large family;—or the population which is absolutely necessary to our prosperity, nay to our existence as a commercial and manufacturing nation, cannot be reared. While, on the other hand, if the necessary population be thus reared, it will be at so enormous and useless an expence as entirely to swallow up all the profits contemplated by the merchant and manufacturer, as his inducement to carry on his business, and thus to annihilate those sources of employment. The direct political effects of paying to every labourer double of the real amount of his present wages are too obvious to need elucidation; but there is a moral effect indirectly involving political consequences which must not be omitted. If every youth upon arriving at the age of vigorous exertion, which is also that of unruly passion, could exchange his labour against as much of the luxuries and necessaries of life, as would be equivalent to

the support of a man, his wife, and six children, the temptation would not only expose him to an inevitable corruption of morals, but a portion of his time, at least equal to a third of that for which his country has a legitimate demand upon his labour, would be wasted in idleness. For the ale of Britain has always been found no less powerful than the wine of Persia, in overcoming the moral and religious precepts of the people. And thus would a decrease of exertion take place in proportion to the necessity for an increase to meet the augmented expence. At least that commerce and manufactures could be preserved under these difficulties will not, we think, be contended.

But if a mode could be devised, which would impart to the peasant the power of rearing a large family, without exposing the community to so enormous an expence, or the labourer with small, or with no families, to so irresistible a temptation, the advantage would be great in point of economy, and not small in point of morality; for the labourer with a large family would be raised above the necessity of resorting to degrading or unjustifiable means for their subsistence, and the remainder debarred from the means of riotous excess, or vicious idleness, while the sources of comfortable and creditable support would lie open before them.

This object, we venture to assert, is completely attained by the poor laws. They support the families of the labouring poor to the extent of any deficiency in their own fair exertions,—that they offer assistance to such *families only*, thereby ensuring all the advantages of such a general rise in wages as was contemplated in the preceding paragraph, without any of the counter-vailing evils, and (to say nothing at present of the moral effects,) the general saving to the country, in point of economy, is to the full extent of the expence which would be incurred by paying to *every labourer* that which they now pay only to a small proportion of them. We may obtain some idea of the amount of this saving, from the following data. The labourers of England, with their families, did probably amount, in 1803, to about six millions; but the whole number of poor relieved out of workhouses, *including their children*, did not exceed 956,248*, including also casual poor widows, and orphans, subsisted by their relations, with a small allowance from the parish, and persons afflicted with occasional sickness. Every magistrate, however, who has acted extensively in country districts knows, that a great proportion of what are called the *outpoor*, consists of the families of parents who have many children, and who have the

* Table in Mr. Rose's Pamphlet on Poor Laws.

deficiency of their earnings supplied out of the rates; and the notoriety of this fact is a sufficient answer to those who entertain doubts whether the poor laws actually increase population or not. No man who has watched their practical operation can possibly entertain a doubt upon the subject. We will estimate these families at two-thirds of the outpoor, or about 600,000, and the assistance granted to each at 3*l.* 3*s.* 7½*d.** each, and the result will be, that all the advantages of a general rise in wages will be obtained at one tenth of the expence, viz. by relief granted to 600,000, instead of wages to six millions of persons, and that the actual saving to the nation, on the two modes of raising the necessary increase of people, amounts to upwards of seventeen millions of pounds sterling annually, or 5,400,000 times 3*l.* 8*s.* 7½.; which may fairly be considered as a premium afforded to the encouragement of industry, by the economy of the poor laws, for we need not again repeat the alternative, that without the relief afforded by the poor laws, either the necessary increase of population could not take place in the country districts, or the wages of labour must be generally raised.

We think that this is on the face of it no bad bargain for the state, which would have little cause to complain, if, wanting an additional supply of hands beyond the natural power of its population, it had paid an outgoing of 600,000*l.* instead of six millions, out of its clear profits. But a close investigation of the preceding arrangement will, perhaps, shew that the supply is obtained without any actual expence at all; at least, at an expence merely nominal. For the redundant supply of hands thus provided will depress the wages of labour considerably below what they would naturally be without such redundancy. In a country with an increasing demand for labour, they may not, perhaps, be *actually lowered*, because without this extraordinary supply of hands, they would very much have risen; but they will certainly sink below what they would otherwise have stood at. This diminution will equally affect the bachelor, the childless, and the married man with a family. But the laws step in, and leaving the two former where they are, more than make up the difference to the latter; and by “a donation in money,” make the whole remuneration of his labour equal not only to what it would have been had the rate of wages been left to its natural course, (which is nowhere high enough to support a large family), but equal to his just wants, whatever the size of his family may be. Thus even in the most advanced stages of the commercial and manufacturing states of society, by a sort of magic, all the

* Table in Mr. Ross's Pamphlet on Poor Laws.

youthful vigour and prolific power of the agricultural state is transferred to a part only of the community; and as we have seen to how small a part the donation is necessary, the state is actually a *considerable gainer* by the transaction; that is, it will save more upon the depressed wages of the batchelor, and parent of few children, than it will spend in supporting the excess of children in large families. And this ad infinitum; for so long as the population continues redundant, just so long will it continue, by its own reaction, to promote the causes which render it redundant without expence to the public.

But it may, perhaps, be said, that this process is liable to the objection of reducing the wages of labour too low for the wants of the mass of labourers, and of leading to a greater supply of redundant population than the increasing wants of the state can absorb. We think that this can never be the case in a country in the advanced states of society; for the very redundancy, by lowering wages, will force a further extension of industry, and consequently an increased demand for labour in those departments where the people do not keep up their own numbers, and where they will necessarily be obliged to increase their draft of recruits from those where the numbers are redundant. We find, in fact, that in England, a free country, where this system has been in operation for two centuries, the average rate of the *real* wages of labour has not sunk lower than is enough to support a labourer, his wife, and two children; a rate which may be conceived equally advantageous to the employer and the employed, where the difference can be made up in the case of large families. It enables the batchelor, or man with a small family, to lay by a portion for old age by industry and frugality, and does not, by a superfluity of money, tempt them to idleness, extravagance, and excess. It gives to him who does not choose to incur the risk of depending upon the public for any part of his family's support, the means of saving in youth enough to support a family resulting from a late marriage; while the assistance held out to those who prefer to such abstinence the comforts of matrimony, with *the chance* of a dependance on the laws for the support of a large family, enables the lower as well as the higher ranks to enjoy without public injury (nay with great public advantage) the free option of marriage, as stated in the last article of our last volume.

But there are other objections to the œconomy of this system. It has been ingeniously remarked by some lively and intuitive critics, that this system is nothing more than a scheme for bribing men to work cheap, a mere robbing of Peter to pay Paul; thereby insinuating with their accustomed fairness, that the donation was imparted to all those who would

otherwise have earned it, and of course that the pretence to any saving was a mere illusion. Whereas the truth appears to be, that it is only imparted to one-tenth of those, to the other nine parts of whom it must otherwise have been given to their great detriment in the shape of wages; and that the real saving is of course equal to nine parts in ten of the sum that would for that purpose have been necessary. This is also a sufficient answer to those philosophers who object that any addition to the pay of the labourer, whether in the shape of wages or donation, only raises the general price of provisions, by an increased competition, without entitling the labourer to a larger portion of them. This would be certainly so, were the remuneration of labour *universally raised*, and constitutes a sound argument against the expediency of any such proposition. But it is as clearly otherwise, where the largess is confined to the tenth part only of the labouring people; that tenth part does then clearly acquire a larger portion of provisions at the expence of the remainder; but at an expence which their very superior numbers and inferior wants can well enable them to bear.

Another objection is, that the prospect of parish relief in old age or sickness encourages idleness and vice in the vigour of life. This evidently applies only to the batchelor and parent of a small family; for the man with a large family can neither be idle, nor can he lay up any savings by the utmost efforts of industry and frugality. The objection, therefore, amounts to this, that a man without incumbrance, and in full possession of the comforts of life, will *be tempted* to the indulgence of present gratification, by the delightful prospect of passing his latter days in a workhouse. Now we can well believe that the possession of superfluous money will tempt an uninstructed peasant into idle, dissolute, and thoughtless, habits. But that he does this with any deliberate or prospective view of the consequences that will result to him in his old age, or in sickness, is contrary to all experience and analogy. Present temptation, the absence of moral restraint, and the want of consideration, are the predisposing causes to vicious indulgence; but let a man once be brought to *deliberate*, to take a prospective view of the consequences of such a career, and he will perceive that he is entering an avenue of horrors, which the agreeable perspective of the parish workhouse at the termination of the vista will scarcely tempt him to encounter. The poor laws, moreover, do not make a provision in supply of deficiencies occasioned by wilful idleness, but of those only which result from incapacity; and the contrary impression is an error into which the author of the pamphlet before us has fallen in common with many others, who have no practical knowledge of the subject.

We think that we are now fairly entitled to assume that the necessary increase of people is raised by the poor laws in the cheapest and most effectual manner; and being so raised, it will probably be thought superfluous to waste any words in proving that the result is favourable to commerce and manufactures. But the third limb of our triple proposition yet remains to be made good, in order completely to establish the policy of the poor laws; for it is evident that unless they have also a tendency to increase the means of subsistence in proportion to the population which they call into being, they do in fact justly incur the imputation of audaciously pretending to support them only to plunge them into greater misery. In truth, there cannot be a clearer axiom in political economy than that an increase of consumers, the objects of consumption remaining the same, and only sufficient for the number of consumers previously in existence, is nothing less than the introduction of so much disease, misery, and premature death; and that relieving one portion of these consumers by donations in money is only depriving the rest of their rightful share of the necessaries of life. We apprehend that it was an assumption, that this proposition was agreeable to the fact of the case, which induced Mr. Malthus (after objecting to the poor laws, on account of their tendency to increase population), to finish by stating his belief that they do not in fact increase population at all, but only distress and misery.

But how stands the fact? Our readers have probably borne in mind that in the manufacturing state of society prevalent in England fresh capital can only be laid out in agriculture, in proportion to the demand which a previously existing population makes upon its produce. They will also admit that an abundance of means even for some centuries exists in England, for the further production of food in proportion as it is called for. But to render the call efficient it must be made not only by one that wants to be fed, but who can offer a remuneration for the food produced. The objects called into existence, and reared by the poor laws, are in a condition to make this offer. The addition made to their earnings gives them a valid claim to a larger portion of the existing food than they would otherwise have, and, by increasing the number of competitors, has a tendency to raise its price. This of course gives an impulse to the capitalist to lay out more money upon land, that he may supply the additional demand for food; and were this the whole process, we think that the third limb of our proposition would stand firm. But this is by no means the only influence exercised by the poor laws on the further production of food. Their partial operation in confining the high remuneration of labour

to those only who have large families, affords facilities to the extension of agriculture, to the full as great as those given to manufacturing industry. For while the increased demand for food from the augmented population impels the capitalist on the one hand, the comparatively low rate of labour very much assists his operations on the other, and he combines at once the advantages of the agricultural and manufacturing states of society.

The proofs in detail might be extended to any given length, by a reference to the various principles of political economy which relate to production and consumption; but we trust that more than enough has now been stated to convince any impartial mind, that the poor laws do in fact produce a healthy and vigorous increase of population, at the same time that they afford a corresponding encouragement to cultivation, without diminishing that which is so essentially due to commerce and manufactures; that they have more than realized the desideratum which Sir James Stuart probably had in his mind when he stated, that if it be necessary to keep down the wages of labour in order to depress the price of commodities, and at the same time to encourage cultivation by the demand of an increasing population for subsistence, the state must pay for the support of the children, to the extent in which the fathers of large families are unable to provide for them.

Thus far as to the policy of the poor laws, which, we trust, stands upon grounds as firm and tenable as we shall presently hope to shew is the case with respect to their humanity: for we do not pretend to assert that those who enacted the poor laws had any very clear views of their real political effects. We believe humanity was the ruling inducement to their establishment, as well as the chief ground upon which they have been continued in operation for two centuries, by a nation which even its enemies admit to join great sobriety of judgment with its feelings of charity. But if that view be a false one, if the philosophers who have risen up in our days are founded in the supposition, that our ancestors were in this instance much mistaken in their well-intended views for the benefit of the poor; perish all respect to policy, profit, and the rapid accumulation of wealth and produce! For it is almost too obvious to be repeated, that these can never be built upon a solid foundation unless where they rest upon the moral welfare of the people.

We think, in the first place, that we have a right to assume that the argument of the preceding pages has completely cut up by the roots all the modern objections to the humanity of the poor laws drawn from the principle of population. Their foundation evidently rests on the notion, that the money given in the

form of poors rates calls into existence a number of additional mouths, for which no corresponding supply of food is raised. But we have shewn the converse of this proposition to be true, therefore the whole theoretical superstructure of vice and misery built upon it falls to the ground of course. And when the objectors turn short round and assert, that notwithstanding their former objections in point of theory, they do not think that in point of fact the poors rates *do* encourage population, but only idleness and vice by the prospect of future relief, although the earnings of youth and manhood may have been dissipated in debauchery; we think that we have met them on that point also, by shewing that the portion of the people to whom the argument applies, namely the young and unmarried, or the married with small families, will assuredly regulate their moral conduct more according to the example of their superiors, and the religious and moral instruction which may have been imparted to them, than by any distant view of the temporal consequences of self-indulgence. And we have further shewn that all the arguments built on the supposition that the poor laws make up to an idle labourer the deficiencies arising from neglect are erroneous; they only come in aid of his total or partial incapacity to support himself and his family.

But in the second place, we confess that we are by no means satisfied with merely proving that the poor laws are not *inhuman* in their operation. We think ourselves in a condition to prove that they constitute one of the grandest monuments of extensive charity and enlightened humanity that ever adorned any age or nation. The system has actually realized that *fabulous* theory of social happiness which political œconomists have agreed in ridiculing from the time of Henry IV. of France downwards—that every man in *real* distress is *entitled*, as a matter of *right*, to a sufficient relief from the public. We beg it may be observed that this is predicated of the *LAWs*, not of the abuses or inconveniences which the lapse of time, the alterations in society, and a long course of neglect or mismanagement, may have introduced into their execution. That these, however, are not very general or injurious, and have been much counteracted by the conservative regulation which places the œconomy of the fund in the hands of those very persons from whose pockets it is taken, (with a power of appeal to both parties against abuse), we think will plainly appear upon reference to the actual extent of the humane results now arising from their operation.

These extend to the whole amount of the rates not actually expended in rearing large families; to all the relief given in large manufacturing and commercial towns to persons thrown out of

employment by the necessary fluctuations of trade; to the support of the sick, of widows, of orphans, of the aged and infirm,—of all those, in short, who cannot provide for themselves, and whose dependance upon individual charity would be insufficient to preserve their existence.

Of those who are wholly supported in workhouses the number in 1803 was 83,462. These are almost exclusively sick, aged, infirm, and orphans. And supposing our former calculation of 600,000 persons, constituting that part of the healthy families of labourers which is supported by the public, to be correct, there will remain 356,000 persons which come under the description of casual poor, assisted out of workhouses at periods of sickness or temporary difficulty, who are thereby preserved at a trifling expence to their families and to the State, which must otherwise have expended all the money that would have been necessary to rear another effective labourer to the age at which each would have been carried off.

We will not now expatiate upon that interesting scene of humanity which the details of this enormous mass of charity in all its extensive ramifications presents to our view. We had rather leave them to the experience or imagination of our readers; briefly remarking, that however the cold philosopher in his closet may attempt to argue them into illusions, those who have been actually conversant with the operation of the laws concerning the poor, that is, the clergy, the magistrates, and the country gentlemen of England, are as well aware of the reality of the benefits conferred by them, as our statesmen, our generals, and our enemies are of the efficient human beings whom these laws assist in bringing to perfection.

We have already intimated our assent to the fact, that the poor-laws are capable of many amendments, both in enactment and in the mode of their execution. The length to which these observations have already extended, precludes us from entering into these improvements on the present occasion. But there is one which so strongly results from the preceding view of their policy, that we do not perceive how any man who accedes to the justice of that policy can hesitate a moment in wishing to apply the amendment.

By the law, as it at present stands, no man can *claim* relief so long as he is possessed of any property whatever, nor unless such part of his family as applies for relief will consent to go into the workhouse, if so required by the overseers. The operation of this law upon the industrious father of a large family, who only requires from the rates that which is necessary to make up the deficiency in his own earnings, is evidently cruel and impoli-

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THE
BRITISH REVIEW,
AND
LONDON CRITICAL JOURNAL.

JUNE, 1812.

ART. XVI. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage; a Romaunt.* By Lord Byron. London: J. Murray. 1812.

AT a time when so many of those who by birth are called to the councils of the state are conspiring against their own order by a voluntary degradation of themselves into grooms and stage-coachmen; and while, on the other hand, every thing is done to raise the condition of the vulgar, to improve their discernment, and to dissipate their prejudices,—any young nobleman who, by his intellectual attainments and occupations, brings dignity to the peerage, so far at least, deserves well of his country. As it has been the constant heresy of the British Reviewers to impute the dangers of our church establishment to the supineness, the thoughtlessness, and the misconduct of some of the clergy themselves, so are they also of opinion, that if the aristocratical part of our civil constitution is in peril, it is chiefly so from the consequences of an infatuated neglect of the interests of their own order, so conspicuous in a portion (we tremble to think how large a portion!) of the nobility themselves.

As the church offers no sanctuary even to her own sons when they seek a shelter within its pale from the obloquy created by their own misconduct, so neither will political privileges, or emblems of distinction, devices, or muniments, or coats of arms, rescue the noble from the consequences of their self-devoting acts of infamy and folly. What is illustrious, as well as what is sacred, in a *free* state, has no proper fulcrum but the common

opinion. Not that flux thing called opinion, which vents itself in common halls and tumultuous assemblies, excited by the hypocritical harangues of designing men, but that permanent sentiment which involuntarily decides the unprejudiced mind in favour of truth and virtue, attests the motion of the divinity within us, and points at once to our origin and our destination. This native sense of the preference due to virtue, is that which we mean by *opinion*; and which is in fact that right constitution of our nature, which, though a thousand accidents may suspend its operation at particular times, and in particular places, will, wherever good institutions and a free communication of mind exist, ultimately recover its ascendancy. In this nation of free men, and this age of free inquiry, when the very zeal so laudably shewn by the great for diffusing the blessings of instruction, is raising up critics upon greatness itself from the plough, the loom, and the forge, the call for circumspection is deep and loud in the ears of those who perceive that their titles are nothing but splendid obligations, and pledges of superior worth.

In directing our attention to the commendable addictions of the noble author whose work is before us, we have felt ourselves irresistibly impelled to make some allusion to the present exposed state of dignities and authorities. It was impossible in touching upon this subject not to breathe out our impotent wishes for the improvement of the habits of a class of persons with whose elevation of character the fortune of the nation is so obviously connected—impossible not to deplore the inverted ambition of noblemen who aspire to be less than gentlemen—impossible, at the same time, not to dread the mad career of others who betray the common interest to gratify the malice of party, and who, to revenge their exclusion from power, do their utmost to furnish false accusation against government, and to expose the just and necessary exercise of authority to permanent and hopeless embarrassments.

Valuing, therefore, as we do, whatever tends to render nobility an object of merited respect, we are pleased at seeing a young lord wave his privilege to be foolish, and renounce the intellectual immunities of his birth. Lord Byron stands before the tribunal of criticism well prepared to challenge his accusers. Reviewers have already felt the chastisement of his offended muse; and that, not in their corporate but their individual capacities. The British Reviewers will neither deprecate nor deserve his poetical vengeance. They look neither to the right hand, or to the left, to consult the power or disposition of the person whose work is under their review. Their business is

with the work itself, its tendency, and its execution; and in strict adherence to the motto of their publication they will perform their duty like gentlemen; but their duty they will perform.

Before we enter upon our allotted task of criticism, let us congratulate our author upon the capability of improvement of which he has shewn himself to be possessed. We have read his second edition of his poems original and translated, and must avow ourselves of the same opinion, as to their merits, with those reviewers, who, by their contemptuous treatment of them, provoked such a signal retort from the irritated bard. Their satire, *such as it was*, shook the prætexta from the shoulders of the noble *minor*,

“Strung every nerve and braced the boy to man.”

By this time, we doubt not, the manlier mind of his lordship has forgiven the severity of the reviewers, and acquiesced in the justice, if not in the style, of their criticism. We were sorry however to see a second edition of these rhyming puerilities. A second edition should have been reserved for the amusement of his second childhood, leaving the vigorous intervening period undisgraced by the repetition of such insipidities; if he does not rather owe it to himself and to the dignity of his *present* muse, to abandon them to their own alacrity of sinking, till they fall into those realms of everlasting quiet, which, according to some lines in the poem under review, is the final destiny of all things appertaining to man.

We feel a strong sympathy with many of the sentiments so vigorously and poetically expressed in the satire on English Bards, and Scotch Reviewers; and from that specimen, as well as from some passages in the poem now before us, we are induced to think the author is eminently qualified for serious, ethical, and extended satire; according to the Roman model. We mean that which aims rather at the reformation of an age than the chastisement of an individual. The poem upon bards and reviewers is one of the happiest of those productions, to which the *Dunciad* has been the great pattern. But of the different kinds of satiric composition, the lowest and easiest is that which seeks to gratify private hostility, or the general appetite for personal ridicule, by ludicrous exhibitions of individual infirmity or folly. Lord Byron has, however, made his work the vehicle of good poetry, and useful lessons pointedly and melodiously expressed. Allowing too for the excrescences of wit, the levity which is so apt to accompany personal satire, and the lack of discretion pardonable in youth, the muse of his lordship seems to us to have grown both wiser and better during the interval between his first and second performance. His

praise of and sympathy with poor Little, as he calls him, in a stanza of one of the original poems, is turned to a juster and more manly sentiment on the character of that gentleman's muse, in the poem on bards and reviewers. The revels of unquiet old ladies of fashion; the pimping employments of some of our caterers of debauch in high life; the excitements and buffooneries of the opera; the sickly gloatings of amorous old peers; and the dangerous discomposure of maidenish modesty before those exotic scenes of privileged indecency, are all touched upon with a master's hand, and a poet's fire, we had almost said with the indignation of an ingenuous young English nobleman, who feels as he ought for his country, and his country's character. We must thank him too for his tender tribute to the memory of poor Henry Kirke White: and we think that some credit for candour is due to his lordship, for bringing to his reader's mind the great disparity between his own boyish efforts, and those of a youth, who at a much greener age, uncomplimented, unassisted, uncaressed, in numbers as chaste as they were glowing, gave his first raptures to the cause of virtue and truth, strewing his humble and solitary path with the blossoms of original genius.

When we first heard of the poem of *Childe Harold*—a *Romaunt*—what could we expect, but a new assortment of chivalrous tales, of amours and battles, of giants and deliverers, of knights and Saracens, of dwarfs and demons? In this we were mistaken. And our puzzle is now to account for those portentous titles of a poem, the subject of which is certainly neither chastity, nor valour, nor truth; nor fairies, nor damsels, nor deliverers; nor heroes baptized, or infidel; but the narrative of a modern tourist, passing from place to place, with little or no incident, but with local descriptions most poetically dressed, and reflections which might occur to a mind like Lord Byron's without the pain or peril of travel. But to produce all this, what need was there of *Childe Harold*, or a *Romaunt*?

The origin of the word '*Romaunt*' is well known to be thus derived. When the Latin tongue had been nearly corrupted and forgotten, its successor was the Romanse, or Provençal; being partly the '*Romana*,' till then the language of the *Romana provincia* of Gaul, and partly the Frank, introduced by the conquering nation of that name. In this adulterated state it was long the colloquial language of the vulgar, till it was, by degrees, refined into a proper vehicle of the literature of that middle æra. The metrical legends of chivalry being for a long time the most popular compositions in that language, came to assume, by way of emphasis, the very name of the language as

their own; and thus were distinguished by the appellations of Romans or Romants, and in the style of our old English diction, Romaunts. Lord Byron has adopted the most antique orthography of the word, and has thereby, for reasons unguessed at by us, given to his book a name the furthest removed that the English language could supply from the real description and character of its contents.

With respect to the true meaning of the word 'Childe,' there appear to be considerable doubts among commentators. It seems to be a word of chivalrous import, and is found frequently in the old romances and ballads. Prefixed to the ballad of Childe Waters, in Percy's Relicks, there are some remarks on the word which are not very satisfactory. Notice is there taken of Mr. Theobald's opinion, that it was received, along with their romances, from the Spaniards, with whom *infante* signifies a prince; and of that of another critic, who tells us, that "in the old times of chivalry, the noble youths who were candidates for knighthood, during the time of their probation were called *infans*, *varlets*, *damoyseles*, *bacheliers*. The most noble of the youth particularly were called *infants*." The word is very common in the Faerie Queen. Thus, in book v. canto ii. stanza viii. Prince Arthur is called the *childe*: and it is to be observed, in corroboration of Theobald's conjecture, that in the fight between Prince Arthur and the souldan, in the eighth canto of the fifth book, Prince Arthur is called both the *childe* and the *infant*. See the stanzas xxxii. and xli.; and also book vi. canto viii. stanza xxv. So Fairfax, book xvi. xxxiv. of Rinaldo. Again, in the old ballad quoted in Shakespear's King Lear, the hero of Ariosto is called Childe Roland. One of the commentators on Spenser, however, observes, that the Saxon word *cniht*, knight, signifies also a child. See Upton's Gloss to the Faerie Queen. In the Scottish ballad of Gil Morrice, the old title of which was Childe Maurice, the hero was an earl's son, of tender years and great beauty. Sir Tryamoure, in the romance under that title, is repeatedly called the *chylde*, before he was made a knight: and so, young Tristram, when just past the age of boy, and at the time of his being dubbed a squire by Sir Caledore, is called the *chylde*, in the sixth book and second canto of the Faerie Queen. Upon the whole, therefore, we may gather, that this appellation, though in some of its uses its original sense might be a little departed from, was chiefly bestowed on persons of princely descent, in the bloom of youth, rarely and richly endowed, and candidates for the office and renown of chivalry.

We have dwelt a little minutely upon the sense of this term,

childe, in our old romances and ballads, to see how far it comports with the Childe Harold, the hero of Lord Byron's poem: and the result is, that we find nothing in his character which places him upon a footing with those personages of romance to whom the term 'childe' appears chiefly to have been applied. Spenser, from whom Lord Byron borrows his stanza, and probably the term childe, makes the childe Tristram give an account of himself that would little have agreed with the Childe Harold.

“ All which my days I have not lewdly spent,
Nor spilt the blossome of my tender years
In idleness.”

And as soon as he is dubbed a squire, the poet says,

“ Full glad and joyous then young Tristram grew
Like as a flowre, whose silken leavës small,
Long shut up in the bud from heaven's view,
At length breaks forth, and brode displays his smyling hue.”

But the Childe Harolde is no child of chivalry. Neither virtue nor enterprize is his. He has scarcely the qualifications of a paynim knight. He is in truth a mere son of sensuality, who has finished a long career of gross and selfish enjoyment by the notable discovery that nothing is good enough for him; and so resolves to travel for the sake of some refreshment to his jaded appetites, and to see if there be any thing new under the sun. But all in vain: “ the whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint.” The ghosts of his departed pleasures mock his senses. He feels no longer any capacity for substantial enjoyment. His tastes are buried under his debaucheries. But it is really too much to be told by this sort of man, with the authority of a preacher, that all is vanity, because, forsooth, he has chosen to abuse the capacities of his nature, and to despise the dictates of reason and religion. *His* objects have indeed been vain. They are so by divine appointment. In the language of Lord Byron,

“ They dig their own voluptuous tomb.”

But nothing is more sickening and insufferable than the whining morality of those, who, because they have placed their whole dependance upon enjoyments below the dignity and destination of man, and have had experimental proof of their inanity, affect the tone of philosophers, and talk with fastidious refinement of all sublunary pleasures.

“ It is the constant revolution stale,
And tasteless, of the same repeated joys,

That palls and satiates, and makes languid life ●
A pedlar's pack, that bows the bearer down.
Whom call we gay? That honour has been long
The boast of mere pretenders to the name.
The innocent are gay—the lark is gay,
That dries his feathers saturate with dew
Beneath the rosy cloud, while yet the beams
Of dayspring overshoot his humble nest.
The peasant too, a witness of his song,
Himself a songster, is as gay as he.
But save me from the gaiety of those"
&c. &c.

We have ventured upon these remarks because we deem it within the legitimate objects of our undertaking to watch the avenues to the heart as well as the head, and to qualify, as far as we can, the collateral tendencies of the works under our examination. We are of opinion, that the hero of this poem has no business where he is. Viewing him, indeed, abstractedly from the work, his character appears to be drawn with great fidelity and vigour. Neither do we think that the properties of such a character are an unfit subject for poetical illustration. The joyless state of a human being, sound in body and sane in mind, who, in the midst of a cheerful creation, has no partnership in it with the rest of his fellow creatures; to whom even variety has lost its charm; and whose spirits labour under a killing lassitude that knows no cure or comfort, whatever may have been its cause, has something in it of terror and desolation, not unlike, in effect, to the profundity of an abyss, or the gloom of a wilderness. But why it should have occurred to Lord Byron "to introduce this fictitious character for the sake of giving *connection* to the piece," we cannot imagine. He tells us, that the *Childe* took no interest in the surrounding objects; they could not be, therefore, *his* impressions which the poem so vividly describes. They must have been the author's own. Then what is the connection between the hero and the piece? It is nothing more than this. Lord Byron tells us, with great beauty of language and imagery, that such and such things presented themselves, in such and such places, and that a certain sad man went about and saw them, without taking any interest or pleasure in any of them. His progress only serves as a geographical index to the places, which the poet adorns, as they pass under review, with the colours of his genius.

Had the *Childe* possessed either that melancholy which is sometimes said to be born with the true poet, and which inspires an early taste for contemplative seclusion amidst nature's wild and awful scenery; or that species of sadness which is apt to succeed

to the disappointment of virtuous hopes in a warm and tender mind,—the great and the magnificent, the solemn and the tremendous, would have made their appeal to a traveller alive to their proper influences*; but the gross habits of the hero of Lord Byron had stiffened his soul into a gelid apathy, and left in him nothing assorted to the scenes of grandeur by which he was surrounded. He was, therefore, the most improper man on earth for the author to carry about with him in his imagination: though we do not say, that if his lordship had, with better taste, described the impressions of these scenes on a mind more happily constituted, very good use might not have been made, incidentally, of such a character as Childe Harold, to exemplify the loss of genuine pleasure that those sustain who have spent their youth in pampered ease and sensual gratifications. Such a transition would have been graceful as a contrast, and have furnished an episodical relief to the poem. But what reader can accompany with pleasure the wanderings of a man, who is flying from *himself*, not from the *world*,—miserable because his mischievous sport is over,—sober only from satiety,—abstinent only from necessity,—and indifferent to the passing scene not from abstraction, but from penury of thought. What signify groves, or woods, or cliffs, or foaming torrents, or precipices hung with pines, to a man like the *Childe* of Lord Byron? They properly belong to the child of nature and of Beattie; to him who with his one short pipe of rural minstrelsy,

“ To the forest sped,
Or roamed at large the lonely mountain's head;
Or, where the maze of some bewildered stream,
To deep untrodden groves his footsteps led.”

The idea of Dr. Beattie's Edwin seems to have been not altogether absent from the mind of Lord Byron in the composition of the character of his hero. But he has not enough remembered that poor Edwin, while he “ heeded neither gaude nor toy,” “ nor loved to mingle in the clamorous fray,” possessed no indifference to the glories of creation, or the vicissitudes of humanity.

“ In truth he was a strange and wayward wight,
Fond of each gentle, and each dreadful scene:
In darkness and in storm he found delight,
Nor less than when on ocean wave serene

* The biographer of Dr. Beattie makes the following mention of the early additions of that exquisite poet:

“ It was his supreme delight to saunter in the fields the live-long night, contemplating the sky, and marking the approach of day. The high hill which rises to the west of Fordoun would, in a misty morning, supply him with one of the images so beautifully described in the 21st stanza. And the 20th stanza of the second book of the ‘Minstrel’ describes a night scene, unquestionably drawn from nature,” &c. &c.

The southern sun diffused his dazzling shene.
Even sad vicissitude amused his soul ;
And if a sigh would sometimes intervene,
And down his cheek a tear of pity roll,
A sigh, a tear so sweet, he wished not to controul."

With this fascinating model before him, and the obligations taken upon himself by the name and title of his work, Lord Byron seems to have deemed it a matter quite indispensable to make his hero something of a *minstrel*, and to shew him above the vulgar, by his refraining from crying upon leaving home, and the ladies, to sail upon the shoreless sea, while others were weeping and wailing. Now all this we cannot help thinking rather childish, (not meaning any pun by that word) and one of the feeblest passages of the poem.

" The sails were filled, and fair the light winds blew,
As glad to waft him from his native home ;
And fast the white rocks faded from his view,
And soon were lost in circumambient foam :
And then, it may be, of his wish to roam
Repented he, but in his bosom slept
The silent thought, nor from his lips did come
One word of wail, whilst others sate and wept,
And to the reckless gales unmanly moaning kept.

" But when the sun was sinking in the sea,
He seiz'd his harp, which he at times could string,
And strike, albeit with untaught melody,
When deem'd he no strange ear was listening :
And now his fingers o'er it he did fling,
And tuned his farewell in the dim twilight.
While flew the vessel on her snowy wing,
And fleeting shores receded from his sight,
Thus to the elements he poured his last "good night."

Childe Har. canto 1, stanzas 12 and 13.

We cannot help wishing that Lord Byron, as he seems in some instances, with very good taste, to have kept his eye on Dr. Beattie, could have imitated, if it were but for the sake of the poetry, that humble religious spirit, which shed such a mellow lustre over all he wrote. We cannot but regret (for we are among the admirers of this spirited young nobleman), that doubts, if not the *denial*, of the soul's immortality should have borrowed the graces of his poetry to captivate the unwary reader. We hope we have mistaken the import of the passages to which we allude ; or that, though this certainly does not appear from the context, they were meant to be ascribed to the *Childe*, to whose epicurean character they were well suited. His lordship has emphatically disclaimed

all intention of designing any real character by the hero of the piece ; it is clear, therefore, he cannot have meant his own, which, we doubt not, is far removed from all resemblance. Comparing, however, some passages of his poems first published with some allusions put into the mouth of Childe Harold, persons not acquainted with Lord Byron might have been led into a suspicion of identity very injurious to the dignity and deserts of his lordship. Cherishing these sentiments with respect to the poet himself, we are pleased with those passages wherein, with great propriety, great justness, and great felicity of expression, he has marked the unworthiness of the character he has thought proper to mix with his descriptions, for the sake, as he tells us, of connecting them. We will produce two stanzas wherein something of this poetical justice occurs, and we cite them the more cheerfully because they happen to be among the best specimens of the skill of the poet. We are persuaded that most of those who read them will feel, as we do, an anxious hope that the taste and talent they display will be powerfully engaged, in these ominous times, on the side of truth ; and that the favourite of the muse will be the friend of religion, and not the laureat infidel of the day.

“ Oh many a time, and oft, had Harold lov'd,
Or dream'd he lov'd, since Rapture is a dream ;
But now his wayward bosom was unmov'd,
For not yet had he drunk of Lethe's stream ;
And lately had he learn'd with truth to deem
Love has no gift so grateful as his wings :
How fair, how young, how soft soe'er he seem,
Full from the fount of joy's delicious springs
Some bitter o'er the flowers its bubbling venom flings,

“ Yet to the beauteous form he was not blind,
Though now it mov'd him as it moves the wise ;
Not that philosophy on such a mind
E'er deign'd to bend her chastely-awful eyes ;
But Passion raves herself to rest, or flies ;
And Vice, that digs her own voluptuous tomb,
Had buried long his hopes, no more to rise :
Pleasure's pall'd victim ! life-abhorring gloom
Wrote on his faded brow curst Cain's unresting doom.”

So far the poet has in very harmonious language, and with great energy of diction, decided against vice. But he has decided on grounds of expediency alone. His argument is too like what the logicians call a negative pregnant. It condemns vice because it is a very losing game to play in this world,—because it is destructive of its own purposes,—and because moral prudence forbids it ; a mode of confutation from which some persons, not acquainted

with the writer, might rashly conclude him to mean, that if it could be reconciled to our interests in a worldly view, it might be safely practised. Such an unwarrantable conclusion, however, would have been completely shut out, had his lordship in any part of his poem, amidst the scenes of the natural and moral world which lay spread before his rapturous contemplations, bestowed one thought upon the providence of God, or one awful glance at a state of future retribution.

We do not quite approve of the harsh things, which in the stanzas just cited are said of the passion of love, any more than of the outrageous sarcasms in other parts of the poem bestowed upon the other sex. We cannot but remark, that the passion, according to the views taken of it in this work, and particularly as it displays itself in the character of the *Childe*, is undistinguishable from what plain men are apt to designate by a coarser appellation; and really it is too much for the patient philosophy of reviewers to hear a man fret in sentimental common place about the sex's inconstancy and the fallacies of love, whose depraved tastes, from the account the poet has given us of him, have associated him only with the basest of the sex, except where his vagrant passions have forced their way among a better sort by breaking down the fences of modesty. No man has a right to be angry with the world because he has been outwitted by it in a contest of iniquity; because prostitutes have jilted him; and the promises of sensuality have proved false and treacherous. There is no dignity in the melancholy or misanthropy of such a man. What right has a bankrupt in morals to complain that he is left to live upon the dregs of his insolvency? Or a dealer in mischiefs, retired from business and past the season of labour, that he is left to die of the disease of inoccupation? We, once for all, declare ourselves to be heartily weary of *Childe Harold*, who after having injured, is made thus to insult the sex. He is, in truth, any thing but the hero of a romaunt, who, as such, should have known something of true and virtuous love; such as in the *olden* times was a source of dignity and honour, of prowess and chastity; which lent intelligence to the simple, and grace to the rustic; which was the ornament of youth, and the flower of gentility; when the dispositions of life and society made it paramount over the sordid passions, and placed it in its just elevation.

We hope we have discharged our duty in respect to the character of *Childe Harold*. But we cannot avoid a parting observation or two. We deem the introduction of the character altogether reprehensible. We think the pains taken in some places to render him interesting, tarnishes the lustre and the simplicity of the poem; and further, that every such attempt has produced a glaring in-

consistency in the character itself. Thus in page 8, he is said to feel such tenderness for his mother and sister as to be unable to bear the parting; and yet at the conclusion of the 'Good Night' song, he states his greatest grief to be that "he leaves nothing that claims a tear." In truth the mischief lies in foisting him in where he has no business, and can only invest the scenes of the poem with the sickly hues of his own morbid disposition. In a more befitting place, or connected in a different manner with the poem, we should have been happy to have paid our tribute to the highly poetical manner in which the portrait is drawn and coloured. Some slight alterations and additions, too,—something more of amiableness and dignity in the manner, might have made the character administer occasion to that monitory wisdom which suits the stateliness and compass of the stanza of Spenser. To justify our opinion of the merit of the poem, with respect to the draft of this character, simply considered, we will produce two stanzas very creditable to the pen of the writer.

"For he through Sin's long labyrinth had run,
Nor made atonement when he did amiss,
Had sigh'd to many though he lov'd but one,
And that lov'd one, alas! could ne'er be his.
Ah, happy she! to 'scape from him whose kiss
Had been pollution unto aught so chaste;
Who soon had left her charms for vulgar bliss,
And spoil'd her goodly lands to gild his waste,
Nor calm domestic peace had ever deigned to taste.

"And now Childe Harold was sore sick at heart,
And from his fellow bacchanals would flee;
'Tis said, at times the sullen tear would start,
But Pride congeal'd the drop within his ee:
Apart he stalked in joyless reverie,
And from his native land resolv'd to go,
And visit scorching climes beyond the sea;
With pleasure drugg'd, he almost longed for woe,
And e'en for change of scene would seek the shades below."

The structure of verse introduced by Spenser seems well adapted to descriptive poetry. The luxuriance of the measure, and the sweeping range of the stanza, afford room for the most complex idea, without breaking its continuity. But this extension of the same idea is not merely possible, but, for the most part, necessary. It must in general be dilated to the dimensions of the stanza: at least there are few instances of the neglect of this rule without producing a disagreeable transition. But the effect of this necessity of filling out the stanza by the amplification of a single thought, is often to dilute its strength; which accounts for

the frequent occurrence of nerveless expletory lines in the midst of an otherwise energetic stanza. The unity necessary in the construction of this verse, and the repetition and duplication of its rhymes, seem to create the difficulty so much complained of in its composition;—a difficulty often not to be overcome without sacrificing compression of thought, and propriety of language.

But notwithstanding these disadvantages, it must be owned the form of the stanza is capable of a considerable degree of simplicity and harmony. The genius of Spenser has stamped upon it a character in which the grotesque and the sedate, the lofty and the mean, the sad and the humorous, are so harmoniously blended, that, whether it is the nature of the verse itself, or a consequence of the prejudices connected with it, certain it is, that nothing but the wild, the remote, the allegorical, or the romantic appears in it with becoming effect. The *Castle of Indolence* and the *Minstrel* have adopted it, therefore, with the happiest success. The allegory of *Thompson* maintains a competition with *Spenser* in many of his personifications, and is even superior in the perspicuity of its moral. He wields the stanza with great ease and grace, and is less monotonous than any of his successors. *Beattie*, the tender *Beattie*, has consecrated the stanza by making it the vehicle of a wild and artless theme, in which poetry is presented with a mirror of her opening charms, as they burst into being, and reveal their mysterious tendencies. Never was the style of the verse better suited to the plan of the poem. All is in harmony and correspondence. The hero, the scenery, the moral, and the embellishment so happily meet in *Beattie's* stanza, that it seems as if it held them together by a sort of enchantment.

The mock solemnity, the antiquated air, the primitive decency, and the quaint simplicity of the schoolmistress of *Shenstone*, rank it among the happy applications of the *Spenser* stanza. One of its principal attractions is that humorous gravity with which it brings to our minds the recollection of sorrows become so diminutive by their distance and the comparative magnitude of present events, as to be viewed only with the feelings that belong to the traces of long-departed scenes, companions, and instructors.

The poem of *Lord Byron* is deficient in many of the characteristics that give propriety to the use of the verse which he has adopted. That mellow richness of description, however, which gives eyes to the imagination, accompanied by those allusions and reflections which make inanimate nature speak to the heart, belong as much to *Lord Byron* as to any of his forerunners in the use of this stanza. But his subject has put some impediments in his way which it was not easy to overcome. His matter was quite

inconsistent with that antique air which seems to belong to this verse by a sort of affinity perhaps derived out of our prejudices, but which cannot, without detriment, be departed from. A consciousness of this has induced him to adopt many of the same antiquated words which Thompson and Beattie have used in imitation of Spenser; not perhaps sufficiently considering that, having chosen a subject perfectly modern, and without the smallest tincture of the manners of a romantic age, his obsolete words and phrases are used without any colour of propriety. Had he confined himself, in passing through Spain, to the monuments of superstitious and feudal magnificence with which that romantic country abounds, an antique phraseology might have sometimes aided the impression of his descriptions, by carrying back our ideas to the scenes of distant greatness which they represent; but what these gothic words have to do with the *recent* events of that country, or with the classic monuments of Greece, it is difficult to conceive.

There is indeed a very silly affectation of these old words in many of our modern poets. They seem to be valued merely because they are old, without regard to the connection which should subsist between the words and the matter to give them effect, or even to justify their use. We will not say that the subject must always be ancient to agree with ancient words. There is a simplicity in their effect (for we are apt to regard remote times as times of simplicity) which gives a secret charm to tales and fables, derived (we incline to think) from associations which have a permanent existence in the mind. Even English readers are sensible of this in La Fontaine; and Dryden has adopted the same artifice, sometimes with good effect, in his fables, though to this probably he was led more by imitation of his originals than original choice. Certain it is, that obsolete terms, and, indeed, all terms difficult of comprehension, in a poem, are so many evils *absolutely* considered; there must, therefore, be some positive advantage in the use of them to excuse their introduction. We do not entirely feel with Mr. Gray on this subject, who carried his objection so far, as to disapprove of the antique expressions occurring in the *Minstrel*: we are very far from wishing them expunged from the *Paradise Lost*: because, in one word, we do think and feel them to be poetical; and there doubtless is, in every language in which poetry has flourished, a poetical style; but we contend that they may be greatly out of place, and that they are always so, when there is neither loftiness, simplicity, or antiquity in the subject of the poem.

It is high time to give our readers some specimens of the author's descriptive powers. But before we enter upon this

sounding praise of their beauty; but when in the 72d stanza he describes the dames as being "skilled in the ogle of a roguish eye," the enchantment is dissolved; the associations with which we first viewed the encomiums upon their dark-glancing countenances are at an end; and we find that his lordship has been putting us off with what we vulgarly call common women; for common, indeed, they must be, to merit, the *slang* phraseology in which the poet has described their expression.

The account of the bull fight is finished with great poetical spirit; but there is too much of what in modern poetry is become a characteristic fault. We mean an endeavour to crowd at once into the mind of the reader all the ideas that belong to the subject, and by an accumulation of epithets to present a full description to which nothing may be wanting to complete its effect. This is to forget that the mind has but a limited percipience, and that to be forcibly aroused or affected, it must be made sensible of *distinct* impressions. Debility is the sure effect of a multitude of epithets, even where the epithets taken singly are unexceptionably good.

"Thrice sounds the clarion; lo! the signal falls,
The den expands, and Expectation mute
Gapes round the silent Circle's loaded walls:
Bounds with one lashing spring the mighty brute,
And, wildly staring, spurns, with sounding foot,
The sand, nor blindly rushes on his foe:
Here, there, he points his threatening front, to suit
His first attack, wide waving to and fro
His angry tail; red rolls his eye's dilated glow."

The 87th and 88th stanzas of the first canto breathe a spirit of ferocity and revenge scarcely to be justified even by the wrongs against which they are pointed. Christian principles are at war with all sentiments of rancorous hostility; but even the philosophy so deified in Lord Byron's contemplations, unless it be the philosophy which modern times have engendered, loves not those "remorseless deeds" with which the 87th stanza concludes. Alas! recent events have made us sicken at the thought of secret vengeance.

As we proceed in the poem we become better acquainted with his lordship's philosophy. Though he tells us of her "chastely awful eyes," she seems to be totally without that "sweet austere composure" which belongs to innocence, and to live in a state of doubt and despondency, which would be well exchanged for that delusion in which poor blind Christians are enthralled. The poet is here completely safe in his philosophy; for *he* must indeed have an unquenchable thirst for argument, who, after all that has been transacted and written in the world, is ready to launch into

controversy with a disputant who amalgamates all creeds together under one mournful charge of incredibility.

“ Son of the Morning, rise ! approach you here !
 Come—but molest not yon defenceless urn :
 Look on this spot—a nation’s sepulchre !
 Abode of gods, whose shrines no longer burn.
 Even gods must yield—religions take their turn :
 ’Twas Jove’s—’tis Mahomet’s—and other creeds
 Will rise with other years, till man shall learn
 Vainly his incense soars, his victim bleeds ;
 Poor child of Doubt and Death, whose hope is built on reeds.

“ Bound to the earth, he lifts his eye to heaven—
 Is’t not enough, unhappy thing ! to know
 Thou art ? Is this a boon so kindly given,
 That being, thou wouldst be again, and go,
 Thou know’st not, reck’st not to what region, so
 On earth no more, but mingled with the skies ?
 Still wilt thou dream on future joy and woe ?
 Regard and weigh yon dust before it flies :
 That little urn saith more than thousand homilies.

“ Or burst the vanish’d Hero’s lofty mound ;
 Far on the solitary shore he sleeps :
 He fell, and falling, nations mourn’d around ;
 But now not one of saddening thousands weeps,
 Nor warlike-worshipper his vigil keeps
 Where demi-gbds appear’d, as records tell.
 Remove yon skull from out the scatter’d heaps :
 Is that a temple where a God may dwell ?
 Why ev’n the worm at last disdains her shatter’d cell !

“ Look on its broken arch, its ruin’d wall,
 Its chambers desolate, and portals foul :
 Yes, this was once Ambition’s airy hall,
 The dome of Thought, the palace of the Soul :
 Behold through each lack-lustre, eyeless hole,
 The gay recess of Wisdom and of Wit
 And Passion’s host, that never brook’d control :
 Can all, saint, sage, or sophist ever writ,
 People this lonely tower, this tenement refit ?

“ Well didst thou speak, Athena’s wisest son !
 ‘ All that we know is, nothing can be known.’
 Why should we shrink from what we cannot shun ?
 Each has his pang, but feeble sufferers groan

With brain-born dreams of evil all their own.
Pursue what Chance or Fate proclaimeth best ;
Peace waits us on the shores of Acheron :
There no forc'd banquet claims the sated guest,
But Silence spreads the couch of ever welcome rest.

“ Yet if, as holiest men have deem'd, there be
A land of souls beyond that sable shore,
To shame the doctrine of the Sadducee
And sophists, madly vain of dubious lore ;
How sweet it were in concert to adore
With those who made our mortal labours light !
To hear each voice we fear'd to hear no more !
Behold each mighty shade reveal'd to sight,
The Bactrian, Samian sage, and all who taught the right !

“ There, thou !—whose love and life together fled,
Have left me here to love and live in vain—
Twin'd with my heart, and can I deem thee dead,
When busy Memory flashes on my brain ?
Well—I will dream that we may meet again,
And woo the vision to my vacant breast :
If aught of young Remembrance then remain,
Be as it may Futurity's behest,
For me 'twere bliss enough to know thy spirit blest !”

These lines are very beautiful ; but we lament to find in them a further development of the poet's dismal philosophy. Since, however, in other parts of the work, something is intimated of a resolute unbelief in the soul's immortality, we were a little relieved by the expressions of doubt in the 8th stanza,

“ Yet if, as holiest men have deem'd, there be
A land of souls beyond that sable shore ;”

in which the bard rises to the level of the heathen historian, “ Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnæ animæ,” &c. Shall we be forgiven, if with great humility we express a sincere and fervent hope that it has occurred to the promulgator of these terrific doubts, how much it belongs to his own peace to decide them,—how much the anxiety which attends them will increase with his years,—how unphilosophical it will be to turn from such a question without a candid examination, and to despise that light which neither Bacon, nor Locke, nor Newton, nor Pascal despised ; but which opened to them beyond that sable shore, the vista of eternity, and like the star in the east conducted those sages to Bethlehem. It is not for us to dictate, much less to preach ; but it is really impossible for us to leave this subject without uttering a wish,

prompted by an unaffected love of our fellow creatures, that all those who, under the tuition of a vain philosophy, have reasoned themselves into doubts of a future state, would peruse the treatise on the Analogy between Religion and Nature by Bishop Butler, which will be sure at least to remove the prejudices that lie in the way to a fair examination of the subject.

The lamentations of the poet over the prostrate majesty of Greece are extremely natural, and in our judgment possess more of pathos mingled with the picturesque than any passages of the work. Nothing can be more lively and affecting on such a subject than the following stanza, which brings before us the stately remains of the temple of Jupiter Olympius.

“ Here let me sit upon this massy stone,
The marble column's yet unshaken base ;
Here, son of Saturn ! was thy fav'rite throne :
Mightiest of many such ! Hence let me trace
The latent grandeur of thy dwelling place.
It may not be : nor e'en can Fancy's eye
Restore what Time hath labour'd to deface.
Yet these proud pillars claim no passing sigh,
Unmov'd the Moslem sits, the light Greek carols by.”

Here the poet's enthusiasm, inflamed perhaps some little by disappointment, transports him into a reprehension of Lord Elgin for bringing away the relics of Grecian art to his own country, in very unmeasured terms. It is doubtless owing to the flatness of our minds that we do not sympathize with the noble poet in the full extent of his wrath. Granting that there were nothing to justify the removal of these interesting remains on grounds of expediency and policy, in consideration of the perils with which they were surrounded, yet the deed itself, in a moral view, could scarcely deserve those titles of execration and horror which Lord Byron bestows upon it ; and which by their excess almost border upon the ludicrous. He seems seriously to feel for the divinities whose shrines have been sacrilegiously violated. His reverence for the *religio loci* exceeds all ordinary bounds. In verse, at least, he bends the knee as he approaches their awful fanes ; and in a phrase, a little too scriptural for our squeamish ears, he calls the temple of Olympian Jove the “ dwelling place” of the God. Now we are not about to impute to Lord Byron any belief in the real existence of those fabled deities ; but we cannot help admiring in his lordship the powerful influence of a public school education, which could create in the mind of a young man of warm fancy an enthusiasm towards these imaginary beings, hardly less, in description at least, than that which was felt by the crusaders themselves, when after innumerable fatigues and dangers

they approached the holy sepulchre, and, barefooted and bare-headed, in solemn silence, ascended the hill of Calvary.

We are now come to two stanzas which have been read over by us very often, and each time with increased delight: they strongly put us in mind of the Minstrel; but the thought is decked in the graces of unborrowed poetry, and appears in all the charms of originality.

“ To sit on rocks, to muse o’er flood and fell,
To slowly trace the forest’s shady scene,
Where things that own not man’s dominion dwell,
And mortal foot hath ne’er, or rarely been ;
To climb the trackless mountain all unseen,
With the wild flock that never needs a fold ;
Alone o’er steeps and foaming falls to lean ;
This is not solitude ; ’tis but to hold
Converse with Nature’s charms, and see her stores unroll’d.

“ But midst the crowd, the hum, the shock of men,
To hear, to see, to feel, and to possess,
And roam along, the world’s tir’d denizen,
With none who bless us, none whom we can bless ;
Minions of splendour shrinking from distress !
None that, with kindred consciousness endued,
If we were not, would seem to smile the less
Of all that flatter’d, follow’d, sought, and sued :
This is to be alone ; this, this is solitude !”

After these beautiful, natural, and affecting lines, we were sorry once more to have our path crossed by the Childe, “ that superfluous lust-dieted man,” who presents himself to us again only to mar the scene, and to trouble the tranquillity which had begun to take possession of our thoughts with his fulsome impertinence about women, whom he was totally unworthy to appreciate. It is impossible to divine the business which this gentleman and his disappointments have to obtrude themselves upon us in the midst of sound sentiment and sublime scenery. From this abuser of her gifts we pass with pleasure to the homage paid to nature in the 36th stanza of the second canto.

“ Dear Nature is the kindest mother still,
Though alway changing, in her aspect mild ;
From her bare bosom let me take my fill,
Her never wean’d, though not her favour’d child.
Oh ! she is fairest in her features wild,
Where nothing polish’d dares pollute her path :

To me by day or night she ever smil'd,
 Though I have mark'd her when none other hath,
 And sought her more and more, and lov'd her best in wrath."

In the exquisite beauty and chaste embellishments of the following stanza every reader must acquiesce. It describes a scene said to be among the finest in all Greece, in which the convent and village of Zitza * are situated, about four hours journey from Joannina, or Yannina, the capital of Pachalick.

" Monastic Zitza ! from thy shady brow,
 Thou small, but favour'd spot of holy ground !
 Where'er we gaze, around, above, below,
 What rainbow tints, what magic charms are found !
 Rock, river, forest, mountain, all abound,
 And bluest skies that harmonize the whole :
 Beneath, the distant torrent's rushing sound
 Tells where the volum'd cataract doth roll
 Between those hanging rocks, that shock yet please the soul."

We will now introduce the reader to the palace of Ali Pacha, whose gloomy pomp and sanguinary sway are described in colours the most appropriate and vivid that the most creative fancy, under the controul of the correctest taste, could supply.

" Epirus' bounds recede, and mountains fail ;
 Tir'd of up gazing still, the wearied eye
 Reposes gladly on as smooth a vale
 As ever Spring yclad in grassy dye :
 Ev'n on a plain no humble beauties lie,
 Where some bold river breaks the long expanse,
 And woods along the banks are waving high,
 Whose shadows in the glassy waters dance,
 Or with the moon-beam sleep in midnight's solemn trance.

" The Sun had sunk behind vast 'Tomerit,
 And Laos wide and fierce came roaring by ;
 The shades of wonted night were gathering yet,
 When down the steep banks winding warily,
 Childe Harold saw, like meteors in the sky,
 The glittering minarets of Tepalen,
 Whose walls o'erlook the stream ; and drawing nigh,
 He heard the busy hum of warrior-men
 Swelling the breeze that sigh'd along the lengthening glen."

* Zitza is the frontier village of Epirus and Albania Proper.

“ He pass'd the sacred Haram's silent tower,
And underneath the wide o'erarching gate
Survey'd the dwelling of this chief of power,
Where all around proclaim'd his high estate.
Amidst no common pomp the despot sate,
While busy preparation shook the court,
Slaves, eunuchs, soldiers, guests, and santons wait ;
Within, a palace, and without, a fort :
Here men of every clime appear to make resort.

“ Richly caparison'd, a ready row
Of armed horse, and many a warlike store
Circled the wide extending court below :
Above, strange groups adorn'd the corridore ;
And oft-times through the Area's echoing door
Some high-capp'd Tartar spurr'd his steed away ;
The Turk, the Greek, the Albanian, and the Moor
Here mingled in their many-hued array,
While the deep war-drum's sound announc'd the close of day.

“ The wild Albanian kirtled to his knee,
With shawl-girt head and ornamented gun,
And gold-embroider'd garments, fair to see ;
The crimson-scarfed men of Macedon ;
The Delhi with his cap of terror on,
And crooked glaive ; the lively supple Greek ;
And swarthy Nubia's mutilated son ;
The bearded Turk that rarely deigns to speak,
Master of all around, too potent to be meek.”

The highly animated and characteristic scene here opened to us, calls to our recollection that noble passage in the *Paradise Regained*, in which the tempter is represented as bringing before the Saviour's eyes the busy grandeur of Rome, and the homage of her dependent provinces.

“ Thence to the gates cast forth thine eye, and see
What conflux issuing forth, or entering in ;
Prætors, proconsuls, to their provinces
Hasting, or on return, in robes of state,
Lictors and rods the ensigns of their power,
Legions and cohorts, turms of horse and wings ;
Or embassies from regions far remote,
In various habits on the Appian road,
Or on th' Emilian ; some from farthest south,
Syene, and where the shadow both way falls,
Meroe Nelotic isle ; and more to west,
The realm of Bocchus to the blackmoor sea,

From the Asian kings, and Parthian among these ;
From India, and the golden Chersonese ;
Dusk faces, with white silken turbans wreathed."

We trust we shall be pardoned for having set before our readers the above specimen of our great bard, to which the stanzas of Lord Byron are not unworthy of being compared. Milton's lines, and especially the last, in which the "Decolor Indus," so picturesque in himself, represents so strikingly the distant domination of imperial Rome, have been looked upon by many as among the most characteristically beautiful in all poetry ; but beautiful as they are, the picture traced by the genius of Lord Byron hardly yields to them in propriety of composition, grace of colouring, and strength of delineation.

The description of the rude manners, war songs, and war dances of the Suliotes, as well as of their craggy shores, lone valleys, and dreary forests, is executed with great freedom and vigour, and forms a brilliant and impressive contrast to the pensive aspect of ruined Greece, her subjugated race, and perishing monuments, which next engage the attention of the poet. There is a great deal of polished and classical sorrow bestowed by him upon these affecting scenes, which if we had time it would give us pleasure to transcribe ; but we have already expended all the room which can be allowed to us for extracts.

Having freely examined and considered the general plan, and, in some particulars, the tendency of the work, and having selected a great many passages to justify our general admiration of the genius displayed in it, we shall not detain the reader by any length of verbal criticism. It is proper however to observe, that the language of the poem, though in general pure and grammatical, is disfigured by some negligencies, and some vulgarities. The structure of the verse has already been sufficiently observed upon. His lordship has managed the stanza with poetical skill ; and in the distribution of the pauses, and particularly in the cadence of the closing line, has given the expanded melody, of which the verse is susceptible, without the monotony to which it is liable. The cæsure which is generally placed on the sixth syllable of the last line, is varied in the other parts of the stanza with considerable delicacy of ear ; and upon the whole, we cannot but think that the rhythm of the stanza has received some improvement under his lordship's hands.

We pass over the detached pieces of poetry which the author has thought proper to publish at the end of the volume, not as thinking them unworthy of criticism, but as having yielded up that room, which they would otherwise have well deserved to

occupy, to the more important work on which we have presumed to detain our readers. The lines to Thyrsa, however, it is impossible to overlook. They appear to us to be replete with tenderness and grace, and to contain satisfactory evidence, that since the publication of his earliest poems, the improvement of his lordship's muse has not been partial.

The reader will pick up some information sprinkled through the notes. They appear however to have been put together in haste; and in a style and tone which we cannot wholly admire. If the noble author does us the honour to peruse this article, we are sure he will interpret this hint in the manner we wish.

His observations on the actual state, and future possibilities of Greece, are in our opinion very judicious and candid. We do not, however, think he is at all warranted in comparing their condition either to that of the Jews or the Irish catholics. His lordship's sentiments, as well as those of the wisest of the persons whose sentiments he adopts, may one day change altogether on the subject of the Catholic claims. In the mean time we will venture to suggest to him, that he greatly disparages the cause he so decisively assumes to be right, by indulging in comparisons which his excellent sense must feel to be unfounded, and which are too preposterously violent for declamation, or even poetry to adopt. The measure of the grievance ought to be fully understood and precisely ascertained by the legislature, to qualify them for the safe decision of a question of so comprehensive an issue.

We agree with the following remark of the author, and are glad of his sanction to that which we have on other occasions endeavoured to impress upon our readers. "Of the ancient Greeks we know more than enough; at least the younger men of Europe devote much of their time to the study of the Greek writers and history, which would be more usefully spent in mastering their own." The importance of the Greek language is not to be denied as leading to the mastery of our own, but we most sincerely lament the almost entire dedication of the juvenile period of our lives to a desultory and prolix method of gaining an acquaintance with two dead languages, which were only brought to their acknowledged perfection, by that accurate attention to the graces of enunciation, and those steady rules of composition, which, in favour of those languages, we are now neglecting in respect to our own. We call the pulpit, the bar, and the senate to attest the truth of this remark.

We are favoured with a long note by his lordship on the literature and language of the modern Greeks, in which he introduces some pertinent remarks on the third article of the thirty-

first number of the Edinburgh Review; the spirit in which these remarks are written, and the dignity with which they are concluded, are, in our judgment, very creditable to the author. "I have endeavoured," says his lordship, "to wave the personal feelings which rise in despatch of me, in touching upon any part of the Edinburgh Review; not from a wish to conciliate the favour of its writers, or to cancel the remembrance of a syllable I have formerly published, but simply from a sense of the impropriety of mixing up private resentments with a disquisition of the present kind, and more particularly at this distance of time and place."

In the article alluded to, which was a review of the French translation of Strabo, some remarks were introduced on the modern Greeks and their literature, with a short account of Coray, the most celebrated of the living Greeks for his learning and attainments. Lord Byron points out what he considers as errors or inadvertences contained in that article. We shall not affect to decide the controversy. Solyman for Mahomet the Second, could only be a slip of the pen of the learned critic by whom that article was written; and Lord Byron having treated it as such in the text, should, in consistency, have spared the note in which he gives way to feelings a little too triumphant.

Upon an observation made by the critic, "that the ladies of Constantinople spoke a dialect at that period, (meaning the period of the fall of Constantinople), which would not have disgraced the lips of an Athenian*," his lordship remarks, that "the ladies in general, and the Athenians in particular, are, since that time, much altered;" and, doubtless, they are so; but how is that inconsistent with what the Edinburgh Reviewer had remarked? After the fall of Constantinople, it was to be expected that the Greek being no longer a living language, would soon lose its vigour and purity. But up to that point of time, though Constantinople was beset on all sides by barbarians, the empire still maintained itself; still possessed a magnificent court, and was graced by a succession of learned persons. And though Lord Byron ridicules the praise, which has, perhaps, with some exaggeration, been bestowed upon the history by Anna Comnena of her father Alexius, as having used a language ἀκριβῶς αἰτρινίζουσαν, he should be put in mind of the opinions of Vossius, Dufresne,

* See the testimony of Philelphus in favour of the preservation of the pure Greek idiom among persons of rank, and especially the noble women in Constantinople, a few years before the destruction of that city; while the same writer acknowledges the corrupt and barbarous state of the Greek tongue among the common inhabitants of the city. Apud Hodium de Græc. Illustr. p. 188. Idem in Epist. ann. 1451.

Peter Possin, and others, who have spoken in very commendatory terms of her style and eloquence.

The duration and unchanged condition of the Greek language for so many centuries, is truly surprising, and shew it to have possessed an extraordinary principle of vitality. From Homer's time, to the taking of Constantinople, a period of 2350 years, it seems to have subsisted without any great revolution in its structure or inflexions. That many new and unclassical words were added to the language during this period cannot be denied, and it would, indeed, be strange if it were otherwise, for new laws, arts, and sciences must necessarily bring with them new terms, which, if they are introduced without violating the analogy of the language, ought to be considered as enriching it; and no language was ever so flexible as the Greek to these extensions of its compass and variety. Many words were introduced from the Institutes by the Byzantine Lawyers; many from the Greek Scriptures; many from the new commercial relations, and most of all from the general improvements in civil life. But the Greek Syntax, and indeed the general grammatical synthesis and structure of the language remained without any considerable or essential alterations down to the time of Eustathius, who wrote in the twelfth century.

There are various causes which contributed to preserve the language of the lower empire, through so many ages, from corruption; but there can be no doubt that it was principally owing to the intrinsic purity and consistency of its formation. Its vast extension, however, and universal use in the transactions of commerce, and the business of the world, if we may so express it, were among the principal sources of its stability and duration. Its triumph over the Latin, while the arms of the Romans were subjugating Greece itself, is a striking instance of its irresistible attractions.

The vernacular tongue had probably suffered many corruptions before that last event; and on the dissolution of the ancient empire, many low and illiterate Greeks were probably dispersed over Europe, who by offering themselves as teachers of the language in the western and northern parts of Europe, occasioned some prejudice against its existing purity; but the learning and ability of the Byzantine scholars of that period have received the strongest testimony from the most qualified judges of France and Italy. It seems unjust and ungrateful to confound the language of those learned men with the patois of the modern Greeks; which, however useful for commercial purposes; however worthy to be studied, with a view to open the sources of learned intelligence; however important, as serving to mark the stages by

which a language degenerates from its standard purity, it is quite ridiculous to consider as a specimen of what was written or spoken at Constantinople in the middle of the fifteenth century.

If Lord Byron is of opinion, as he declares himself to be, that too much of the docile period of our lives is devoted to the writings of the ancient classics, we cannot see any good reason for his strenuous recommendation of the study of the Romaic Greek. The passages produced by him, as well as other specimens of the modern Greek, prove very strikingly to the most superficial scholar, the confused state into which the use of the prepositions and particles, letters and diphthongs, as well as of the characteristic terminations and inflexions of the verbs, has fallen; and upon the whole, it really appears to us, that, instead of troubling ourselves about a grammar to this barbarous dialect, which reminds us of Mr. Burke's expression of "arrangements for general confusion;" the better way would be to multiply, as much as possible, copies of the works of the ancient authors among the modern Greeks; and to encourage among them, as far as the present miserable and oppressive policy of the Turks will allow it, the cultivation of the genuine language.

Having now brought this long article to a close, and discharged rather a difficult duty, we take leave of Lord Byron, with a sincere declaration of our respect for his genius and his talents; not doubting that we shall derive advantage from the direction of those talents, and shall continue to receive entertainment and instruction from his pen. We are the more impressed with anxiety on this subject, because a race of young nobility is just starting into the political scene with parts much more difficult to act than those which their ancestors have been called upon to sustain, and before severer judges of their performances. The dignity of the peerage can now only be maintained by nobility of conduct; and to preserve it in its true elevation, the age of chivalry must partially return; without its ceremonies and its superstitions, indeed, but with that pure honour, that religious sentiment, and those high thoughts, which render an aristocracy the living rampart of the state, the throne, and the church.

ART. XVII. *A New System of Chemical Philosophy.* Part II.
By John Dalton. Manchester. 1810.

THE laws of chemical combination have hitherto been involved in much obscurity; but we may find a rational expectation of success in our investigation of these laws, on the large accessions which have been lately made to our knowledge of particular facts. In the work before us we have an ingenious attempt to solve this important problem, and we the more readily introduce it to our readers, as it will enable us to direct their attention to some of the most important of the late discoveries in this science. We have thought it expedient, at the same time, to notice some recent papers in a periodical publication of philosophical celebrity, as containing some objections of Dr. Bostock to the atomic hypothesis, and Mr. Dalton's defence of his doctrine, which he states himself to have "thought unnecessary to the *class of readers which he expected.*"

We must confess that we were at first somewhat startled at the design of the work, as stated by the author in the following passage.

"It is one great object of this work to shew the importance and advantage of ascertaining the relative weights of the ultimate particles, both of simple and compound bodies, the number of simple elementary particles which constitute one compound particle, and the number of less compound particles which enter into the composition of one more compound particle."

But if our astonishment was great at the grandeur of the conception, how much greater has it become at finding the conception actually attempted to be carried into execution by the promulgation of a system of practical rules, if not for investigating the point of ultimate indivisibility, at least for comparing, measuring, and compounding indivisibilities. Lucretius was content with reasoning against the doctrine of infinite indivisibility *ex absurdo*.

"Præterea nisi erit minimum parvissima quæque
Corpora constabunt ex partibus infinitis;
Quippe ubi dimidiæ partis pars semper habebit
Dimidiam partem nec res perfiniet ulla
Ergo rerum inter summam minimamque quid escit;
Non erit ut distent: nam quamvis funditus omnis
Summa sit infinita, tamen parvissima quæ sunt
Ex infinitis constabunt partibus æque.
Quoi quoniam ratio reclamationem vera negatque

Credere posse animum, victus fateare necesse 'st
 Esse ea quæ nullis jam prædita partibus exstent
 Et minimâ constant naturâ: quæ quoniam sunt
 Illa quoque esse tibi solida, atque æterna fatendum."

If the philosophical poet has compelled us to give

"To airy nothing a local habitation and a name,"

he has at least abstained from attempting to give form and figure to an abstract idea. Turning to the plates at the end of the volume, we found that we should have no difficulty at least in understanding our author's atoms.

We must confess that we read over with some haste the first chapter, which treats of the nature of heat or caloric, its effects upon different bodies, and the means of measuring those effects. Agreeing with Mr. Dalton, as we fully do, that "*before applying the weights of the atoms of bodies for the ascertainment of their specific heat, it would be necessary to determine those weights, and being promised moreover that these should be actually proved to us hereafter, we could not help feeling ourselves in the condition of a person invited to take possession of a very showy mansion, which he finds on a nearer approach to be without doors or staircases. It was necessary to convince a plain man, and one who requires to have things proved in their order, first of all to satisfy him, that if the weight of an atom of hydrogen be taken, as 1, that of oxygen would be 7, azote 5, &c. &c. This chapter however contains much valuable information, some novel experiments, and much acute reasoning.*

The second chapter of this volume, which treats of the constitution of bodies, commences by distributing them into three classes, viz. elastic fluids, liquids, and solids; and adduces water, as an instance to shew that the same body is capable of assuming all the three states. Mr. Dalton's hypothesis supposes bodies, whether liquids, or solids, to be constituted of a *vast number of extremely small atoms, or particles of matter, bound together by a force of attraction which is more or less powerful according to circumstances; and that besides this force, which belongs universally to ponderable bodies, there is another power which is likewise universal, viz. a power of repulsion.* This power he believes to be properly ascribed to the agency of heat. It is to the adjustment of these two great antagonist energies that the varieties in matter above pointed out are owing. A pure elastic fluid is constituted of particles possessing very diffuse atmospheres of heat, and it is owing to the excess of this repulsive energy that the atoms have a tendency to

separation. The constitution of a liquid he considers as an exact equilibrium of these forces, so that the parts yield to a very slight impression, and are easily moved one upon the other. And, from analogy as well as the evidence of facts, we venture to state, though *not upon Mr. Dalton's authority*, that the constitution of a solid is owing to the superiority of the attracting over the repelling energy. What has induced Mr. Dalton to overlook this obvious and consistent distinction of a solid, we cannot divine: his opinion, however, seems to be, that the particles of this constitution of bodies are likewise in a state of equilibrium between attraction and repulsion. He supposes, that the essential distinction betwixt the two consists in this, that *heat changes the figure of arrangement of the ultimate particles of liquids continually and gradually whilst they retain their liquid form; whereas, in solids, it is probable that change of temperature does no more than change the size, and not the arrangement of the ultimate particles.* It may be as well perhaps here to pause, and endeavour to ascertain, if possible, what is Mr. Dalton's conception of a particle, or an atom. This inquiry is the more necessary, as it is requisite in the discussion before us, if not to give being to a nonentity, at least to suppose visible what is physically invisible.

The derivation of the word atom, from *ατομος, indivisibilis*, makes its meaning very clear. We acquiesce in the opinion that "the ultimate particles of all homogenous bodies are perfectly alike in figure, weight, &c." We can likewise suppose, that in all matters these particles possess an atmosphere of heat; and we will grant, for the sake of the argument, that, whatever be the shape of the solid atom, abstractedly considered, when surrounded by such an atmosphere it must be globular. But here we must enter our protest against identifying this atmosphere with the atom itself; and when speaking of attraction and repulsion, let it be always remembered, that the particles of matter invariably possess the former property, and that the latter, under whatever modifications it may exist, is solely referable to the atmospheres of caloric. Mr. Dalton's want of attention to this distinction has, as we shall hereafter point out, affected much of the reasoning in other parts of his work.

Heat, we conceive, cannot in any way affect the size of an *ultimate* particle of any matter. It can only enlarge the atmospheres of the particles: thus the increasing repulsion must always alter the arrangement in solid bodies, till there is an equilibrium between the attraction of the matter and the repulsion of the caloric, when the solid assumes the liquid form. Increase the temperature still farther, and you increase the at-

mospheres, until you give the repelling energy the complete ascendancy, and the body assumes the nature of an elastic fluid. In this point of view the theory possesses unity and simplicity, and some degree of beauty, and is most happily supported by the evidence of facts. Of the theory of the mixture of elastic fluids we can allow ourselves at present to say but little. "When two or more elastic fluids whose particles do not unite chemically upon mixture are brought together, one measure of each, they occupy the space of two measures; but become uniformly diffused through each other, and remain so whatever may be their specific gravities." The fact admits of no doubt; but though explanations have been given in different ways, none of them are completely satisfactory.

The discussion in this section is extremely interesting; but we do not feel that Mr. Dalton's hypothesis, though ingeniously supported, stands upon stronger foundations than others with which it is here contrasted. Indeed, if it would not appear too much like prejudging the question, we should give it as our opinion, that to inquire into the primary constitution of bodies, for the purpose of ascertaining what is the ultimate cause of attraction, or affinity, would be as useless as to seek for the origin of gravitation. They are both of them primary laws of nature, and they exist because it is the will of the great Creator. We may have occasion again to refer to this subject, in speaking of those general laws of chemical combination which are established upon the evidence of our senses.

In chapter the third, which consists of five short pages, we find, as the author did well to promise us, a great deal of novelty. We find much novelty in the ideas suggested, and more in the manner of detailing them. It treats of chemical synthesis, and assures us that "all the changes we can produce in matter consist in separating particles that are in a state of cohesion or combination, and joining those that were previously at a distance; and that we might as well attempt to introduce a new planet into the solar system, or annihilate one already in existence, as to create or destroy a particle of hydrogen." We wish that all Mr. Dalton's *postulata* had been as undeniable. His ideas would then have possessed something beyond the charms of novelty and ingenuity. The following are some of the proportions in which he supposes that two bodies, A. and B. *may* unite, and laying great emphasis on the word *may*, and taking into consideration the &c. at the end of the *formula*, we do not think that we object to it.

1 atom of A. + 1 atom of B. = 1 atom of C. binary.

1 atom of A. + 2 atoms of B. = 1 atom of D. ternary.

- 2 atoms of A. + 1 atom of B. = 1 atom of E. ternary.
- 1 atom of A. + 3 atoms of B. = 1 atom of F. quaternary.
- 3 atoms of A. + 1 atom of B. = 1 atom of G. quaternary.
- &c. &c.

We must own that we here feel a strong inclination to add, that any indefinite number of the atoms of A. *may* unite with any indefinite number of the atoms of B.

As to the seven general rules which are next introduced, and which we are told may be adopted as guides in all our investigations respecting chemical synthesis, we must take the liberty, as Mr. Dalton deals no longer in the potential mood, of examining the evidence upon which laws of such universal tendency are founded.

1st. When only one combination of two bodies can be obtained, it must be presumed to be a binary one.

2d. When two combinations are observed, they must be presumed to be a binary and a ternary.

3d. When three combinations are obtained, we may expect one to be a binary, and the other two ternary.

4th. When four combinations are observed, we should expect one binary, two ternary, and one quaternary, &c. &c.

These are the four principal rules, upon the experimental establishment of which the whole of the atomic hypothesis must depend. The remaining three are mere applications to these predicaments of the well-known chemical axiom, that every compound of any two substances is specifically heavier than the mean of the two ingredients. Now these laws are not in any way deducible from what has been previously advanced, and though we are promised at the end of this first part, that in the sequel the facts from which these conclusions are derived will be detailed, we must confess that it appears to us a very novel proceeding to advance notions of such sweeping tendency upon a promise of future elucidation. Two years and a half elapsed before the publication of the second part. When at length it made its appearance, we looked with much avidity for the promised experiments and proofs, especially as we were told in the preface, that "enough had now been done to enable any one to form a judgment of it; that any facts still in reserve were only of the same kind as those already advanced; and that if these latter were not sufficient to convince, the addition of the former would be of little avail."

The first chapter of the second part treats of elementary principles. Each of the bodies hitherto undecomposed forms the subject of a section. The mode of obtaining them, and some of their more obvious properties, are pointed out, and the

as we are recommended to do, we can see nothing so very ridiculous in the picture of three particles of hydrogen surrounded by seventeen of oxygen. We can divine no reason why the remaining fourteen atoms of hydrogen should not remain very peaceable spectators of this chemical matrimony. Give them a proportionate number of the atoms of oxygen, (without which they feel no inclination to the alliance,) and we have not the least doubt but that we shall see them descend from their *dignity*, as it is somewhere termed, and form similarly constituted societies.

The only additional consideration that Mr. Dalton gives us as having any weight with him is, "that oxygen carries the greater part of its heat, and consequently of its repulsion, along with it in its combined state. The error which runs through the whole of this work is that which we pointed out at the very outset of this paper: Mr. Dalton has confounded the atoms with their atmospheres. He has forgotten the proposition with which he set out—that the power of *attraction belongs universally to ponderable bodies*. That this is the case is evident from the concluding sentence of the first part, where in explanation of his plates he says, "The combinations consist in the juxtaposition of two or more of these, (viz. circles to represent atoms). When three or more particles of elastic fluids are combined together in one, it is to be supposed that the particles of the same kind repel each other, and take their station accordingly." It requires no argument to prove that attraction and repulsion cannot both subsist in the same matter. Therefore, when it is said that oxygen takes the greater part of its repulsion along with it in its combinations, it is evident that this can only go to the formation of the atmosphere of the new formed particle, and that it can have nothing to do with the internal arrangement of the simple atoms of the compound particle. The new formed compounds, of course, take their stations according to the new modification of attraction and repulsion between themselves; so that it matters little whether the oxygen take the greater part of its caloric along with it, and the hydrogen gives up its share, or the new atmospheres are made up of an equal proportion of both.

Having thus examined this first rule of the new system of chemistry, upon which all the subsequent inductions and reasonings are founded, we shall just refer to one experiment of Mr. Dalton on the composition of the sulphuric acid, which we conceive militates so strongly against the explanation of chemical affinity by mere juxtaposition of particles,

that we cannot refrain from laying it before our readers. "Let one hundred measures of sulphurous acid be put into a dry tube over mercury, to which add sixty of oxygen, let then ten or twenty measures of nitrous gas be added to the mixture; in a few seconds the inside of the tube becomes covered with a crystalline appearance." This is the sulphuric acid. Mr. Dalton explains this phenomenon by stating that, "in this process the nitrous gas unites with the oxygen, and transports it to the sulphurous acid, which, receiving it from the nitrous, becomes sulphuric."

How is this consistent with the hypothesis? Surely in the previous mixture of the sulphurous acid and oxygen, the particles must be as near to one another before as after the addition of the nitrous gas. Why then do they not combine? Upon Mr. Dalton's principles the atmospheres of caloric alone prevent the union. When the nitrous gas is added, the relative attraction of the atoms of this gas for those of oxygen is so predominant over the repulsion of their caloric, that they instantly combine, but without any loss of their specific heat. What diminution of repulsion can possibly by this arrangement take place to enable the sulphurous acid to combine with the oxygen under the additional disadvantage of the mutual attraction of the latter, and the nitrous gas?

After soaring so long in the company of Mr. Dalton and his atoms, with our fancies upon the stretch, not only to conceive the *existence* of these entities, but their shape, properties, and affections, we feel it a real relief to our minds to be set down again among old acquaintances, and to breathe in a grosser element within the precincts of sense and touch. We are not, however, so lost to the value of Mr. Dalton's researches, as not to be fully sensible how greatly he will have contributed to the stock of human intelligence, by bringing us to a much closer intimacy with these primordial parts of matter than Leucippus, or Democritus, or any of the ancient teachers of the atomic philosophy could pretend to have arrived at; for we do not recollect that these sages, or any that held similar doctrines with them on the subject of the material world, ever entertained their scholars with an account of the dimensions and weights of these evanescent substances.

We cannot help indulging a hope that as our telescopes have failed in showing us the inhabitants of the moon, we shall have full amends made us by being brought into great familiarity with a part of the creation which we have hitherto considered as far out of our reach. Mr. Dalton's researches may possibly one day es-

tablish a distinction of sexes among atoms, as well as plants, and proceeding by firm and cautious steps, he may at length prove, beyond controversy or doubt, *that an atom may be crossed in love*. That there are alliances among them has already been made to appear; it remains for Mr. Dalton to rescue them from the scandalous imputation of that promiscuous and fortuitous intercourse which a censorious philosophy has laid to their charge.

If this shall be the fruit of Mr. Dalton's researches, the cold and timid investigations of professor Davy will shrink into nothing in the comparison. That last-mentioned gentleman seems, with a bashful consciousness of his limited powers, to have given up the chase of infinity. The nature and arrangement of ultimate atoms seem to have yielded their secrets only to Mr. Dalton, who with great courtesy of communication is willing to make us partakers of the privileges conferred on him; but, unhappily, the moment our minds are brought within the vortex of his atomic physiology, we feel such a state of vertigo, as makes us fancy Chaos is returned.

Professor Davy is afraid of venturing into the region of conjecture on the intimate nature of chemical combination; nor dares to pronounce upon the causes of ultimate affinity. Having ascertained the existence of this power, he is contented with investigating its laws, phenomena, and results. His discoveries appeal to our senses for their confirmation, whether his object be to shew the metallic basis of the fixed alkalis and earths, or to solve the great problem of the composition of the muriatic acid. For want of clear proofs he hazards no dogmas on the decomposition of the volatile alkali, and treads only with assurance where the ground is solid under him. He is never bold but when he is convincing, and is yoked to a syllogistic accuracy in developing the simplest natures; always intrenching himself in experiment and manual operation, he risks no flights of imagination, obtains victories without exposure to danger, triumphs by disarming opposition, and finishes each inglorious campaign by gaining laurels without receiving wounds.

- ART. XVIII.**—1. *Extracts from the Report of the Commissioners appointed for investigating the State of the Settlements and Governments on the Coast of Africa.*—Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 9th March, 1812.
2. *Reports of the Committee of the African Institution, read at the annual general Meetings in 1808, 1809, 1810, and 1811. With an Appendix to each Report.*
3. *Reports of the African and Asiatic Society for 1809, 1810, and 1811.*

THE object of the legislature in abolishing the enormous mass of wickedness, which went by the name of the Slave Trade, was twofold. First, to remove from the country the reproach, the shame, and the moral responsibility which rested upon it for making an indulgence in gross crimes the source of its wealth; and secondly, to atone as far as possible for the miseries which a long perseverance in crime had introduced among the natives of Africa, by laying the foundation of an equally long perseverance in endeavours to introduce peace, civilization, and happiness among that debased and injured portion of our fellow men.

In the last number of the British Review we took the liberty of laying before our readers a statement of the effects produced in the West Indies by the abolition of this traffic, and the practical conclusions which result from such a contemplation. It is our object on the present occasion to complete the view of this great and interesting subject, by discussing from the papers before us, the positive and practical results of the measure as it has affected, or may yet affect, the state of society in Africa. In the attention which the public may be pleased to bestow on the subject under either of these aspects, we have only to caution them against a hasty conclusion, that because a very few years, and one or two legislative enactments, have been insufficient to remedy evils which the practice of two centuries has fixed in the habits and prejudices of men, *therefore* the cause is hopeless, and all expectation of a satisfactory result enthusiastic and visionary. That the interested and the unfeeling, those who wish to profit by the misery of others, or who are too far immersed in sloth to use exertions and bear sacrifices in the cause of humanity, will thus argue, and with very sapient and triumphant grimace, we have no doubt. But the sober-minded, the virtuous, and the impartial portion of the community will not be so deceived. They will recollect that the course of na

ture is, not that the evil of a year can be remedied in a day, but that the ruin of a day will take years for its reparation. We would therefore rather express our gratitude and astonishment, that so much has been done in so short a time towards removing the long-established horrors of the slave trade, than that so many difficulties still remain to be encountered.

The first-mentioned of the papers in the title to this article is a document very lately laid before the House of Commons, and printed by their order. It contains the most material passages of a report made to government by certain commissioners who were dispatched to the coast of Africa, for the purpose of personally investigating the state of the governments and settlements in that quarter, and of pointing out in what manner they might be made subservient to the great object of African civilization. Their report was finished early in last year, and arrived in England after the prorogation of Parliament. It may therefore be considered as the substance of the latest intelligence from Africa now in the possession of the public; and we are sorry to observe that this document but too amply confirms the lamentable view of the subject, which we had been taught to entertain from a perusal of the reports of the African Institution, which stand as the second object of our present discussion. The third consists of three short reports of a society instituted for the relief and instruction of poor Africans and Asiatics, who find their way to this country, in the progress of our colonial intercourse, and are often left on the highway equally destitute of moral and religious instruction, and of the necessaries of life. We have noticed these last reports, principally with a view of bringing the objects and existence of the society into more general notice.

There is something so revolting to a well-constituted mind in the idea of fomenting discord and bloodshed, perjury and torture, among thousands of ignorant men, for the sake of an unfeeling profit to individuals who pervert their superiour intelligence to a diabolical purpose, expressly forbidden by the moral and political laws of their country, that nothing but the strongest evidence could induce us to believe that any of these offenders are subjects of the United Kingdom. We rejoice, however, that they bear but a small proportion to those of other states, and that in point of fact there are more British subjects at the present moment earnestly occupied in reforming the morals and manners of the Africans, than in reducing them to a state of bondage. We rejoice too that the stigma of infamy and the punishment of felony have been legally affixed to the

traffic; and that a man would as little dare to shew himself in society in England, after kidnapping his black neighbour's child, as he would venture so to do after stealing his white neighbour's spoons.

Notwithstanding all the zealous endeavours of the African Institution, seconded as they have honestly been by those of government, it is clear that no fair judgement can be formed of their probable result, until the entire and effectual abolition of the Slave Trade, in some portion at least of the African continent, shall have afforded to the natives an opportunity of shewing, whether personal security will stimulate them to any exertion for the improvement of their condition, or they will persist in refusing any labour, beyond that small portion necessary for the cultivation of the lowest articles of human sustenance. In our opinion they might be decidedly stimulated to such exertion by judicious management; nay we think that the object has already been partially accomplished, as we shall presently see, in some districts the least exposed to the brutalizing effects of the Slave Trade. But generally, we are sorry to observe, that the question is far from being fairly at issue. This inhuman traffic is still carried on to an extent equal to any former period of its history, though the channels through which the living cargoes pass, and the destinations to which they are consigned, are somewhat altered. We shall state from the report of the commissioners its present condition, and the obstacles which prevent, and which probably will long prevent, its total annihilation.

“This trade having been carried on principally by the English before the abolition took place, a vast diminution of the usual number of ships thus employed immediately followed the passing of the laws for that purpose; and as America had passed some severe laws to the same effect, it was reasonably hoped, both in England and Africa, that a mortal blow had been given to this traffic, as the only two great maritime people who could effectually carry it on, had now, according to all appearance, willingly abandoned it.

“The natives themselves began to entertain the same opinion; the slaves which were brought down from the interior remained unsold, and were either sent back to the interior, or gradually dispersed as domestic slaves. As far as our enquiries have been able to discover, none of them were murdered in this part of Africa.

“The great advantages to be derived from occupying the openings thus left on the coast of Africa by the retreat of the English, were soon perceived by the Americans, particularly by those of the Southern states, who, setting the laws of their country at defiance, have boldly engaged to an immense extent in this trade, covering their vessels by a fictitious sale at the Havannah, Teneriffe, or any

other of the Spanish colonies, where they are easily furnished with false papers. Lately this scheme has been extended in a small degree to Maderia, and the Azores; the paltry island of St. Bartholomew also prostitutes the Swedish flag to similar purposes.

“ But the Spanish flag is generally preferred, and covers not only Americans, but also (there is great reason to believe) a considerable number of vessels actually British property. The American master and crew generally continue on board after the nominal transfer, and two foreigners under the denomination of captain and super-cargo are added to the ship. It frequently happens that this *nominal captain* is some *poor lad* who has *never been at sea before*, but whose services to carry the papers can be had cheap.

The object of these Spanish Americans is to fill Cuba, Florida, Louisiana, and the Southern districts of North America with slaves. An extent of evil, compared with which the former supply of our West India settlements, sinks into a trifle; a vast field is also opening to them in South America, which will not be neglected. A letter (taken in one of the vessels lately condemned at Sierra Leone) from a principal merchant at Buenos Ayres, to his correspondent at Philadelphia, expresses his astonishment at the supineness of the Americans in not carrying thither cargoes of slaves, seeing how much they are wanted.—Mercantile avarice will soon supply this want, and the demand for Africans be greater than ever; as the Spanish Creoles do not appear by any means to be blind to the advantage to be derived from the cultivation of their country, although hitherto restrained by the police of Old Spain.

“ By the autumn of 1809 the coast of Africa swarmed with vessels thus equipped and documented; and it was not until the arrival of a small squadron of his majesty's vessels early in the next year, that any interruption could be given to their proceedings.”

Report of Commissioners, p. 2, 3.

Even when his majesty's vessels did arrive on the coast, there appears to have been some doubt and hesitation as to the legality of detaining even American ships openly engaged in the slave trade; but the decision of the privy council, in the case of the *Amedie*, set these doubts at rest, and determined “ that the native of a country, whose laws allow him no right of property in slaves, can have no right, upon principles of universal law, to claim the restitution, in a prize court, of human beings carried as his slaves. To entitle him to this, he must shew some right that has been violated by the capture, some property of which he has been dispossessed, and to which he ought to be restored.” But here the Americans were so conscious of possessing no such right, that the decision was no sooner known, than every American flag which covered the Slave Trade disappeared. We are therefore not surprised that this decision was in perfect conformity with the opinion of the highest legal authorities in the

United States (*5th Rep. Afr. Inst.* p. 13, 14.). Some of the vessels captured on this occasion had not yet received their slaves on board, "but their capture had nevertheless deprived the slave dealers of the means of carrying off about 2,800 Africans; and out of other captures 471 men, 196 women, 421 children were released from slavery;" for the laws enact that all slaves taken as prize shall be immediately set at liberty without ransom.

"A considerable number of the nearest and dearest kindred, husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters, who had been kidnapped or stolen at various times, and put on board different vessels, have been thus unexpectedly restored to each other at Sierra Leone; and whenever any of them have desired to return to their own country, and such return has been deemed practicable, they have been allowed to do so; being first provided with a paper under the hand and seal of the governor, certifying that they are to be considered as his people and under his protection, which is looked upon, according to the customs and laws of Africa, to be a sufficient security against further molestation.

"All the people thus returning home, must naturally be more than ever the enemies of slavery, as they cannot fail, in the last four eventful months of suffering and liberation, to have acquired some new ideas of freedom, which will of course be gradually diffused amongst their friends; and seeing that all white men are not their enemies, but that one European Nation considers the Slave Trade as unlawful, and is determined, if possible, to put an end to it, the natives may by degrees feel some encouragement to liberate themselves from this horrible thralldom."

Report of Commissioners, p. 3.

Schools also, and other institutions which we shall presently detail, where these emancipated negroes may work as free labourers, and acquire the taste for the comforts of life, and habits of industry, have been established near Sierra Leone; and it is the opinion of an enlightened person resident on the coast, that a few Moravian missionaries would be of infinite service in each of the settlements;—a supposition of which no man can entertain a doubt who has had the good fortune to become acquainted with the admirable methods adopted by that sect in their exertions for the conversion and reformation of the uncivilized tribes of mankind.

The subterfuges, however, for the support of cruelty and injustice were far from being yet exhausted. The Americans, who, in this instance at least, may be called the poachers upon the free warren of the universe, finding their own flag excluded, had recourse to fraud and perjury, and pursued the trade, as we have seen, by means which no man of common decency,

or even of common honesty, would dare to avow to his most intimate friend. The following extract of a letter from Senegal affords a specimen of the regular mode in which this system of deceit was carried on.

“I beg to call your attention to the facility with which vessels are fitted out in the port of Charlestown. I understand the utmost activity is going on in that port, in equipping vessels, fully manned and armed. All the papers of vessels from thence are vouched by a person who calls himself Carlos Mulvey, Spanish consul. At Teneriffe, the American consul, Mr. Armstrong, gives every facility to the covering American property, in the name of Mr. Thomas Armstrong, and Mr. Madden. I have been credibly informed, that a set of papers are furnished for a thousand dollars, and that it is notorious to every merchant at Teneriffe. It would afford me considerable satisfaction to hear of some strong measures being taken to counteract this illegal conduct.”

Appendix, 5th Report, Afr. Inst. p. 106.

Another case, that of the *Fortuna*, *Verissimo* master, is worthy of detailed attention, not only as affording a still more complete specimen of the diabolical means by which a diabolical purpose was carried on, but because the decision upon it seems to afford substantial ground on which the friends of a real abolition of the trade may rest their future efforts. This vessel sailed from New York, under American colours, in the month of July 1810, being then named the *William and Mary*, and arrived at Madeira in September. The ostensible owner at this time was an American citizen of the name of George Fowler Trenholm, who also acted as master. On arriving at Madeira, he landed a part of his cargo; and about a week before his departure from it, he executed a bill of sale of the ship to a native of Madeira, a Portuguese subject, named Joao de Souza; and in consequence of this sale obtained Portuguese papers and assumed a Portuguese flag. This Joao de Souza is stated to be a man notoriously of no property, who is employed as a clerk in the store of an English mercantile house in that island; and in point of fact, no consideration was given for the vessel. In thus lending his name to this transaction, Joao de Souza appears to have merely complied with the wishes of his employers, who were the consignees of the *William and Mary*. The *William and Mary*, having thus become colourably the property of a Portuguese, was re-named the *Fortuna*, and another Portuguese of the name of *Verissimo*, (whose name we have no doubt was ironically adapted to the nature of his office, for these people are great wags in their iniquity) was appointed nominal master. George Fowler Trenholm, the for-

mer master, was ostensibly converted into a super-cargo ; but the whole conduct and control of the ship and adventure continued with him as before.

When the vessel was taken, the owners set up their claim for restitution on two grounds : first, that the ship was *bonâ fide Portuguese*, and not American : second, that supposing her to be American, she was not employed in the slave trade.

The Portuguese, it is understood, are still authorized by their government to carry on the slave trade from certain ports in Africa. With respect to the first point it was proved by the examination of the American master, “ that the ship had been transferred to him at New York for the sum of 6000 dollars, and that she was transferred by him to De Souza for 8000 dollars, which *when paid will be* a true and fair equivalent ; that the *same was not paid, nor any obligation given him for the same* ; that the said sale and transfer were made for the advantages she would receive by being put under the Portuguese flag, and *was for the purpose of covering the real property.*” Yet in order to obtain the documents under which she was adopted into Portuguese navigation, it was essential to be shewn that the consideration-money was *actually paid*. Accordingly a gross fraud was practised on the Portuguese government ; for in the document for the naturalization of the vessel it is stated, “ that the vendor ceded to the vendee his possession and property in the said schooner, *and acknowledged the receipt of the sum of 8000 dollars ;*” delivering for a receipt the instrument subjoined, which was in these terms :—“ It appearing by the report of the judge of the customs, that the schooner measured 220 tons, and was purchased for 8000 dollars, *which purchase-money has been paid* ; it is hereby certified, that she is qualified under the name of the Fortuna, &c. &c. &c.”

Now, in point of fact, no such money having been paid, or in any manner secured, the vessel was of course stripped of her Portuguese disguise, and resolved into a naked American, subject to the decision in the case of the Amedie. To avoid this consequence, Trenholm *positively swore*, that he was not to carry on the Slave Trade, but meant to dispose of his American cargo at the Cape de Verd Islands, or the Brazils. But to say nothing of the proof to the contrary, arising from the fictitious sale and transfer, which would have been totally useless for the prosecution of his alleged intention,—the construction and furniture of the ship included all the accommodations necessary for conduct of the Slave Trade, and of *that trade only*. She had platforms ready constructed ; she had timbers fit for the construction of more ; *she had iron shackles, and bolts, and running*

chains, and collars; all adapted for the purposes of conveying slaves, and the quantity and species of provisions and medicine which such purposes require. Notwithstanding, therefore, that the owners, as a last resource, declared that the ship had been formerly *employed* in the slave trade, and that these accommodations (perfect nuisances for any other purpose) were suffered to remain *by chance*, the ship and cargo were condemned.

Other vessels have since been condemned which entered into the trade under the fictitious cover of the Spanish flag; some of these we grieve to say were fitted out by British subjects, and sailed from British ports: one, which sailed from the Thames, underwent a fictitious sale at Carthagena—received a Spanish name; and the Super-cargo, who *swore to his Spanish birth*, proved to be an English sailor, who sailed from the Thames, and was then known by the name of George Woodbine; but which he translated into Spanish (the wag!!), and formed the appellation by which he was afterwards distinguished, viz. Don Jorge de Madre Silva.

Such is the tissue of fraud and perjury by which this odious and iniquitous traffic is now carried on; and we fear that, notwithstanding the decisions which have taken place, the difficulty of producing the necessary proofs renders the detention of the ships generally hazardous. The increasing experience of the illicit traders renders detection more difficult every day, and nothing can as yet be expected from our cruizers commensurate with the evil; especially as it seems very doubtful whether any bounties are due to the captors for the slaves liberated from ships under these circumstances. This is certainly an object worthy of the consideration of government; for if, on the one hand, the captors can only gain the hull of an old ship, scarcely saleable in the colonies, but on the other run the risk of a long appeal, the expences of which far exceed the produce of the prize, and may also incur the ruinous costs of demurrage, and be called upon to pay the enormous pecuniary value of the liberated slaves, it is pretty obvious that the wish of the commanders must be rather to avoid seeing, than to succeed in detecting, a colourable pretence for detaining the ships.

It is only necessary to add, that by a calculation made upon the true poaching and smuggling principle, if one venture in three avoids detection or capture, the adventurer is sufficiently remunerated for the employment of his time and capital.

The practical result of the whole is, that a number of slaves as great or greater than ever were exported from Africa are now actually smuggled away. It is the opinion of the best in-

formed Spaniards and Portuguese, who visit Sierra Leone, that the annual exportation was in the beginning of 1810, considered, at a moderate computation, to be 40,000 to Brazil, and 40,000 to Havannah and Cuba ; many of these last, we fear, are afterwards smuggled into our West India Islands. The export in the two last years is supposed to have still further increased. British merchants are known to be the real owners of many of the ships ; but the Directors of the African Institution have their eyes open, and are resolved to prosecute to conviction, as a felon, any British subject-against whom there shall appear to be evidence of his being a participator in the slave trade.

One object has, however, been partially attained. The interruptions and annoyance which the Slave Trade has lately met with between Goree and Sierra Leone has given it a considerable blow ; as long as it is carried on by vessels liable to seizure (such as the Spanish Americans) the coast from the latter place to the river Nunez would be nearly free from this evil, were it not for the Portuguese settlement of Bissao, which, instead of furnishing, as formerly, a small number of slaves annually to Brazil, is now becoming the emporium of the slave trade in this part of Africa.

The cession or destruction of this settlement by treaty with the Portuguese, or at least a strict prohibition of the slave trade there, is surely what we have some right to ask and to expect ; particularly as it would not even oblige the Portuguese government to give up the traffic altogether ; as they have settlements in Congo and Angola, more to the eastward, where, as well as on the coast of Whydah, the Bight of Benin, and Gaboon, the great scene of the slave trade may now be found. If this object were attained, and an agreement made with Spain and her colonies for the prohibition of their subjects from trading in slaves any where to the westward of Whydah, we should be disposed to concur in the justice of the following conclusions of the African commissioners.

“ That we have not sufficient means to prevent the slave trade in general from being carried on ; but if instead of opposing it generally, we confine ourselves for the present to some one branch of it, there is a great probability of our success there, and of a consequent gradual extension of that success at a more remote period.

“ No difficulty can occur in choosing the particular part to which we should confine our exertions. The leeward coast, all that part which is generally called the Bight of Benin, is too unhealthy to admit much cruising, or the formation of a new establishment on some of the islands, if Portugal would cede one of them for that purpose. As to the Gold Coast, we have already as many forts as

can be desired there ; but little benefit is to be expected from their co-operation in the extinction of the slave trade, as they do not possess authority or influence enough to prevent its being carried on, even under their guns.

“ We must therefore turn our views to Western Africa, from whence will probably emanate any degree of civilization which may be attained by the adjacent parts of Africa in the south-east quarter. But no progress worth speaking of can be made until the slave trade shall be so completely prevented, that the trading chiefs and other natives no longer entertaining any hopes of his restoration, shall feel the necessity of raising produce sufficient to purchase those European commodities, which the sale of their slaves at present furnishes to them. For this purpose our cruizers in Africa should be generally limited to the coast between Goree and the Kroo country ; paying a more decided attention to the coast from the river Nunez to the Sherbro. This unceasing interruption would compel the traders to withdraw from this part of the coast ; but finding little or no molestation to the eastward of the Gold Coast, they would naturally direct their voyages thither, and leave Western Africa at rest, and with a fair opportunity of bettering its condition.”

Report of Commissioners, p. 5.

A strong additional reason for adopting this plan arises from the relative condition of the native tribes in the two parts of Africa. The country to the north and north-east of Sierra Leone is inhabited by a tribe of native Mahometans, called Mandingoes and Foulahs, who are already advanced in civilization some centuries beyond the savages, which, in various tribes, inhabit the south-eastern quarter of the coast. Of this fact a very extraordinary and encouraging circumstance may be cited in proof. About six years ago, the sheriff of Mecca sent a letter to the king of the Foulahs, to be circulated through all the Mandingo tribes, strictly forbidding their selling of slaves. He declared it to be contrary to the law of Mahomet ; and proclaimed the most fearful denunciations of God's wrath in the next world against those who persist in carrying on this traffic with the Alihoodi people, *i.e.* the Europeans. We know not with what sensations a man calling himself an European and a Christian, but engaged in the slave Trade, may read this Mahometan document, or to what extent it would excite his shame ; but we cannot help perceiving that although the chiefs, who are the principal slave dealers, have carefully concealed the document, yet, as its existence in most of the Mandingo towns is undoubted, slave dealing is obviously a violation of their laws ; and the argument may in time be used with as persuasive an effect against the prejudices and

practices of these half-informed Musselmen, as the laws of the Jarejah tribes in Guzerat against infanticide were cited by Major Walker, in aid of his successful exertions to extinguish that abominable practice among a race where it had prevailed for two thousand years *.

The small island of Bissao, the Portuguese settlement to which we have alluded, is situated at the mouth of Rio Grande, between the 11th and 12th degrees of north latitude, and is now the only point north of the equator which is not debarred from trading in slaves. Its proposed exclusion from that trade (however the liberty might be preserved to the other Portuguese settlements), would for the present liberate an extent of between two and three thousand miles of coast, most favourable to the improvement of the natives, from the visits of the slave-dealers. But to make this arrangement complete, and the benefits which may accrue permanent, the French settlements of Senegal and Goree must be taken into consideration; and France must be induced, in the event of peace, to forego her former slave trade on the west coast of Africa; a circumstance which neither the French nor any of the other powers would have reason to regret, even if they chose still to carry on the traffic; for the coast of Whydah, Benin, the Camaroens, &c. would be still open to them as well as to the Portuguese, where, as we have before observed, it is carried on so much more advantageously.

If our readers will now take the trouble to cast their eyes over a map of Africa, they will find that by this arrangement the whole of that part of the western coast, which lies north of the point at which the shore trends rapidly eastward, and considerably contracts the breadth of the continent, would be free from the slave trade. This great extent of coast is connected with the interior both by rivers and by well-known and frequented tracks, which pass through considerable towns.

The great obstacle to the progress of civilization being once effectually removed from so considerable a tract of country, the object next in view is, clearly to ascertain the best mode of introducing a taste for industry, for regular and peaceable habits, and for the comforts of life; an object which, if once attained, would afford effectual security against a return of the traffic, notwithstanding any attempts that might be made; and which would moreover form a nucleus of civilization, round which might be gathered by degrees the aggregated multitude of petty African states. But it is obvious also, that some specific settlement must be pointed out to perform the same office for this

* See British Review, No. III. Art. IX.

tract of country, which is itself to be instrumental in executing for the whole continent. A beginning must be somewhere made, and a spot marked out, where by the erection of schools, by the varied but regular cultivation of the soil, by the encouragement of free labour, and the introduction of artificial wants or comforts, the neighbouring natives may have their minds and manners ameliorated; and the slaves liberated from the prize ships may, before they are sent to their homes in the interior, be qualified to carry to their countrymen boons, that will be an ultimate compensation to them for the violated rights of humanity.

The system of slavery is said to be interwoven with the domestic polity (if polity it can be called) of the native tribes. But where the master and the servant eat, drink, and work together upon an equality, and repose within the same room, or on the same rug, the system can scarcely be called a system of slavery. To the extent, however, in which the evils of that state may be really felt, they would in time be subdued by the mode which we are now recommending.

Where then would be the most eligible spot for England to erect her factory of humanity, and to prepare those means which may now be put into partial operation, and which must be gradually prepared for the more extended sphere which may be expected to open upon us?—Upon this point the report of the commissioners affords satisfactory information, and establishes a fair ground of preference in favour of Sierra Leone.

“ The situation of Sierra Leone has been extremely well chosen; and although in common with every other part of this coast its climate is very inimical to an European constitution, yet it may be safely asserted, that it is far less so than any other place in the whole of this long range from Senegal to Benin, with the sole exception of Goree and the vicinity of Cape Verd. But the country any where about Goree, besides other objections, placed as it is in a remote corner of the extensive regions with which a more immediate communication was necessary in order to effect any good, could never answer in the least the benevolent purposes for which Sierra Leone was principally founded. More fertile spots could indeed have been easily found; but so low (where otherwise eligible) that it would have been a hazardous experiment to place an European colony on any of them. Bulama may be an exception; for as to the unhappy conclusion of that undertaking, the same sort of people, idle, unruly, and utterly unfit for such an arduous enterprize, would have perished equally at Sierra Leone, and even under much more favourable circumstances, would have baffled all the astonishing exertions of their leader Captain Beaver for their welfare and preservation.

“ The peculiar and very oppressive difficulties with which this

colony has had to contend, combined with the nature of the soil, and the scantiness and indolence of the population, have hitherto greatly retarded the progress of cultivation; but the late reduction of the public expenditure having convinced the inhabitants that they must depend entirely on their own exertions, much more land has been put into tillage, and with the assistance which the captured negroes afford, the country is assuming a more favourable aspect; the whole quantity of land in cultivation or cleared, amounts now to 448 acres; of which about half has been cleared within these last thirteen months. On examination, the land about two or three miles to the westward is found to be very good, and a plantation is accordingly forming there upon a large scale and a skilful plan, by a West Indian planter; he has already made such progress, that the most beneficial results may be expected, if his life should be spared through the rains." (*Rep. of Com.* p. 5.)

Such an instance of large and successful cultivation must not only produce great good to the colony, but must also be of incalculable benefit to the neighbouring tribes by the practical knowledge which it will impart to them, and by bringing an example before their eyes of the benefits and enjoyments to be derived from agriculture and regular industry. And we may further observe, though at first sight it may appear a little paradoxical, that the improvements carried on among the natives of Western Africa, will for a time be much promoted by the temporary continuance of the slave trade in other parts of the coast, which will thus insensibly tend to undermine its own existence by the general spread of humanity. It is evident that these effects will be produced by the demand for the produce of the soil made in the improved districts, by the ships carrying on the traffic in slaves from other parts:—which must necessarily operate to encourage agriculture, and promote general cultivation; and thus the mischief will be made in some measure to contravene itself, and ultimately to bring about its own destruction.

The African Institution has forwarded these objects with a most commendable zeal, and with proportionate success. They have procured from Dr. Roxburgh of Calcutta a great variety of seeds suited to tropical climates, and forwarded them to the settlements. They have taken steps to encourage the growth of indigo, which is found wild in every part of the African coast,—to improve the culture of rice, which forms the principal food of the Africans,—of coffee, several varieties of which, one not inferior to the mocha, are found in the mountains of Sierra Leone, and the cultivation of which has been begun in the colony, and promises to succeed;—of the sugar cane, an excellent quality of which grows with hardly any culture;—of Malaguetta pepper, and a variety of spiceries;—of arrow root, tapioca, and sago;—

and lastly, of the mulberry, with a view to the productions of silk worms. On this last subject as well as on that of rice, the staple food of the natives, there is a passage in the fifth Report very interesting.

“ Having received information that the plants of the mulberry-tree, which they had transmitted to Africa, had taken root, and were flourishing, not only at Sierra Leone, but at Goree and Senegal, the directors procured a considerable number of silk-worms’ eggs, which were sent to those places, accompanied with particular directions respecting the proper mode of rearing and managing them.

“ They have also transmitted to Africa a farther supply of some useful seeds: and likewise the model of a mill for cleaning rice from its husk;—an operation which, through the defect of proper machinery, is performed at present in a very laborious, rude, and imperfect manner. The directors apprehend that the present inferiority of African rice is chiefly to be attributed to this defect: they will therefore be obliged to any of the friends of the Institution who shall point out the best means of remedying it.” (*Fifth Rep.* p. 13.)

But the African Institution has not thought the cultivation of the soil, and the encouragement of agricultural industry, sufficient to ensure the eventual improvement of the coast under their protection. They have paid great and successful attention to the cultivation of the minds of the natives. They have with most virtuous industry empowered Mr. Ludlam, the governor, to erect a school at Sierra Leone, under their patronage, and at their expence, where are taught not merely reading and writing, but elementary knowledge in agriculture and the useful arts—they have also annexed a small farm to the school, to be cultivated in part by the labour of the scholars, that they may be taught to raise and prepare for market articles of exportable produce, as well as to rear cattle and cultivate provisions. The seminary is of course begun upon a small scale, and until the funds will allow of its enlargement, they have directed that the youths selected for education should be of such a rank, as should give them influence over their countrymen in after-life.

Under the date also of October 4, 1810, Mr. Butscher, one of the resident missionaries, in a letter dated Bashia, October 24, 1810, writes:—

“ At the beginning of May last, our African school-house was finished, which I immediately occupied with the male children. Since that time some other children have been recommended to us for learning; but, as we did not know whether our honourable society would approve of the plan laid before them, we were not inclined to receive them under our care.

“ In one of my journals last year, I mentioned that three boys were recommended to our settlement for learning; two of them be-

longing to John Pierce, chief of the Nalo nation, in the Rio-Nunis; and the other belonging to William Fananders, chief on the Rio-Dembia. These three children have been now about eight months under our care.

“ William Fananders, the father of the latter, who himself was eleven years in England for education, has several times sent a messenger to me, and expressed his wishes to see me. At the beginning of June last I made a journey to his town, called Bramia, about forty miles distant south-west from this place. On my arrival, he received me very cordially, and shewed me the town and the situation of the river Dembia, which makes a beautiful prospect. Bramia contains about five hundred inhabitants. The district which this chief possesses is about eighty miles in circumference: and the people whom he governs are about two thousand, of whom about fifteen hundred are his own slaves. He shewed a great inclination to have an English school in his place, and expressed himself thus to me:— ‘ It is a pity, Mr. Butscher, that you did not first come into my river: I should have been very glad indeed. If you would reside here, I would build you a school-house at my own expence, and procure you thirty or forty scholars.’ I replied, that, had I known him or heard of him at my first coming, I should very likely have been now under his protection; and if my honourable society should think proper to send out more missionaries, I would then endeavour to settle myself in his district. After having spent two days with him, I returned.

“ On this journey I had to pass through several towns, where the people in general received me very kindly, and shewed their wishes that their children should be instructed.

“ There would also be a hopeful prospect of establishing a school in the Rio-Nunis, under the protection of John Pierce, who himself has about eighteen children, and wishes them to be instructed. I doubt not but that a missionary could reside there with little expence, and yet have a school of forty or fifty children.”

Another missionary writes as follows under the date of December 24, 1810.

“ At this time brother Butscher has thirty boys in his house, who of course occupy his time. In the old house we live with twenty female children. By these children my wife finds her full employment; they go neatly dressed, wearing frocks and gowns which they have to make in their sewing hours, and also the boys’ shirts. But whatever trouble she has with these rough and raw children—for such they are when they come to us—it gives her pleasure to do them some good; and good is done to them. She is much respected and beloved by the children. She knows to admonish and exhort them when they do wrong, and to correct them when they deserve it. She herself is neat, clean, and plain in her dress, like the English fair sex; and so she keeps the children.”

Some further judgment concerning the probable effects of

these measures may be formed from intelligence received from Sierra Leone, that several of the African youths, who had been educated in England by the Sierra Leone company, were filling offices of trust in the colony with credit to themselves and satisfaction to their employers. Two other African youths, who had passed some years in England, have also been fully initiated in Dr. Bell's system of education, and have been the means of transplanting to Africa this cheap and expeditious method of instruction; "a boon," as it has been well observed "which may be productive of incalculable benefits to the inhabitants of that continent."

Some effects have already been produced among the natives. The king of a country near Cape Mesurado had lately begun to keep cattle, with a view to profit, in consequence of the suggestions of Mr. Smalley; and his subjects have enlarged the cultivation of rice beyond the demands of their own consumption, in consequence of a call for that article for victualing the ships and forts. Other facts of a similar nature have also been observed; among which the following statement is so satisfactory in every point of view, that we cannot possibly withhold it from our readers. It is taken from the report of Mr. Butscher before referred to.

"It came into my mind to apply for rice to William Fananders, chief at Bramia, of whom I made mention in my last; and I had no sooner applied to him than he sent me two baskets of clean rice, with a note, saying, that his rice was still in the plantations, but he would endeavour to have two tons threshed out for me within a few days, if I could make it convenient to fetch it. I borrowed a boat immediately, and after three days sailing I arrived at his town, and was received by him with great kindness. When I told him that I was come to him for rice without having money to pay for it at present, he replied, 'My dear Sir! I do not look to your money. Pay when you can. I look more to the purpose for which you came into this country—to teach children; and I should feel myself very happy indeed to see you teaching children in my territory. After having got two tons of clean rice, which filled the boat, I returned to Bashia.'"

Against these glimmerings of hope, which are to a certain degree encouraging, considering the short period during which a reasonable and humane system has been in operation, we do not think ourselves justified in withholding some circumstances of an opposite tendency, arising from the inveterate habits of the people, the climate of the country, and the necessary expence of the establishments on the coast. These constitute the principal difficulties, partly independent of the slave trade, against which we have to contend; and we are persuaded that a fair

statement of them as they actually exist, when compared with the immensely important object in view (the civilization of the largest continent in the world), will rather serve to invigorate than to relax our efforts in favour of the much injured inhabitants.

1. The inveterate habits of the natives. The lands in most of their petty kingdoms form a common stock—no part of them can be appropriated by any individual, except during the time he actually cultivates it. Any native who chooses to clear and cultivate a piece of unreclaimed land, becomes the exclusive possessor of it for the time; but if he afterwards allows it to lie waste, he can no longer set up any claim to it, but it may be occupied by any other individual; no such thing as a lease or sale of lands being known among them. It appears also that in some of the states, almost all crimes great or small are punishable by fine or slavery. Even murder may be compensated for seven slaves. Criminal charges are tried by a species of ordeal, which consists in administering to the accused a certain quantity of the bark of a tree deemed poisonous. If he retain it on his stomach he is pronounced guilty, if otherwise, innocent. The refusal to submit to the ordeal is considered as a decisive proof of guilt. In the case of *convictions for witchcraft*, the family of the convict is involved in his punishment, and even all persons residing under his roof, on pretence that all, in any way connected with him, must possess a portion of his malignant influence. Since the abolition of the slave trade, however, no convictions of this latter sort have taken place near the English settlements. The following extract from the second Report of the African Institution, will afford additional illustration to this subject. It is contained in a letter from Mr. Ludlam, governor of Sierra Leone, dated 29th October, 1806.

“ I was one day detained very long at P——, and on enquiring the reason, an old man was pointed out who had sat long with me in C——’s house, concerning whom the chiefs were then talking a *palaver*. His name was ———. He is said to have made a practice through life of seeking out a great number of the finest women in the country for his wives, and by their means entrapping the men in his neighbourhood, especially young ones whom he hires from various parts of the country as Grumettas. He had now overstepped the limits of African law with regard to some young men of powerful families whom he had sold. Or rather, I believe, these powerful families could not suffer so infamous and well-known a practice, though consistent with the letter of the law, to injure their own relations. I did not learn the result, but from his influence with C—— there is no doubt he escaped punishment, though he would be obliged to surrender his prey.”

2. The climate of the coast of Africa is the second difficulty

against which we have to contend ; this is extremely inimical to the European constitution, so much so, that a considerable loss of labour and attention on the part of the officers of the several establishments must always be calculated upon.. During the dry season they perform their duties with tolerable facility, but in the rains they are necessarily left much in arrear. There is also a great diminution of the natural energy of the Europeans, arising from the number of deaths which are frequently happening before their eyes, and from the prospect which at best lies before them of returning to Europe with injured constitutions, and without having the power of saving any thing out of their salaries, whereby to make a compensation for the loss of some of their best years. The report of the commissioners recommends, that this last evil should be remedied by allowing the inferior officers partially to engage in trade and cultivation, and to raise the salaries of the governors, the judges, and the members of council, for whom the resource of trade would be obviously improper, to a respectable sum. None of them at present have salaries more than sufficient for a most economical daily maintenance ; so very dear as yet is every article, whether native or European. Without some such regulations, whatever may be the fate of other offices, one of the most important departments in the colony, viz. the medical, will never be efficiently or even tolerably filled. This will readily be believed, when we state that, with the exception of the governor in chief, who has 1500*l.* a year, and the governor of Annamaboe who has 900*l.* ;—the governors of the other settlements have from 200*l.* to 300*l.* a year salary—and that of six medical offices of from 250*l.* to 300*l.* a year each, four were vacant in the year 1810.

These however are not the only impediments created by the climate ; the following phenomenon, though probably favourable in its remote effects, must be expected to make dreadful havoc in a well cultivated plantation.

“ Tornados are violent gusts of wind, which come from the eastward, attended by thunder, lightning, and, in general, heavy rain. The violence of the wind seldom continues longer than half an hour ; but the scene during the time it continues may be considered as one of the most awfully sublime in nature.—Its approach is foretold by certain appearances, which enable people to be on their guard. A dark cloud, not larger than ‘a man’s hand,’ is just observed on the verge of the eastern horizon. Faint flashes of lightning, attended sometimes by very distant thunder, are then seen to vibrate in quick succession. The clouds in that quarter become gradually more dense and black ; they also increase in bulk, and appear as if heaped on each other. The thunder, which at first was scarcely

noticed, or heard only at long intervals, draws nearer by degrees, and becomes more frequent and tremendous. The blackness of the clouds increases, until a great part of the heavens seems wrapped in the darkness of midnight: and it is rendered still more tremendous, by being contrasted with a gleam of light which generally appears in the western horizon. Immediately before the attack of the tornado, there is either a light breeze, scarcely perceptible, from the westward, or as is more common, the air is perfectly calm and unusually still. Men and animals fly for shelter; and, 'while expectation stands in horror,' the thundering storm in an instant bursts from the clouds. It is impossible for language to convey a just idea of the uproar of the elements which then takes place. 'The temperature of the air is greatly affected by a tornado—' (it becomes cool and clear); 'and it is not unusual for the thermometer to suffer a depression of eight or ten degrees within two or three minutes after the storm has come on. After a tornado, the body feels invigorated and more active, and the mind recovers much of that elasticity which long-continued heat tends to impair.'" (*Fourth Report*, p. 89.)

The tornado season lasts two months, beginning in March. Then comes the rainy season for about three months, and the dry season prevails generally throughout the remainder of the year;—that is from August till March. Occasionally in December, January, and February, a land wind of a very peculiar nature, called the Harmattan, blows for eight, or more consecutive days. It is remarkable for its cold and chilling effects on the human frame, and for the very extraordinary degree of dryness which it produces: the evaporation, while it lasts, proceeding with astonishing rapidity. It is abundantly evident that these singular and sudden revolutions of temperature must be as injurious to vegetable as to animal health;—and were every part of the country equally affected by them, we should be tempted to suspect that a sentence of eternal sterility had been passed against this devoted portion of the globe. But we are happy to find that the impediments are principally confined to the coast. A very few miles inland, the climate is so superiour that the soil is capable of producing almost every article of tropical culture, and is in many places so temperate as to favour the cultivation of European plants and seeds. The articles which succeed best near the sea are rice, sugar-cane, and cotton. The following extract affords so encouraging, and as we believe, so just a view of the capabilities of the interior of Africa, and leads so directly to the conclusion which strongly presses itself on our minds, with respect to our obligations to incur the expence of supporting our establishments, and struggling as well as we can against the sterility of the coast where they are situated, that we cannot avoid laying it before our readers.

“ As we recede from the sea and advance into the interior, the state of things appears to be much more favourable than it can be said to be on any part of the coast. We witness a life of more industry and more happiness ; and a great improvement not only in these important respects, but in soil, climate, and other natural advantages. In short, the capabilities of Africa can be appreciated but in a very inadequate degree, if we confine our observations to the sea coast, and do not proceed inland. The difference, indeed, is visible even a few miles from the shore ; but it is still greater the farther we advance into the country. There is no valuable article of tropical culture which might not be raised in this country in great abundance ; while its population stands in need of our manufactures, and is accustomed to their use. And when it is considered what the hand of industry has done in the West Indies—in the pestilential swamps of Guiana, for instance—what may not fairly be expected from the rich hills and extensive plains of this country, blessed as it is with a luxuriant soil, and a comparatively healthy climate ?” (*Fourth Report*, p. 100.)

It appears from the report of the commissioners, that the whole expence of our establishments on the coast of Africa does not much exceed 30,000*l.* per annum, and though many of the officers are, as we have just stated, underpaid, yet by the annihilation of some of the forts now either rendered unnecessary, or from climate or situation ineligible, and the addition of the expence of their establishments to the salaries of those permitted to remain, we believe that the whole may be placed on a very good footing without any additional expence. We will not pay our countrymen so bad a compliment as to suppose, that they will grudge this expence for the chance which we have shewn to exist of carrying civilization, happiness, and christianity among the benighted Africans. It may not however be useless to state, that from the plantations already begun, even near the coast, and the progress which they are daily making, a reasonable expectation may be entertained, that in no great number of years the principal settlements will contribute very much towards defraying the expences of their establishments.

Upon a fair and deliberate review of the information which we have now laid before our readers, we think that the friend of humanity may indulge the cheering hope that a considerable portion of this untravelled continent, which, as far as it is known, presents a degraded view of the human species, may, at length, be reclaimed from its barbarous state, and be made a member of the civilized world.

ART. XIX.—*Portugal; a Poem, in two Parts.* London :
Longman and Co. 1812.

IN the first article of this number, in which we have reviewed the poem of Lord Byron, we have said a good deal on the creditableness of an addiction to literary pursuits in a young nobleman. In making this remark, however, we were not aware how soon we should have occasion to qualify its generality. As we desire to be understood not to extend our approbation to the abuses of literature, so are we far from intending to compliment the misdirection of talent. Into the province of poetry no man should set his foot without a proper commission. And, once for all, we take upon ourselves in the name and for the honour of the national muse, to protest against the presumption of those who thrust themselves into the rank of minstrels, to record the achievements of their countrymen, with no higher diploma than the flattery of friends verified by their own inward persuasions. The wise and safe course is to deal very suspiciously with those promises, from within and from without, which assure us of success independent of sacrifice ; immunities that dispense with toil ; or natural gifts that anticipate the fruit of cultivation. If there be good reason for this caution in general, it is particularly necessary to those who come great or rich into the world. The poet is not often born in the purple. He is usually awakened to intelligence amidst the wild scenery and awful vicissitudes of nature ; receives his impressions at first hand, and suffers no check or contraction from the discipline of early refinement. He that at his entrance into life finds a flowery path open before him ; society dressed in smiles ; companions caressing or dependent ; character disguised ; and the rude varieties of nature and passion at too great a distance for their force to be felt, or their features discerned, is rarely furnished with those elements of feeling and knowledge which are among the primary constituents of genius, and form, as it were, the patrimony of the poet.

These difficulties the author of the poem on Portugal has, doubtless, had to encounter ; and we cannot help suspecting that he has not received from the hand of nature the means of overcoming them. Judging from the specimen before us, he seems to us to have thought, that to write good poetry nothing more was necessary, than to bring together as many of the words and phrases found in those productions, which he has selected for his models (and which seem to be principally those of the Darwin and Della Crusca schools), as could be pressed into the

service of his own plan; and for the success of this method descriptive poetry was certainly the best adapted. Whatever may have been his models, he has been unfortunate. For if we are wrong in imputing to him the imitation of those tawdry patterns, and his ambition has had a higher and more noble aim, though we may respect his choice and his spirit, we cannot congratulate his success.

If there be any one truth in respect to poetic composition, of which we feel the importance more than another, it is this—that the most sounding diction which the combinations of poetry, or the treasures of the language can supply, will not, however plausibly accumulated, bring into being any thing that deserves the title of poetry, unless the writer himself be capable of imparting from the energies of his own mind the vivifying principle which makes the thoughts breathe, and puts a rational soul into the language. It will be to no end, by mere collision with the thoughts or words of other men, to chafe our own imaginations into a foam. Agitation alone will never raise a shallow stream to the tumultuous effervescence of the ocean. We must expect from it nothing but turbidity or froth, though storm and tempest vex it ever so much. Whether it be owing to perversity of taste, or depravity of imitation, or an insufficient acquaintance with chaste and simple writing, or pruriency of the pen, or precipitancy of judgment in the author of this poem, or lastly from a defect in ourselves, we will not undertake to affirm, but we can say with truth, that, after considerable pains, coupled with a strong disposition to approve, we have found it impossible to feel, or taste, or comprehend, the sentiments, the images, or the meaning of the major part of Lord G. N. Grenville's poem on Portugal.

This being the true situation in which we stand with respect to this poem, we confess we are not properly qualified to review it as critics. The plain fact is, that we are incompetent to pass a critical judgment upon what we are unable to understand.

To vindicate ourselves, however, from the charge of gross stupidity, we will produce a passage or two from the work, which, perhaps, may involve our readers in the same disgrace with ourselves. It may be proper to premise that one great source of the mysteriousness that runs through the whole work is the prodigious number of agents which the author has thought it advisable to introduce into the scene, to carry on its action, we presume, with the greater pomp and solemnity. Not only is every virtue and vice, but every district, city, town, tower, rock, mountain, and river, endued with action, life, and with natures extremely susceptible of pain, pleasure, anger, love, and sorrow. To these strong emotions all the finer feelings are added,

and the poet is sure to express in very glowing language every sentiment with which they are inspired.

“ Lusia, while musing on the wayward fate
Which rules the scale of Europe's doubtful state,
Whilst Freedom's trembling hopes yet pause, to know
The event that waits her last impending blow,
Say, can an ardent heart, which long has sighed
For ancient Honour's dimmed and fallen pride,
Touched by thy kindred spark, refuse to twine
Its fondest dreams, it's warmest prayers, with thine?

“ On Lusia's kindling ear no longer vain
Shall fall the patriot's voice, the poet's strain,
O'er every classic scene, that once could fire
For her the throbbing breast, or echoing lyre,
Shall prophet fancy weave the fairest wreath
That ever bloomed to victory's flattering breath,
And Valour teach her glowing steps to steer
In freedom's holy cause, to glory's bright career.

“ Yes, in that generous cause for ever high
Shall beat the pulse of native energy!—
For thee the teeming cot it's tenant yield
And sun-brown labour quit it's favourite field,
For thee each antique fort, or mouldering tower,
(Trophy erewhile of glory's short-lived hour,)
The aery rock, the mountain's topmost pride,
The fleecy tract that decks it's glimmering side,
Vocal once more, shall rouse, at thy command,
The patriot terrors of it's rustic band,
Whilst, proudly wakening to the call of heaven,
Valour shall claim the rights by nature given,
In every bard a new Tyrtæus spring,
And Spartan ardour strike the Lusian string!

“ Yet sweet it is, when faery hands have wrought
Those ruddiest hues by poet Fancy taught,
When fiction's reign is past, and o'er the soul
Untricked reflection holds her calm controul,
To mark, with steadier ken, each slow degree
By wakening justice trod, by valour, liberty,
To thread each wildering Maze, and scan, the while,
As their mild influence cheers the patriot's toil,
Each transient mist, that dims the bright array
Of glory's handmaid forms, and stays their destined way.”

Now the reader will not fail to notice what an animated scene here presents itself. Lusia, the first, and, doubtless, the most important personage in the whole piece, has, by way of

eminence, a double task assigned her; she is the object of invocation herself, and is yet introduced, in her own person, dreaming and praying. She is to touch with her kindred spark (which must be acknowledged to be an odd sort of tact), and immediately afterwards she is described as having a kindling ear, and yet in the same passage, forgetting her resources, she is said to have borrowed fire from the classic scene to burn both the throbbing breast and the echoing lyre. Then comes the prophet fancy, weaving a wreath over the classic scene, which wreath is the fairest of any that has ever bloomed to the breath of victory; and valour teaches her glowing steps (we suppose the steps of Lusitania) to steer in freedom's cause to glory's career.

Now really, though we by no means approve of reducing poetry to prose in order to exhibit it naked to its enemies; and we have always been of opinion that the muse has a full right to deny the jurisdiction of such a tribunal, and to claim a trial by her peers, yet we do confess ourselves to think that those verses have no title to be called poetry which are not in strict correspondence with the rules of grammatical construction. This is the primary duty of every species of composition, and it should be remembered by every writer, that there is but one syntax for poetry and prose. It behoves the muse to be just before she is generous, and to satisfy her obligations before she displays her munificence. The debt due to grammar and sense is one of universal obligation, in our opinion, whatever may be the style or the theme: and if victory, fancy, glory, freedom, or Lusitania herself and a hundred other such be invested with the attributes of living beings, they must submit to have their transactions recorded in the common idiom, and with grammatical concordance. If we expect prose to be perspicuous, we expect poetry to be capable, at least, of being construed; but this seems to us to be by no means the case in general with the poetry of Lord G. N. Grenville. It has been said of Dryden, that he loves to tread upon the brink of meaning where light and darkness mingle: the author of the present poem has gone beyond his great predecessor: if he is less oracular, he is more ambiguous; and, instead of playing on the margin of a dubious light, he has triumphantly rushed into decided darkness.

We have not heard a great deal said of this poem on Portugal, but we should not be surprised to find that it is very fashionable among fine gentlemen and fine ladies. We have observed of late the little demand for sense in our town-made poems, as well as our town-made novels. The tuneful philosophy of Dr. Darwin, the dulcet strains of the Della Cruscan muse, and the rhyming ribaldry and tender trash of our popular ballad writers

and sonneteers, have taught a very large portion of readers to put up with sound instead of sense, and to consider poetry as having little or no connexion with the understanding. All that seems to be required by the class of readers to which we have alluded, appears to be an harmonious cadence, or shall we call it rather, a melodious monotony, made up of soft and sounding, amorous and hyperbolical expressions, that convey to the understanding the faint adumbrations of meaning, to the heart the corruptions of sentiment, to the fancy the fuel of the passions. Such in general is the pleasing and philanthropic occupation of our fashionable rhymers.

To the author of this poem, however, we are happy to say, that nothing but negation is imputable. As far as he is intelligible he seems most emphatically to mean well. His muse is chaste, and it can by no means be said of him as of some of his contemporaries, that he has endeavoured "to leave the world less virtuous than he found it." Though in the first line of his poem he seems to think it poetical to put the scale of Europe into the hands of "wayward fate:" it subsequently appears that the heaven-born melody of the wakening spheres, the birth of time, and other facts of the like convincing tendency, had long ago satisfied him of the existence of a God; and we are invited in pages 24 and 25, in no mean strains, to sit with him under the cork-tree shade (his lordship seems very fond of the shade) and meditate with him on these things. As to the quantum of a young nobleman's or gentleman's faith, we must not be nice in these days, and we must give him full credit for what we can get from him of this kind in prose or rhyme. At a time in which poetry seems to be the passport of infidelity, and the whole of natural and revealed religion, nay all the creeds of the earth, are disposed of in a single stanza, we feel really obliged to Lord G. N. Grenville for charitably allowing us a Providence, and a future state.

It is for these reasons that we have declared ourselves to wish to approve the efforts of his lordship's muse. It is for these reasons also that we take the liberty of strenuously recommending to him to try the effect of simplification, and before he buries himself in clouds, by endeavouring to strike the stars with his head, to strive in good earnest to walk on the plain ground with a firm and graceful step. Towards attaining this desirable object, we suggest the great advantage that the perpetual perusal of Shakespear and Cowper may be of to him, to which, if he please, he may now and then add Burns and Crabbe. Peradventure, when his mind shall have been disencumbered of all the ponderous inanities under which it labours at present,

amiableness of sentiment of which he has made it the vehicle, and to assure him that, as we have at no time any pleasure in flippant or disrespectful criticism, so we shall be unaffectedly happy on any future occasion to be able to afford him with sincerity the humble meed of our applause.

ART. XX. *Select Letters of Tippoo Sultan, to various public Functionaries, including his principal military Commanders; Governors of Forts and Provinces, diplomatic and commercial Agents, &c. &c. With Notes and Observations, and an Appendix, containing several original Documents never before published.* Arranged and translated by William Kirkpatrick, Colonel in the Service of the Honourable East-India Company. London, 1811. One vol. 4to. Black and Parry, &c. 2l. 2s.

THOSE who are fond of representing the adventurers and usurpers of India as her "native princes," will, no doubt, purchase these "Letters of a real Sultan" with somewhat of the same feeling with which Lord Chesterfield sent a remittance to his son, to enable him to visit the court of Hesse;—"that it was impossible to demur to so small an expence for the purpose of beholding a live Landgrave." But with respect to the world in general, we cannot help thinking (notwithstanding the intrinsic merit and amusing nature of this volume), that if published earlier, it would have attracted a greater portion of the public attention than we fear is now likely to be extended to it. Thirteen years, most eventful years, have elapsed since the empire of Mysore was compelled to yield to the superior prowess of the nation, against which its whole force, directed by no ordinary minds, had for thrice that portion of time been opposed, with a view to its utter extirpation from the territory of India. A few hours levelled with the dust the usurped power of the mightiest enemy that the British name and nation ever had in that quarter of the world; and, transferring the country and means of our enemy into a friendly and legitimate hand, converted them into a tower of strength. Rarely hath history recorded so complete an event—a capital subdued—its sovereign slain—his whole army, "all its appliances and means to boot" captured or dispersed—almost every member of the royal family made prisoners, together with the families of nearly all his generals and chiefs; an immediate transfer, in short, of the whole physical and moral machinery of a nation and government, from the

scale of inveterate and dangerous hostility into that of friendly and powerful co-operation. The capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in the 15th century, the death of its sovereign Palæologos, and the extinction of the Grecian dynasty, have been in several circumstances compared with the fate of Tippoo, his family, capital, and empire. The latter was, however, more rapid in its progress, and more complete in the event.

England was strongly gratified at this great and splendid achievement. But as the scene was remote, and the danger thus happily removed not evident to every eye, the impression, compared with that excited by the mightier threatenings universally felt and understood nearer home, was partial and transient. But, although at this late period, the contents of the volume before us must, we repeat, necessarily have lost much of the power that they might once have possessed of arousing and repaying the attention of general readers, there are many who yet retain a portion of the early impression; and we are of the number. Nor can the volume fail to afford interest and instruction to all who have a taste for the indulgence of historical contemplation, or the investigation of moral character. It exhibits an intimate and familiar view of an individual, in himself certainly of no ordinary stamp, but peculiarly claiming our notice, as having by his talents and his crimes raised himself to a bad eminence, and connected his name and history with some of the most important of our national interests.

A faithful delineation of the mind of any man is rarely obtained; of an eminent man more rarely; still farther removed from access are the mental workings of sovereigns; and of those of an Asiatic sovereign we could scarcely hope, under any circumstances, for such a development. Here, however, we are abundantly gratified; not in the studied way, in which a man writing for the public, or contemplating the probability of publicity, is modestly prone to abuse himself into the possession of every cardinal virtue—but by the hourly and faithful record of the feelings of an extraordinary mind of restless activity, on whose operations the fate of so large a portion of mankind was suspended.

Tippoo's mind and pen never seem to have been at rest. His thoughts were not deep but various; whatever interested his mind he committed to paper, and sometimes without sufficient consideration of its importance. Few events were, perhaps, more out of the scope of probability than that what he thought and wrote should be made thus manifest to the world. In his own imagination, of course, no event could approach nearer to the bounds of moral impossibility. He was distinguished from other Asiatic potentates in nothing more than in his immediate

superintendence over every department of political and domestic œconomy :—it might, on many occasions, be termed interference rather, or intermeddling, than superintendence—for there was scarcely any object so low as to escape the minuteness of his attention. Whether in the administration of an emetic, or an empire ; whether in the organization of a barometer, or of a national bank ; whether in the propagation of a silk-worm, or of the Mahomedan faith ; he seems to have been, or to have wished to have been, every thing with every body, and on every occasion. To all departments and officers under his authority he accordingly furnished ample instructions, penned with a minuteness, pretending to forecast every event and to provide for every contingency. References to him on points so foreseen and provided for, he usually reprehended with considerable asperity ; and his dissatisfaction was still greater when his servants acted in contravention to such instructions. That this series, or code of regulations, called *hookm namah* in Persian, were in many cases very useful there can be no doubt. They served to give some uniformity to public business, and to regulate, although, perhaps, not in the best mode, the financial and other departments, metropolitan and provincial. In other cases they must have proved hurtful. In those, for instance, where an officer commanding an army found it precisely laid down how he was to march, encamp, carry on a siege, &c. &c. without much regard to season, localities, or contingencies, that necessarily render such operations subservient to the circumstances of the moment.

Of all these instructions, general and particular, including those to diplomatic and commercial agents, and of the correspondence incident to the endless references for explanation, and indeed of every note, however unimportant, that flowed from the pen of this ready writer, copies were duly registered. On the reduction of Seringapatam, in 1799, all the records of the government fell into the hands of the captors. Many of the state papers have been made public through official and other channels. Those, or rather a selection from the more important of them, which served to develope the more recent intrigues of Tippoo with the enemies of Great Britain, were published in India by authority of the supreme government, and subsequently in this country : such documents, therefore, form no part of the selection under our notice ; and many others very curious and valuable, as we are informed by General Kirkpatrick, and as we happen to know on other good authority, still remain untranslated in the Persian office at Calcutta. We join with him in the hope expressed in his advertisement, that such documents

may not much longer be suffered to remain in perishable obscurity.

The register of public letters whence this selection was extracted, was found in an incomplete state. It commences in February 1785, and ends in November 1793, excluding therefore the last five years of the Sultan's correspondence: but a hope is expressed in the preface, that the portion now unsupplied may yet be forthcoming. About 2000 letters luckily fell into the hands of General Kirkpatrick, who held a high office under the supreme government of India, at the period of the last war in Mysore, and was employed in the important and delicate measures incident to the restoration of that country and its dependencies to its legitimate dynasty, and in forming arrangements for their settlement. About half the abovementioned number of letters have been arranged; and between four and five hundred are translated and given in this publication; together with copious notes, and explanatory observations on every point that seemed to require or invite them.

Anterior to the perusal of this volume, we had no competent idea of the horrible extent to which the unfeeling cruelty and rapacity of this extraordinary person were developed. We had read and seen and *felt* sufficient to convince us, that these propensities existed in him in no common degree. Still we were disposed to consider him comparatively with other *Asiatic* sovereigns, and by that to measure his merits and demerits rather than by the *European* standard; and to reflect farther, that heretofore the accounts given of him were by his political, perhaps also by his personal, enemies, whose judgments might, without the imputation of uncharitableness, have been suspected of an unfavourable bias. Retributive justice (we will digress a moment longer to remark) was strongly evinced in the instruments of Tippoo's downfall: many of the assailants of the ramparts of his capital had not long before been treacherously immured in its prisons—the gallant General (Sir David Baird), the leader of the storming party, was of this number. When we recollect too that he permitted a Frenchman to establish a Jacobin club in his capital, which swore eternal hatred to all kings *with the exception of Citizen Tippoo*, we are lost in astonishment at the inconsistencies and absurdities of the man.

But after the publication of these letters, all speculation upon his character is lost in certainty; we here find the sultan's own pen unintentionally recording his own character, which is summed up in a few lines by his translator, from whose judgment in this and other parts of the work, we see no material ground of dissent, excepting it be in the estimate of the usurper's talent.

On this head, notwithstanding the littlenesses so conspicuous in many of his acts, we cannot but still consider him on the whole as far above the ordinary scale of Asiatic intellect and vigour, and, indeed, of that class of humanity in general in which it is fair to place him.

We trust, however, that the following brief summary, drawn by an impartial hand, of the character of his domestic government, and of his intercourse with foreign states, as exemplified in these letters, will quiet the perplexities of those moralizing politicians, whose impartial optics can perceive no difference between the conduct of Buonaparte in his European aggressions, and that of England in the progress of her oriental aggrandizement.

The extraordinary author, says General Kirkpatrick, "is here successively and repeatedly delineated, in colours from his own pencil, as the cruel and relentless enemy; the intolerant bigot or furious fanatic; the oppressive and unjust ruler; the harsh and rigid master; the sanguinary tyrant; *the perfidious negociator*; the frivolous and capricious innovator; the mean and minute economist; the peddling trader; and even the retail shopkeeper. The painter," it is added, "will not be suspected of overcharging the unfavourable traits of the picture, when it is considered that that picture is his own." P. 10. How far this character may be correct, we shall now give our readers an opportunity of judging for themselves from specimens of his correspondence.

We will begin with the first letter, including the notes and observations by the Editor.

" LETTER I.

" *To Mirza Mahommed Ali, Superintendant of the Elephant Stables at Nugr**, dated Putn (or Seringapatam), 2d of Byazy, year Uzl, (17 Feb. 1785.)

" The humble address [you] sent [us] has passed under [our] view, and the circumstances [therein] are duly comprehended. You write 'that the *Mûtusuddies* † attached to you, have adopted habits of ease and of lounging in *Nugr*, pretending that is necessary for them to see and confer with the *Taalûkdar* ‡ of *Nugr*; the consequence of which is, that fifteen days are consumed in preparing the accounts of one; and that nothing is done excepting at *Nugr*, though a *Kunry Mûtusuddy* §, agreeably to our orders, attends on the part of *Nursia* to assist in the business.'

" This [representation] has caused [us] the utmost surprize. Whenever the *Mûtusuddies* belonging to your department cease to yield you proper obedience, you must give them a severe flogging;

* i. e. Bednore.

‡ The manager of a district.

† Clerks or Accountants.

§ A Canarese clerk.

and making them prepare, with the greatest dispatch, the lists and other papers required by our former orders, transmit the same duly to the presence."

" OBSERVATIONS.

" To understand the foregoing letter properly, it is necessary to suppose, what, indeed, is most probable, that the elephant mews, or stables, were situated at some distance from the town of *Nugr*.

" This letter furnishes a proper occasion for cautioning the reader, who may not be conversant in the history, or acquainted with the genius or frame of the native governments of India, against hastily drawing any general conclusions with respect to the latter point, from the particular practice or maxims of Tippoo Sultan. The conduct of this prince was too commonly governed by caprice, and was too often the mere result of individual feelings and character, to afford a just criterion of the generality of Asiatic sovereigns, or Asiatic states. Thus, any one who should be led to infer, from the punishment here directed to be inflicted on the idle clerks of the elephant department, that it is customary in India (as in China and Russia) to flog any but the menial servants of government for neglect of duty, would be greatly mistaken: as he would also, if he supposed that mutilation was no uncommon penalty in that country, for corruption or other misdemeanors in the administration of public affairs, because the *Sultan* sometimes thought proper to threaten official delinquents with that punishment. The fact is, that all his *hookm-nâmahs*, or instructions to the governors of provinces, and others, conclude with a denunciation of the penalties to which they will be liable, in case of disobedience or disregard of the orders contained in them. Sometimes these are generally stated under the vague but emphatic term of 'the worst of punishments:' at others they are specifically named; as, crucifixion in one or two cases, and mutilation in others.

" Tippoo himself, as I learn from Colonel Wilks, was once publicly bamboosed (or caned) by order of Hyder, in whose good graces he would never appear to have stood very high. This opinion is strongly confirmed by a most curious original document, which I met with at Seringapatam, in 1799, while employed in examining the mass of papers discovered more immediately after the capture of the place. I found it amongst a variety of other papers of the time of Hyder, deposited in a basket or box, where it had probably remained undisturbed and forgotten ever since his death. It is a narrow slip, about twelve inches in length, and is entitled at top *اقرارنامه* or 'an agreement,' beneath which words is the impression in ink of a small square seal, resembling in all respects the usual signet, or ring-seal of the *Sultan*, and bearing together with the name 'Tippoo Sultan,' the date '1184,' (*Hejra*). The instrument itself is without date; but it must of course have been executed some time between the year 1769 (the period when the seal was engraved) and 1782, wherein Hyder died. On the back of this paper is a short ep-

дорсмент of two or three words in Canareese, which, I am sorry to say, I cannot explain.

“ AGREEMENT.

“ 1. I will not do [any] one thing without the pleasure of your blessed Majesty, lord of benefits [or my bountiful lord]; if I do, let me be punished in whatever manner may seem fitting to your auspicious mind.—One article.

“ 2. If in the affairs of the *Sircar* (or government) I should commit theft, or be guilty of fraud, great or small, let me, as the due punishment thereof, be strangled.—One article.

“ 3. If I be guilty of prevarication or misrepresentation, or of deceit, the due punishment thereof is this same strangulation.—One article.

“ 4. Without the orders of the presence, I will not receive from any one, *Nuzzers*, &c. (gifts or offerings); neither will I take things from any one [meaning perhaps forcibly]; if I do, let my nose be cut off, and let me be driven from the city.—One article.

“ 5. If, excepting on the affairs of the *Sircar*, I should hold conversation [probably *cabal* or *intrigue*] with any person, or be guilty of deceit, &c. let me in punishment thereof be stretched on a cross.—One article.

“ 6. Whenever a country shall be committed to my charge by the *Sircar*, and an army be placed under my command, I will carry on all business regarding the same, with the advice and through the medium of such confidential persons as may be appointed [for the purpose] by the *Sircar*; and if I transact such affairs through any other channel than this, let me be strangled.—One article.

“ 7. If there should be any occasion for correspondence by writing, or to buy or give [away] any thing, or any letters should arrive from any place, I will do nothing [in such matters] without the concurrence and advice of the person appointed by the *Sircar*.—One article.

“ 8. I have written and delivered these few articles of my own free will, keeping the contents whereof in my heart's remembrance; I will act in each article accordingly. If I forget this and act in any other [or different] manner, let me be punished agreeably to the foregoing writing.”

It will not perhaps be wondered at, that one to whom the idea of corporal punishment, even in his own person, would seem from the preceding instrument, as well as from Colonel Wilks's report, to have been familiar before his accession to the throne, should, after that event, have applied the practice, with similar disregard to the rank or station of offenders, to those then subjected to his authority.

The Sultan's affectation of universal knowledge is as conspicuous as his bigotry, or his trifling attention to œconomy. We have a whimsical exhibition of all these qualities in the following picture of a Mahomedan sovereign, instructing a Hin-

doo minister on the conversion of a Christian to the tenets of Islam, and in the subjoined instructions upon his establishment of menial servants.

“ Your letter has been received. You write ‘ that the European prisoner, whose allowance of two * fanams a day had been, in consequence of his misbehaviour, reduced to one, being skilled in the mortar practice ; you propose converting him to the faith, and wish for our orders on the subject.’ It is understood.—Admitting the aforesaid to the honour of Islāmism, you will continue to pay him as before two fanams a day. Let him also be employed in firing at the flag. We have ourself, however, brought the mortar practice to that degree of perfection, that children of ten and eleven years of age are taught to hit the point of a spear.

“ You may, as you propose, engage a sweeper, at the monthly wages of ten or twelve fanams, and employ him in sweeping out the tung.mahal (or painted apartment),” &c. &c. P. 12.

On another occasion he gives instructions to a physician how to treat a subject bitten by a rabid animal—he is told in conclusion “ not to let the discharge from the wound stop, but to keep it open for six months.” P. 147. Another patient in a crippled state from a rheumatic or scrophulous complaint, is furnished by the Sultan with two bottles of the essential oil of camphor, the tree producing it having, he says, been recently discovered in his country †. He furnishes instructions also how to rub the feet with it, and to take it inwardly by putting the weight of a rupee into a bason of broth. We may be permitted to hope that this proceeded from a transient feeling of humanity, especially as he concludes his prescription by desiring to be informed what benefit was derived from it. One other instance of *doubtful* humanity we are induced, though it be almost solitary, to insert. Some depredations had been committed in or about Calicut (a part of his dominions over which we have witnessed the pouring out of his wrath in a sad stream of devastation), and some of the robbers and highwaymen, as he terms the rioters, were killed, and some were taken.—“ Such,” he observes, p. 449, “ as have been already killed, are killed—but why should the remainder be put to death ?” “ Their proper punishment is this—let the dogs, both black and white, be dispatched to Seringapatam.” This letter was written in 1785.

The royal quack, on several recorded occasions, condescended to prescribe for his sick subjects. The minuteness of the following is amusing, and indeed surprising, when we consider the really important concerns that were ever pressing on his attention.

* A fanam is equal to about eightpence.

† It is a new fact to us, that the camphor-tree is a product of Mysore.

“ Your letter of the ——— was received this day, and has informed us of Dowlat Khan’s being ill of the stone in the bladder: we have, in consequence, sent by the post an emetic to be taken the first day, together with other proper medicines for the seven subsequent days. These are all separately made up in cloth, and sealed.

“ The way of taking an emetic is this: dissolving the powder in about four tolah (or four rupees) weight of hot water, let him swallow it. After this, whenever he feels inclined to vomit, he must drink eight tolah weight of warm water. When he has vomited five or six times, let him, after an interval of six hours, have some broth mixed with rice. In the evening, before he eats his dinner, make him take, in a little cold water, half a tolah weight of seed of flea-wort, softened with some oil of almonds. By the favour of God, in one or two vomitings, the strangury, or obstruction of urine, will be removed.

“ The following morning [after the vomit] a dose of the other medicine is to be taken in eight tolahs of syrup of *ab-shâkh*, and radish leaves. This course is to be pursued for seven days, during which the patient need not abstain from acids, but must avoid eating black and red pepper, and other heating and flatulent things. The diet should be curry of radishes with boiled rice, and his drink an infusion of musk-melon seeds, cucumber seeds, and dry thorn, of each half a tolah weight. By this means, if there should actually be a stone in the bladder, it will be passed.”

There is reason to believe that he was an apothecary as well as a physician, and sold by retail various drugs and medicaments. We find in his correspondence, instructions to his provincial officers to establish shops on his behalf in every district. As might be expected, the royal retailer forced the regular tradesmen out of the market. He thus writes to one of his agents:

“ You write—‘ That in conformity with our orders, you have established shops in our behalf, in every district under your authority, and engaged in our service a money changer and accountant for conducting the concerns of each: but that in some districts the object of profit is completely frustrated; while in others, the gains are so very small, as to be even inadequate to the monthly pay of the *surrâfs* and accountants; owing (as you say) to the more considerable towns, where, heretofore, gold and silver, bullion and specie, to the amount of thousands of pagodas, used to be brought for the purposes of traffic, being now forsaken by the traders, who, taking alarm at the establishment of our shops, resort, in consequence, to other places; none but the poorer classes, in short, ever dealing with them, and then only to the amount, perhaps, of six or seven fanams.’”

This report from one of his superintendants nettled the sultan, who directs perseverance in his own scheme, and rebukes

an officious suggestion at improvement—"There is no regulation issued by us that does not cost us in the framing of it the deliberation of five hundred years. This being the case, do you perform exactly what we order; neither exceeding our directions, nor suggesting any thing from yourself." P. 130.

He gives frequent instructions as to the selling, or holding back, in view to a better price, various articles of merchandize that he was in the habit of exporting on his own account for foreign parts.

"You must not be in haste to dispose of the cinnamon, sandal wood, pepper, and rice, imported at Muscat from Mangalore. Keep them carefully, till they become dear, and will yield a good profit, and then sell them." P. 187.

Soon after he gives detailed instructions for effecting a rise in price, by concealing the amount of goods on hand at Muscat, and giving out that his, the sultan's orders, had been received for discontinuing the sales there, and for re-exporting the goods to Judda, "where also we have a factory; and that you are about to do so. Having circulated this report; you must keep the goods by you till the price of them advances to —, when you will sell them without farther delay." P. 189.

Similar instances of his minute and dishonest attention to thrift abound in his letters. One of his principal generals, his brother-in-law, complains of the scantiness of his wardrobe, and applies to his royal kinsman for the means of making up some clothes, and is authorised to appropriate three hundred rupees, (30l.) of the government money to that purpose. This permission is conveyed in the same letter that directs the movements of an army, and the operations of an important siege. His ambassadors proceeding to the court of Poona, had, as is usual in the east, a guard of honour attached to their mission. This they are directed to have duly exercised.—"You must not, however, expend any powder on such occasions." P. 167. An ambassador to Louis XVI. signified the extent of his wants for his long voyage. His excellency is duly admonished on the score of expenditure. "Where," the sultan asks, "can be the necessity of so many wax candles? You moreover write, that 'the collector of Mangalore delivers to you only old and black rice'—It is known. That rice is good. You must take it, and not engage in improper altercation. What more?" P. 213.

Of his vanity and self-sufficiency, many examples, in addition to what our extracts exhibit, are found in his letters. The following pompous effusion, from memoirs of his reign, written by himself, is truly ludicrous.

“ — the special retinue proceeded to the seat of the Sultanut. Here, with a view to the proper arrangement of affairs, great and small, I framed various hukm-namahs, [or ordinances] and numerous other things; all in the very best manner, and comprehending institutes, civil and fiscal, general as well as particular rules for war and peace [literally, for the battle and the banquet], and regulations for the government of the people at large. They moreover treated of the proper mode of dealing with the noble and ignoble, of levying tribute on the subject, and of affording protection to the people; of making progress through the country, and inspecting the fortresses; and of duly guarding the kingdom on all sides. In fine, they comprised numerous new inventions, and fresh contrivances without measure; and I ordained that the same should be preserved in our elevated family, and be transmitted through our eminent race, to the end, that our sons of exalted degree, and our grandsons of illustrious descent, generation after generation, deriving from the perusal the abundant benefits with which they are replete, may be thereby enabled to administer the various affairs of state, and the important concerns of sovereignty, with due order and regularity.” P. 326.

The work whence the above extract is taken is entitled *Tarikh-e-Khoda-dady*; i. e. History of the God-gifted Government, written by Tippoo himself, and forming the basis of a more extended work by Zynal Aabedin Shustry, his historiographer, entitled *Sultan-e-Towarikh*, meaning, we believe, the sultan or sovereign of histories. This work is little else than a rhetorical amplification of the former royal effusion. Another book was composed by the same writer, under the sultan's instructions, called *Futhûl Muhajidin*, or the *Triumph of the Holy Warriors*. This is a code of regulations for every department, rank, movement, &c. &c. of his army, and is a curious production. An ample specimen of it is translated by General Kirkpatrick, and given in the appendix. We can afford room only to notice, that, after describing the former comparative superiority of European tactics, it is observed to exist no longer in those opposed to the sultan. “ Since the latter had improved so greatly in the science of war, as to *leave his masters at an infinite distance*, especially in the *ordnance department*; and this is described as the more remarkable, because the Nazarenes, (or Christians) possessed a capability, like the salamander, of living in fire.” Ap. p: lxvii.

The sword, as well as the pen of the historiographer, was called into action in the service of the sultan. On the former, however, Tippoo seems to have placed no great reliance;—for in many letters addressed to him in this collection, he is bitterly reproached for misconduct and pusillanimity. “ Such conduct,”

he writes to him on one occasion, "causes in us the utmost amazement, is utterly irreconcilable with every idea of courage, and warrants a suspicion of absolute cowardice in you." P. 166. This seems sufficiently severe to a military commander; but the full measure of the sultan's wrath against this unfortunate poet is not yet poured out. "It appears to us, from all the letters which reach us from you, that you have conceived a mortal dread of the accursed tribe to which you are opposed. Neither the chastisement of that worthless crew, nor the proper settlement of our affairs in that quarter, can therefore be expected from you." P. 170. This relates to an expedition into Malabar, a warfare in which Tippoo, as well as the English, ever experienced the most mortifying disasters, and ignoble loss. Tippoo notices the great expenditure of ammunition in this unprofitable bush-fighting.—"We are curious to know," he sarcastically writes, "and desire you will inform us, how many of the enemy have been sent to hell by the expenditure of such a number of cartridges. One hundred of your men being wounded, no doubt great numbers of the enemy must have been slain." P. 171. The military penman is then reproached with forgetting the rules laid down in his own work for conducting a warfare in a close and woody country, and directed to conform thereto in his future operations: the sultan intimating, however, his intention of repairing in person to that quarter, with an *inconsiderable* force, with which he should utterly destroy the enemy. P. 172.

We may here notice with propriety the anathematising illiberality with which Tippoo, in common, indeed, with many of the intolerant followers of Islam, speaks of his opponents.

"The account of Gunaish Bheru's arrival in hell has been received. We only require the blessing of God to attend us, in order to the speedy removal of whatever superfluous hairs are remaining. Many such are always coming, and many going. The favour of God continues our aid and support." P. 384.

This refers to a Hindù, against whom Tippoo's bigoted hatred was strongly excited. The following is applied to his own kindred in faith and blood—to the adherents of the Nawab of Shahnour, to whose family the sultan was related by a double intermarriage. It is taken from his own Memoirs.

"I was myself with the first column when challenged by these scorpions, and forbade to advance. I directed a company of my advanced guard to reply with fire, when a volley was instantly discharged by the foremost company of the victorious army amongst the scorpions, which sent numbers of the said scorpions to hell." P. 427.

Among the fulminations issuing from the bitter pen of the sultan, an adequate share, it may be well supposed, is directed against the English: "Those accursed ones" are "sent to hell," occurs in every page of his Memoirs relating to the operations against these hated adversaries. On General Mathews and the unfortunate army led by their adverse destiny into the power of Tippoo at Bednore, he emits his venom with unrestrained rancour. His self-complacency on such a triumphant occasion may be conceived; and we can, with fancied ease, trace the progress of his hatred from the pen that insults the ill-fated victims, to the dagger and the bowl, that put them beyond the reach of his treachery.

"I, being then seated at the distance of a hundred yards, rapidly advanced with a division, when about sixty of the English were sent to hell." On another occasion, "about two hundred of these good-for-nothing people were sent to hell. A few persons, too, of the army of the Ahmedy Sirkar tasted the sherbet of martyrdom; and one officer, being wounded, was carried off by the Nazarenes." App. p. iv. Such is the phraseology adopted by Mahomedan writers when relating the death of friend or foe. All the *faithful* slain in battle against infidels are inrolled in their vast army of martyrs—they gently slide out of the world sipping the sherbet of martyrdom; tasting the nectar of immortality, or inhaling the odours of beatitude. The destination of the other party needs no repetition.

A curious account is given in the Memoirs of the formation of his Ahmedy* corps, or favourite regiment; one of the earliest measures of his reign: and as it marks the man, we will briefly notice his relation, how "the Portuguese Nazarenes, about three hundred years ago, obtaining permission to establish themselves (at Goa), forced the people to embrace their false religion, and flourished to the extent of eighty or a hundred idol temples, in each of which they placed a Padré or two, whose religion was, in fact, that of the Guebres, (or ancient Persians, pyrolaters). When, by the divine favour, and through the aid of the asylum of prophecy (Mahommed), and the conquering lion of God (Ali), the port of Kurial (Mangalore), fell into our hands; the odious proceedings of these accursed Padres became fully known to us, and caused our zeal for the holy faith to boil over." He proceeds to relate how, in this state of ebullition, he caused exact lists to be prepared of the habitations of all the Christians

* Ahmed is a name of Mahommed, derived from an Arabic root, meaning *praise*. The first month of the Mahomedan year, Tippoo's largest current coin, his favourite corps, &c. are called *ahmedy*, by way of distinction.

throughout his dominions, and had officers and soldiers stationed at every place so inhabited, with sealed orders to be opened at a certain hour of a certain day. "Accordingly our orders were every where opened at the same moment, and every Christian, male or female, without exception, were made prisoners, and dispatched to our presence. Those fit to bear arms were enrolled, and ultimately admitted to the honour of Islamism; and the appellation of Ahmedy was bestowed on the collective body."

P. 59. This corps was not, however, composed exclusively of converts from Christianity. Soon after its establishment, it received a considerable accession of strength in captives from the Koorg country. The males were compelled to embrace the Mahomedan faith, and enrolled among the Ahmedies; and his commanders received orders to treat these new *converts* with the greatest tenderness, and, "in short, to consider them as more precious than their own souls." P. 60.

Respecting his devastating visit to Koorg, the following entry is made in the sultan's Memoirs, which is the more worthy of attention, as it adverts also to a curious, but well authenticated, custom among the Nairs.

"When I arrived I sent for all the leaders of the rebels, and delivered into their hands written mandates to the following effect: It is the custom with you for the eldest of five brothers to marry, and for the wife of such brother to be common to all five; hence, there cannot be the slightest or remotest doubt of your being all bastards and whoresons. This is about the seventh time that you have acted treasonably towards the Sirkar, and plundered our armies: I have now, therefore, vowed to the true God, that if you ever again conduct yourself traiterously or wickedly, I will not revile or molest a single individual among you, but making Ahmedies, (i. e. Mussulmans) of the whole of you, transplant you all from this country to some other; by which means, from being illegitimate, your progeny or descendants may become legitimate, and the epithet of whoresons may belong no longer to your tribe." P. 207.

This threat doth not appear to have quieted this turbulent and high-spirited people; for such instructions as the following still appear in the sultan's letters to his military commanders.

"You are, in conjunction with —, to make a general attack on the Koorgs, when having put to the sword or made prisoners the whole of them, both *the slain* and the prisoners are to be made Mussulmans," (i. e. circumcised). P. 150.

And the threat was accordingly, as far as was in the sultan's power, carred into execution, as intimated in the following artful letter, a sort of Fateh namah, addressed to a Mahomedan chieftain,

suspected of an intention to attempt the recovery of a portion of his country, of which he had been recently bereft by the sultan.

“ Some time ago, while we happened to be making a progress, slightly attended, for the purpose of inspecting the forts of Bangalore, &c. the exciter of sedition in the Koorg country not looking to the probable consequences of such conduct, but agreeably to the nature of the children of selfishness, and of opportunity-watching, rebels, conceiving vain hopes from the great distance of our victorious army, raised their heads, one and all, in tumult. Immediately on our hearing of this circumstance, we proceeded with the utmost speed, and at once made prisoners of forty thousand occasion-seeking and sedition-exciting Koorgs, who, alarmed at the approach of our victorious army, had slunk into woods, and concealed themselves in lofty mountains, inaccessible even to birds. Then carrying them away from their native country, (the native place of sedition) we raised them to the honour of Islâm, and incorporated them with our band of Ahmedies. As these happy tidings are calculated, at once, to convey a *warning to hypocrites*, and to afford delight to friends, but more especially to the chiefs of true believers, the pen of amity has here traced them for your information.” P. 229.

Examples of his rigid severity, oppression, rapacity, treachery, indifference to the interests or feelings of his subjects high and low, and other debasing traits in his character, might be multiplied to a great extent. The following extracts from his letters, taken without much regard to connection or arrangement, may more than suffice.

“ You must examine the accounts of the said districts in the strictest manner. On this occasion you must flog without favour or partiality to any, all such persons, as, adopting the practices of ingratitude, have defrauded the Sirkar. By these means let the payment of our dues be enforced.” P. 79. On another occasion of supposed embezzlement, he says, “ let the claims of the Sirkar, upon the aforesaid collector and others, be realized by means of flogging.” P. 440. With an embassy proceeding to Constantinople, he sent some elephants, which became *must* or unruly, from the effects of the season on their constitutions. On this occasion he thus writes to his ambassador: “ It is owing to the whoreson tricks and roguery of the keepers that the elephants have been made to get hot: you must, therefore, flog them (the keepers) well. If, after all, one of the elephants proceeding with you should continue hot, you must separate him from the others by putting him on board a different vessel, giving him the proper medicines for expelling his heat.” P. 233.

“ What you state respecting the misconduct of the Brahmans is

known. That you should have suffered men, subject to your authority, to act so presumptuously, and not have put a stop to the business by scourging and punishing them well, must be owing to your great age. You write, 'that you have separately examined them, and that one lays the blame on the other.' Instead of this, let them be separately flogged; and then, after duly interrogating them, let each man write down his statement of the matter with his own hand," &c. P. 214.

This last command was addressed to his ambassadors at Poona, a Brahman government. To his commanders besieging the fort of Nergood, he writes, in the true spirit of Nadir Shah, the following ferocious mandate.

"Let the ditch be filled, and let the place be stormed and taken. If, however, the place will capitulate, it will be well; and in this case, with the exception of Kala Pundit, the rest may be allowed their lives and arms: but the Pundit's person must be secured. In the event, however, of the assault of the place, *every living creature in it, whether man or woman, old or young, child, dog, cat, or any thing else, must be put to the sword*, with the single exception of Kala Pundit. What more?" P. 114.

The following was, perhaps, meant more in terrorem than for adoption.

"If the people persist in coming to your house they shall be deprived of their ears and noses. Pay strict attention to this order. It is surprising to us, that you should act in opposition to your instructions. Perhaps you have laid them by in the niche of forgetfulness." P. 303.

"It has been represented to us that —, an accountant, belonging to —, is at the point of death, and that his brother-in-law is at Oussoor: we therefore write, to direct that you cause guards to be placed over his brother-in-law and his agents; and that, having made enquiries respecting his substance and property, you proceed by means of scourging the parties, to obtain possession of the same. You and others formerly represented to us that this man possessed property to the amount of a lakh (100,000) of pagodas. Let the same be sought after and discovered, and the whole be brought to the account of the Sirkar. What more?" P. 145.

Here appears no presumption that his dying servant was a public defaulter, or that his relations stood on any ground of responsibility. It was enough that they were suspected of being wealthy.

He saw occasion to establish a manufactory of muskets in a certain town.

"If, for this purpose, it should be necessary to pull down forty

or fifty houses belonging to poor people, it will not signify." P. 193.

No mention is made of any compensation to those thus deprived of their habitations.

The long letter, No. 159, is a series of insidious and treacherous instructions for the discovery and extortion of money, that could have occurred to none but a mind habituated to the contemplation of plunder. The devastators of Spain and Portugal might profit by a due consideration of this villanous production; for the whole of which we have not room, and it would be *injured* by abridgment.

His unfeeling insolence to his servants, even of the highest rank, is striking. His ambassadors at Poona had interfered to reconcile some differences in which a Mussulman woman was concerned.

"Where," he writes, "was the necessity of your interfering in this matter? It seems to us, that old age must have produced this deviation in your conduct, and rendered you thus unmindful of your lives and honour. When the Nazarenes seized upon hundreds of Mussulman women, where then was that zeal for the honour of Islâm, that you now are so desirous of manifesting? Let the fire of discord be again kindled, that they (the Mahrattas) may, in this manner, waste their strength on each other." P. 149. Again to the same, after, as usual, recapitulating the contents of their letters under acknowledgment, he writes:

"It is comprehended. All this arises from your neglect. That your people should act in this improper manner, and that you, instead of punishing them for so doing, should complain of them to us, is attributed to your great age, and to the climate of that place, (Poona)." P. 195.

Many orders, similar to the following, are unblushingly addressed to his military commanders and others of the highest rank of persons in his dominions.

"Confront him, (a suspected person) with —, and after establishing his guilt, and placing him under a guard, tell him, 'that you will release him, provided he sends for his family.' Having thus induced him by means of this artifice to send for his family, you must put the whole of them in confinement, and make a report of the circumstance to us." P. 128.

"Crucify the miscreant Moona Kool, and send for his family and keep them in irons. If the nephew of Moona Kool should be more than twenty-five years of age, crucify him also." P. 242.

This devoted family, however, adopted a step, not unusual with the high-minded classes of Hindus, as a refuge from dis-

honour. This dreadful event is thus noticed by Tippoo, in reply to a letter informing him of the circumstance, with an indifference that marks his character.

“ You write, ‘ that the villain Goorkul being wounded, had thrown himself, together with his wife and children, into a fire kindled for the purpose, which had consumed them all.’—It is known.” P. 315.

This ought to have been a lesson for the tyrannical bigot; but it was not; and he has met his fate.

Letter 389 directs a certain commander to chastise the turbulent and seditious, wherever they may raise the head of revolt; and, “ after making them prisoners, to place those of tender years in the Ahmedy band, and to hang the remainder.”

“ You write, &c. &c. It is known. Ten years ago from ten to fifteen thousand men were hung upon the trees of that district; since which time, the aforesaid trees have been waiting for [or been in expectation of] more men. You must, therefore, hang upon trees all such of the inhabitants of that district as have taken a lead in these rebellious proceedings.” P. 381.

“ We are much pleased with the account you have given of the chastisement of the enemy, and of your having taken six prisoners and twelve horses from them. This behaviour was worthy of your noble descent, and of your fidelity to us.

“ Let the prisoners be strangled, and let the horses, after being duly valued and paid for to the captors, be taken into the service of the Sirkar.” P. 459.

“ We write again, to say that — must be secured, either by stratagem or deceit. With respect to —, if he be one of the insurgents, he must be suspended on a tree. —. The head of an enemy is best when hurled from the head of a javelin: as a path-way is best, whence the bramble has been rooted out.” P. 189. “ Write a letter to —; invite him to come to you, and then seize upon his person.” P. 141.

Notwithstanding these little peculiarities of disposition, his highness the sultan was very particular in preserving a proper degree of decorum among his subjects, and in regulating the morals and manners of his courtiers.

“ It has come to our knowledge, through the channel of the Canareese newspapers, that —, notwithstanding his toothlessness, [i. e. his great age] and his experience, during his recent visit to us, of the ups and downs of the presence [our disposition in this respect] has forgotten himself so far as to resume his former passion for the exhibition of dancing, which he knows to be highly repugnant to our pleasure. *This is a sign of superfluous wealth.* But wherefore have you remained silent on this occasion; and why have you not forbidden his pursuit of this amusement?” P. 453.

In one of his ordinances, he prohibits the practices of rising for the purpose of receiving or saluting any one; of shaking or of kissing hands; and of embracing when friends meet; all which are declared to be odious customs, and contrary to the commands of the prophet. It concludes with directing, that, as all true believers are brethren (or equal) they shall desist from these unlawful practices, and confine their mutual salutations to the compliment of 'peace be with you,' and its response, 'to you be peace.' App. p. xci.

The sultan's procedure with respect to a love affair in which one of his officers had imprudently engaged, is really worthy of admiration. The sultan insisted on its being broken off, and the lover resenting this interference, threatened, as is not unusual with Mussulmans under the influence of temporary chagrin or disappointment, to make a pilgrimage to Mekka.

"Abandon your vain desire of proceeding to the holy temple, and apply yourself to the affairs of the Sirkar. This is the most advisable thing you can do." P. 463.

This was, no doubt, very good advice, but the sultan did not expect that it would be readily adopted, as appears by the following letter addressed the same day to different officers of the government in Calicut, in which city the admonished party held a high office.

"Dissuade — from his vain purpose of repairing to the house of God (Mecca). Try, at first, as far as you may be able, the effect of fair persuasion; and if this should not succeed, you must, of necessity, confine him. You must, likewise, imprison the courtesan, who has been the cause of this affair." P. 464.

On the lover's "coming again to his senses," he was restored to his office; and the woman in question was released and "driven from Calicut."

The scientific attainments of the sultan are well illustrated in the following amusing passage:

"The barometer which you (M. Cossigny, governor of Pondicherry) sent us is very complete, excepting in the article of quicksilver, which, owing to its *oldness*, does not move up and down. It is therefore returned to you, and you must send another good one in its stead, that has been made in the present year." P. 463.

General Kirkpatrick agrees in opinion with Colonel Beatson, that, notwithstanding all the severity and minuteness of the sultan's regulations, no prince was ever so grossly imposed upon.

The ambition and arrogance of the sultan led him to the contemplation of a navy of twenty sail of the line and as many fri-

gates. In an ordinance preserved in the appendix, a code of regulations is laid down for his future navy, and an estimate of its expense on this extensive establishment. But, notwithstanding his resources and wealth have, on several occasions, proved greater than could, in reason, have been imagined; it is clear to us, that such a navy greatly exceeded his means, in respect both to its construction and expense: points on which his ideas appear to have been crude and imperfect. The marine code is dated in 1796; and although the ships are therein ordered to be constructed with all possible dispatch, no progress appears to have been made in this projected navy, beyond the code for its regulation, and naming the ships. The duties of all the officers and men are duly detailed, from the board of admiralty at the capital down to the lowest ranks. Of these we shall notice only a part of the avocations of the fourth lieutenant, which also include the superintendence of cooking and issuing the provisions; and "*if, on any occasion,*" continues the ordinance, "*a cannon shot, which God avert, should strike the ship, it is the business of the fourth officer to see the damage instantly repaired, &c.*"

Almost all the letters and documents comprehended in this volume were originally written in Persian. We did not suppose that language to have been so extensively known in Mysore, although we were aware that it received great encouragement from the sultan, as is evinced by the noble collection of books that fell into the hands of the captors; of which Mr. Professor Stewart has favoured us with a valuable catalogue. Notwithstanding, however, this seeming encouragement of literature, we have reason to suspect the sultan's learning to have been very scanty, and his taste contemptible indeed. The petty tyrant of the east, like his mightier brother of the west, tolerated and encouraged in his courtiers and slaves language of the basest adulation. Tippoo had his composers of encomiastics, periodical and perennial. One of his letters contains directions how to instruct four intelligent children and "the dancers" in the due recitation and performance of the "encomiastic odes." Gen. Kirkpatrick is, fortunately, in possession of a copy of these delectable compositions, ninety-six in number, all, with the exception of the concluding distich of each, which is in Persian, in the Hindiuy dialect. They consist of the most fulsome and hyperbolical praises of the sultan, and of disparaging allusions to the English, Mahrattahs, and the Nizam. The style is extremely uncouth; and Gen. Kirkpatrick has no hesitation in affirming, that they are utterly destitute of every species of poetical merit. Of these curious compositions, which were set to music, and sung

or recited at appointed seasons and hours of the day, he has favoured us with specimens, some of which we will extract, as sufficiently indicating the taste of the sultan.

“ When the Rustum-hearted king rushed forward [or charged] on the ruksh * of his anger, then did the hearts of the lions of Europe, [i. e. the English] quake with dread.

“ The flash of his sabre struck the army of Bailey like lightning: it caused Munro to shed tears, resembling the drops from spring clouds.

On Laing's heart was fixed a stain like that of the tulip: Coote was made by this calamity to lament like a hyacinth.

“ When the Mahrattahs behold this army of our king, the dread thereof causes them to flee like deer.

“ The Fringy, [i. e. the European, the Frank], and the Nizam, pass night and day together, trembling with fear of our king.

“ When mankind behold the liberality and munificence of our king, they exclaim, with one accord, ‘ Hâtim was an absolute miser compared to him; Socrates, Hippocrates, all the sages of the earth, appear before him like to the most ignorant children.’ ”

But, perhaps, none of the flights with which this extraordinary performance abounds are equal in extravagance to the following.

“ Owing to the justice of this king, the deer of the forest make their pillow of the lion and the tiger, and their mattress of the leopard and the panther.” P. 393.

The sultan's rage for innovation impelled him to the constant inversion of a consolatory line; he seemed to think, that ‘ whatever is, is wrong.’ He new-named his country; his cities; his forts; his army in every branch and rank; his coins, weights, and measures; he invented new cycles and modes of notation. His new calendar is discussed at length, and with great talent, patience, and success, in an article prefixed to the work before us. And in an appendix are given fac similes of several curious subjects;—historical sketches of some of the principalities or states depending upon, or bordering on, Mysore;—ordinances of the sultan for the establishment and regulation of his commercial, military, and naval departments, &c. &c. On most of these are offered copious and intelligent notes and comments, which super-added to those appended to the body of the work, furnish such an aggregate of authentic information on the genius and manners of East Indian courts, courtiers, and people, as will be sought in vain in any other work within our immediate recollection.

An opportunity may hereafter be offered to us of recurring to

* Ruksh was the name of the horse of the Persian hero, Rustum.

some of these topics ; for the probability of a second volume, composed of unpublished materials still in the hands of General Kirkpatrick, is adverted to, provided the reception of this by the public, and the health of the editor should be such as to render an extension of the work expedient. We earnestly hope that both these contingencies will prove auspicious.

ART. XXI.—*Voyages and Travels in the Years 1809, 1810, 1811; containing Statistical, Commercial, and Miscellaneous Observations on Gibraltar, Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, Serigo, and Turkey.* By John Galt. London: Cadell and Davies. 1812.

SHUT out from the continent as we have been for several years past, the researches of our travellers have been almost exclusively directed to the countries situated near the Mediterranean. This field is without doubt one of the most interesting on the face of the globe, affording to the inquisitive observer ample matter as well political and commercial, as historical and classical. Our naval superiority over the enemy has hitherto opposed to him an insuperable barrier to his ambitious views in that quarter; and has afforded to us every facility in the acquisition of information.

Mr. Galt has been early in submitting his observations to the press; and we cannot feel surprised at his promptitude in coming before the public, when we consider in the first place the unexampled celerity with which the remarks of travellers are at this period both read and sold; and, in the second place, the lively interest which the British nation has taken, as well in the fate of Sicily as in the termination of the sanguinary contest between Russia and Turkey. It is our task to give an unbiassed view of the opinions which this gentleman has published, and from our own slender stock of information to correct such errors as he appears to us to have committed either through prejudice or inadvertence. And here we must beg leave to premise, that it is principally the interest which at this juncture every Englishman must feel in the scenes described by Mr. Galt which has induced us to take critical notice of the work. Many of his observations are certainly valuable; particularly those which relate to commerce. His political views are however developed with a want of diffidence, which we might little have expected in a writer, whose habits and pursuits ought to have convinced

him of his great and manifest unfitness for political discussions. His style also is loaded with affectations, and is altogether very unlike that of a man of scholastic education and habits. The ignorance displayed in many of his allusions to antiquity is disgraceful in one who aspires to the dignity of authorship; and it was probably a sense of his imperfections in this department that induced him on one occasion to rank antiquaries with vermin.

After a few preliminary observations on the Mediterranean, such as are to be found in the ordinary geographical books, Mr. Galt transports his readers to Gibraltar: there we are favoured with a few superficial observations on the port, which he concludes with an expression of surprise, that the British government have not imposed a toll on the passage of all vessels to and from the Mediterranean.

His description of the island of Sardinia is rather interesting, as to its matter, however much we may disapprove of the manner: we lay the following extract before our readers.

“The state of society in Sardinia is probably not unlike what existed in Scotland about a hundred and fifty years ago. Family pride, a species of political scrophula, is in Sardinia particularly inveterate. But the exclusive spirit of the nobles begins to be counteracted by the natural disposition of the sovereign to extend his own authority. Many parts of the country are in what a politician considers only as an unsatisfactory state. In the district of Tempio this is greatly the case; the mountains are infested with banditti, and the villages are often at war with one another. A feudal animosity of this kind, which had lasted upwards of half a century, was lately pacified by the interference of a monk. The armies of the two villages, amounting each to about four hundred men, were on an appointed day drawn out in order of battle, front to front, and musquets loaded. Not far from the spot the monk had a third host prepared, consisting of his own brethren, with all the crucifixes and images that they could muster. He addressed the belligerents, stating the various sins and wrongs that they had respectively committed, and shewing that the period had arrived when their disputes should cease, the account current of aggressions being then balanced. The stratagem had the desired effect, and a general reconciliation took place. The Sardinians have yet much to learn, not only in civil intercourse, but in the delicacies that should attend it.

“The country is divided into prefectures. The prefect is a lawyer, and is assisted by a military commandant, who furnishes the forces required to carry his warrants into effect. This regulation has been made in the course of the present reign, and may be regarded as an important step towards the establishment of a public and regal authority over the baronial privileges. In the provinces justice is distributed by the prefects, whose functions seem to cor-

respond in many respects with those of the Scottish sheriffs. When any particular case occurs in which the king considers it expedient to appoint a judge of the supreme court in the capital, on purpose to try the cause on the spot, wherever this extraordinary justiciary passes, the provincial courts of justice are silent, and superseded by his presence. There are no periodical circuits of the justices.

“The judges receive a small stipend from the king, upon which they cannot subsist. They are allowed also a certain sum for each award that they deliver, which has the effect of making them greedy of jurisdiction, and interested in promoting revisions. The administration of justice is in consequence precarious, and gifts to the judges are of powerful advocacy.

“In a country where the government has so little power in the detail of ruling, and where the rectitude of the laws is so enfeebled by the chicane of the courts, it is natural that the people should often surrender themselves to their bad passions. The Sardis possess, to an eminent degree, the venerable savage virtue of hospitality. They are courageous, and think and act with a bold and military arrogance; but the impunity with which they may offend, fosters their natural asperity. They are jealous of the Piedmontese; and on this account the king has not encouraged emigration from his late continental dominions to settle in Sardinia. In their political revolutions they have sometimes acted with an admirable concert and spirit. Not many years before the arrival of the Royal Family they had some reason to be discontented with the conduct of the viceroy and his ministers; and, in consequence, with one accord, they seized, at the same time, both on him and on all Piedmontese officers, and sent them home without turbulence or the shedding of any blood.

“In a country where the inhabitants still wear skins, and titles remain in a great degree territorial, it is not to be expected that learning and the arts of polished life can have made any interesting degree of progress. There is, however, an institution in Cagliari worthy of being particularly noticed. It is formed for the purpose, as it were, of affording an opportunity to humble-born genius to expand and acquire distinction. The children of the peasants are invited to come into the city, where they serve in families for their food and lodging, on condition of being allowed to attend the schools of the institution.

“They are called *majoli*, and wear a kind of uniform, with which they are provided by their friends. Some of the *majoli* rise to high situations: the greater number, however, return back to the provinces, and relapse into their hereditary rusticity; but the effects of their previous instruction remain; and sometimes, in remote and obscure valleys, the traveller meets with a peasant who in the uncouth and savage garb of the country, shews a tincture of the polish and intelligence of the town.”

His other observations on this island are characterized with no small degree of presumption; and it might have been as well if, instead of confining himself to such general and petulant remarks on the conduct of our government in its relations with the court of Cagliari, he had specified some particular ground for his invectives. We should be gladly informed in what manner any thing "public can be done to encourage the British merchants to explore the abundant commercial resources of Sardinia." This island is freely open to the enterprize and speculations of our merchants. Their interests are under the safeguard of a minister to whose exertions in favour of trade Mr. Galt himself bears ample testimony. As to his assertion that "in every thing that relates to mercantile concerns all our treaties have hitherto been singular monuments of official ignorance and presumption," he should be reminded that such assertion can make no way among his readers without the evidence of facts, which he seems too magnificent to impart to us; and when he tells us that these treaties are drawn up by men "only versed in files and precedents," it may not have occurred to him, that all our treaties of commerce are drawn up by the committee of council for the affairs of trade, from a great body of information laid before them by the principal and leading merchants of the country, which may even put them upon a level with Mr. Galt; and no better proof can be given of the advantages which have resulted from their exertions than the progressively increasing state of the trade.

Leaving Sardinia in a Maltese packet, our traveller is landed at Girgenti, in Sicily. The extent of the ruins of Agrigentum undoubtedly tend in every way to corroborate the accounts handed down to us by Polybius, Diodorus, and other of the ancients concerning its wealth, power, and population, by which it so frequently opposed the immense armies of the Carthaginians, and of the Romans. Mr. Galt nevertheless very deliberately tells us, that "he can never now believe that it was really any thing but a *Sicilian town*, when the island was *probably a little more* prosperous than *at present*." (P. 17.) Nor has he been fortunate in his remarks on the magnificent ruins of the temples of Juno and of Concord,—of which he observes with true homebred simplicity, "that the church of St. Martin's in the Fields, *London*, is larger than both of them put together, and infinitely more magnificent"!!! The fact is, that each of these splendid ruins is above 126 feet long, and above 53 feet wide; and his comparison of them with his parish church in London, reminds us of the countryman, who when the great

lion in the Tower was shewn to him exclaimed, that it was nothing in point of size to "our big ox at home."

The temple of Concord (designated by Mr. Galt, in true jockey-like language, to be "*in fine condition*," (p. 17.), in the early times of Christianity was converted into a church, and subsequently dedicated to St. Gregory de la Rape, a canonized bishop of that city. To this circumstance we are probably indebted for the preservation* of this beautiful edifice. Who but Mr. Galt could ever have dreamt, that "the parts had been collected and replaced on each other?" A task nearly as arduous as the building of a new temple. The king new pointed it—secured some of the loose stones by iron, and disfigured it by an immense inscription, recording at once his munificence and want of taste. Luckily for the admirers of ancient architecture, Mr. Galt is not the only English author on whom we have to depend for an account of these remains. In the correct and scientific publication of Mr. Wilkins, on the Antiquities of Magna Græcia, is preserved a specimen of the magnificence and elegance of these venerable monuments of art.

Mr. Galt is of opinion that the population of Sicily is gradually increasing, and says, that "the fact," as he is pleased to call it, "is incontrovertibly established by recent extracts from the parochial registers." We have, in a previous number, given our decided opinion on this subject, formed, as our readers may have observed, from some acquaintance with the country. Mr. Galt's observations relative to Sicily were made a twelvemonth previous to our own. At that period no publication had appeared, as far as we know, from which we could obtain this *fact*: and we have much to regret that Mr. Galt has not favoured us with the exposition of his authorities. Without such documents we must beg leave still to differ from his opinion, which we do with the less difficulty, as we find in his observations on the estimate of the population of Palermo, that he is ignorant of the *fact*, that the numbers contained in the district belonging to each Sicilian town are always included in the nominal amount of the population of the town itself. He seems to suppose the number to exist actually within the walls. Neither is this the only point in which we are at variance with our author. We cannot, for example, agree, "that Sicily has, within the last 10 years, exhibited decided symptoms of improvement." We are told, "that this fact" also "is confirmed by

* Christianity has also preserved the temple of Theseus, at Athens; which is now the church of St. George.

the testimony of those who have made the statistics of the country their study ;” but in what manner, or where it is so confirmed, we are left to divine. It is not merely “ the residences of the nobility in the capital” which have fallen to ruin, those on their estates are in the same decayed condition, and all the more modern edifices are inferior to them, both in the proportions and the solidity of architecture. Neither do we believe that this disadvantage is compensated by any favourable change in the state of the inferior orders of society. But the whole of Mr. Galt’s observations on these subjects, as well as on the state of politics, and of society in the court and city of Palermo, appear to us so superficial and unworthy of attention, that we shall take the liberty of substituting for any criticism upon them in this place, a detailed statement, derived from our own sources of information, of the late revolutions and events in Sicily, which we trust will afford both amusement and instruction to our readers.

Sicily has for centuries had the misfortune to be held by a powerful continental sovereign, and consequently her interests have been little consulted. In return, the Sicilians have always detested their oppressors. The court of Naples by no means changed this system, and the oppression of the lower classes was complete. That court has been uniformly considered as a combination of foreigners, and when these feelings ought to have been prudently removed by the government; when, upon the French driving them from Italy, Sicily became their last stake; and their only chance of safety rested in the love of their remaining subjects; instead of having recourse to acts of conciliation, they continued the old oppressions in the most vexatious forms.

It was certainly *primâ facie* an advantage to Sicily that the court should remove from Naples to Palermo. The Sicilians were aware of this, and a little prudence would have made them zealously attached to the Bourbon family. But the court was attended by a crowd of Neapolitans—every office was given to these emigrants, and pensions were granted to those on whom there was no office to bestow. His majesty’s first object was to secure to himself a sufficient tract of country for his favourite amusements of the chase; and for this purpose the inhabitants of Palermo were deprived of the right of shooting in the vicinity of the capital. Another royal hunting residence was also provided at Figuzza, about 20 miles from the town.

Soon after the arrival of the court the usual routine was established. The queen was permitted to engross the reins of government, and to exercise a despotic sway, while the king was absorbed

in his customary sports and pastimes. The revenues of Sicily were soon found to be inadequate to the expenditure of a court ruled by favouritism and caprice, and in which individuals were only crowded together to administer to each other's voluptuousness. The queen, it is well known, established a private system of espionage under an Italian adventurer of the name of Castromi, and the jails were filled with persons surreptitiously sent thither, or condemned without trial; and it was hazardous in the extreme for any to venture to inquire into the ground of their detention. The private expences of the queen were supposed to amount to more than the subsidy received from Great Britain.

The troops were suddenly augmented from about 6000 to thrice that number, and a part of the subsidy was, for the sake of appearances, necessarily appropriated to the repairing of the fortifications at Trapani, and the erecting of batteries at Palermo. In addition to these heavy expences, her majesty found it absolutely necessary to take care that the king suffered no deprivations, which might induce him to make any inquiries into the conduct of public affairs.

The whole revenue of Sicily could not be considered as equal to 700,000*l.* per ann. including the British subsidy, as is evident from the detail of the finances now lying before us; but the expenditure was not less than twice that sum. To supply the deficiency, the court at first laid their hands on the ecclesiastical benefices as they became vacant; they were not filled up till after a considerable interval: and even a moiety of the revenue was in general reserved. The monasteries were also constrained to pay a large proportion of their income either to the queen or to branches of the royal family. The senates of the different towns who were in possession of funds for the purchase of grain, and other municipal purposes (*vide* Mr. Leckie's work on Sicily), were obliged to resign them in exchange for paper securities, the king pledging his credit for the regular payment of the interest, which it was well known he had not the power to make good. Several private individuals who were known to have sums in their hands, even on trust, were also called upon to make the same sacrifice.

Even these extortions were not adequate to the wants of the crown; and at length they were obliged to look forward to the summoning of a parliament, in whom alone the power of imposing taxes legally resided.

The constitution of Sicily exists much in the same state as it was founded by Roger the Norman, who conquered that island about the same time that his cousin William succeeded in establishing himself upon the English throne. The lands belong-

ing to the Saracens that were driven out, he divided into three parts; one he gave to the church—another he granted in military tenure to his followers, and the third he reserved to himself. The present parliament consists of three bodies representing these three divisions. The royal proportion is sent by the royal burghs, and consists of very few members (about 40): these have a right to vote by proxy; and as no advantage attends being a member, the solicitors for the towns in general are returned; and the prætor of Palermo, who is their president, has always a majority of proxies in his pocket. The crown can return whom they please to this house, and of course command its vote. The episcopal house consists of the archbishops, bishops, and certain abbots. This house is greatly influenced by the crown, but not commanded. The baronial house consists of 103 barons. The number of fiefs which give votes is 280: many of these of course are united in one baron by descent or purchase, and are constantly varying. Prince Butera has 12 fiefs, and consequently 12 votes, as for each fief a baron had a vote in parliament.

The power of taxation lies in these three separate houses—any donative to the king, voted by a majority (two) of the houses or branches as it is called, on receiving the king's consent, is binding on the nation. They do not seem to have exercised any other right of legislation, nor to have discovered the English system of tacking acts to money bills.

The baronial, which is the most important house, has ever been courted by the sovereign; Charles the Fifth, in his instructions to his viceroy, said, "that with them every thing might be done, without them nothing."

The barons are representatives of their fiefs, and not hereditary peers, except that their entails are perpetual, without the permission of the court first obtained for alienation. They have no exemption from arrest. The granting of this is claimed by the crown, and gives them a great influence over the poorer barons. Many families have been reduced to poverty by the sale of entailed estates under the permission of the crown.

When the parliament is not sitting, a body called the *Deputati del Regno* is deputed by them to watch over the appropriation of the moneys granted for the public service. Mr. Leckie, with equal justice and humour, calls them the executors of the parliament. They consist of twelve members, four from each branch. Of these the barons were, at the period we are now treating of, (1810) Butera, Torremuza, Camastro, and Campo Franco, and the ecclesiastics, the Archbishop of Mon-

reale, Serio, D'Antonio, Filipponi; and the burghers, Prince Cuto, prætor of Palermo; Cavaliere, Gargello, and Bosco.

It is useless to say any thing respecting the abuses of the constitution, the oppressions of the senates, and the evils under which the Sicilians labour, from the absurdity of the municipal regulations, the privileges of the barons, the iniquity of the tribunal of patrimony, or the total corruption of the courts of law. Any one who wishes for information on these points will find it in Mr. Leckie's well-known work. This gentleman obtained his knowledge by actual observation and most indefatigable perseverance; and, as far as relates to Sicily, is now acknowledged by the world to have faithfully represented her situation, and to have well understood the changes which would conduce to her real benefit.

Adversity had not yet taught her majesty that the veil which covered royalty from the inspection of the lower orders had been removed; and she considered herself as safe from any attempt on the part of the parliament to limit her authority, or even to resist any part of the demands which she intended to make upon them. Some of her real friends, and among others the Duke of Orleans, who had married her daughter, were of a different opinion, and at length persuaded her to summon Prince Belmonte and some other principal barons to her cabinet, in order to lay before them the real state of the finances, and the necessity of an additional grant to the crown. They assembled but once, for the Marquis Circello refused to produce any of the documents they required, and they soon found that they were only considered as an useful cloak to the designs of the court, who wished to throw on them the unpopularity of the new impositions. Had her majesty candidly thrown herself on the Sicilian nation, it is probable that the barons would have exerted themselves in her favour, and she would have received from them every augmentation of revenue that the country was able to bear; but she was aware that in opening the account of the expenditure, the sums lavished on her spies, and her Neapolitans, would appear as the chief cause of her embarrassment, and would be decidedly objected to by Prince Belmonte; who, though attached to the king by the ties of personal friendship, was too sincere a patriot to sacrifice the Sicilian nation to the fears or caprices of the queen. Sooner than submit, her majesty determined to meet the parliament, irritated as the whole nation was by the oppressions under which they laboured, and deeply as the barons felt the insult which had been just offered. And the parliament did in fact meet on the 14th February, 1810.

Belmonte moved, that the sum of 360,000 ounces, which the king had applied for, should be reduced to 150,000 ounces, and the barons agreed with him. The lower house of course voted as the court directed; and the episcopal house, influenced by their president the archbishop of Monreale, were inclined to do the same. Belmonte induced the barons to demand a conference with the bishops, and entered at their head. In a speech of great eloquence he succeeded in changing their minds; and to the dismay of the archbishop, the ecclesiastical branch united with the barons, and the vote was passed for 150,000 ounces only.

The queen's anger was violently inflamed against Belmonte and the refractory barons, whom she threatened to imprison. But this was far from relaxing their exertions; for when the parliament proceeded to direct the manner in which the sums should be raised, Prince Belmonte and his friends proposed to extend the taxes to which the higher ranks would have been liable; but in this he was opposed, and the old system was adopted. His majesty could not constitutionally accept the donation made by the parliament, without accepting at the same time the arrangement by which it was to be raised; but he chose to separate them; and though he took the 150,000 ounces, he changed the taxes by which they were to be raised, thus closing the parliament by a violent stretch of unconstitutional power.

The disappointment of the court in obtaining but 150,000 ounces of increased revenue, led to no diminution of expenditure; on the contrary, the queen being conscious of her increasing unpopularity, exerted herself to augment the number of her foreign troops, in whom she trusted to defend her from the hatred of her subjects; but as she was unable to pay them, they became dissatisfied, and added to her danger as well as to her difficulties. An ineffectual attempt was made by the court to relieve itself by a lottery of lands belonging to the crown, or forcibly confiscated, which greatly added to the odium which it had already incurred.

Finding this measure unproductive, an edict was issued for levying by the *king's authority only* a duty of one per cent. on every receipt or transfer of property; so that if a bill of exchange passed through twenty hands, each name on it paid one per cent. Tradesmen were obliged under very severe penalties to give in weekly a return of the amount due from them. Landlords paid the duty out of their incomes, and the senates were bound to charge it on the corn purchased for the consumption of their districts. In this latter case it would have brought destruction on the lower orders, as the grain might pass through many hands before it came to the consumer; and in every case

the grower, the senate, the contractors, and the consumers, would have had to pay the duty.

The British merchants were the first to take the alarm, and many at Messina shut up their warehouses. They delivered in a memorial to the Marquis Circello, but received no satisfaction, and were told if they did not like to pay the duty, they might depart wherever they pleased with their effects.

The whole nation was enraged by the oppression and illegality of this edict, and disturbances would probably have taken place at Messina, but for the presence of the British army. Pasquines were stuck up in different parts of the town, some calling on Sir John Stuart to relieve them from their oppression—others reproaching him for having deserted them. The government was alarmed, and the tax was not very rigidly exacted.

The barons were by this time completely roused to a sense of the projects of the court against their constitutional freedom, and determined to protest against the edict, but to do it in a moderate and constitutional manner. They prepared a memorial and remonstrance on the 1st of March, 1811, the day on which the one per cent. tax was to commence, and procured the signatures of forty-six barons.

As the parliament was not sitting, they had no other means of approaching the throne except through the *deputati del regno*, who having been nominated by the court, were, as we have said, under its influence.

Prince Belmonte, after his spirited and patriotic conduct in the parliament of 1810, was looked up to by the whole nation as their champion, and was unequivocally considered by the Sicilian barons as their leader. At the instigation of this nobleman—of his uncle Prince Villahermosa—of Prince di Aci, who held the office of grand huntsman to the king—of the Duke of Anjo, and of Prince Villa Franca, the leaders of the opposition, the *deputati del regno*, after one attempt of the court to prevent their assembling, did at length receive the memorial, in order to its being laid before the king. The court seemed undetermined what course of conduct they should pursue, and May arrived before an opportunity was given of presenting the memorial. The queen was evidently alarmed at this first open act of resistance, nor were her fears allayed by the consideration, that it would give to the British government an excuse for interfering and checking her illegal oppressions.

The barons were fully aware that they never would be forgiven; the queen had avowed her determination of never again assembling a parliament; and the fact of levying money by a royal edict, proved that she was determined to rule independently

of that body. The constitution of Sicily was violated, and the barons were the only body capable of resisting the court; they had stepped forward, without any consideration of the hazard they ran, and it was naturally to be supposed that they would not limit their resistance to memorials unless the court gave way.

The barons were, however, surrounded by difficulties—the troops in and about Palermo amounted to about 14,000 men—and a part of these had been regularly paid, were flattered by the queen, and might probably be depended on by her, as they were Neapolitans, or Italian deserters from the French army: it was impossible to foresee where an insurrection, once excited, would stop, and a massacre of the whole royal family would be the inevitable consequence of its success; while in case of their failure, the lives of the insurgents and the fortunes of their families would be at stake. The barons were aware that a revolution was not necessary to the redress of their grievances; they only wanted a reform of abuses, and a re-establishment of the rights inherited from their ancestors;—they were themselves confined to Palermo, which they could not leave without the permission of the court; and although the mass of the nation was with them, there was a difficulty in organising an open resistance even had they wished it.

Under such circumstances every eye was turned towards Great Britain. Unfortunately no minister was at Palermo, but they knew that Lord Amherst, whose amiable manners had conciliated the heart of the Sicilians, had returned to England, acquainted with the real designs of the queen, and able to explain the grievances under which the Sicilian nation was labouring. They knew that England had it in her power to save them, by merely suspending the subsidy:—they flattered themselves that the Sovereign of a free country would not assist in the annihilation of the liberties of a country, anxious to assist him against a common and powerful enemy; and they also felt that it was his interest to interfere in their favour. When every soldier was required to fight the battles of liberty in Spain, 18,000 of the finest troops of Britain were locked up in Sicily, not, as in the year before, to ward off the attack of an enemy, but to watch a mysterious if not a treacherous court; and nearly the same number of troops belonging to the queen were rendered useless to the common cause.

They knew that Sicily, if cordially united to England by the ties of gratitude, would not only be able to defend herself with the assistance of a small number of British troops and ships, but would be able to contribute a considerable number of men to serve in the common cause; and they thought that it must be

evident to England, that if once the Sicilians considered the British as their oppressors, not the whole force they then had in the country could preserve the island from internal and external enemies. It was evident to every Englishman resident in Sicily, that this unfavourable change was rapidly advancing. In defiance of the manly and unequivocal assertions of Sir John Stuart, that the troops under his command should never act against the Sicilian people, a jealousy was beginning to make its way, and various pasquinades accused the English of being the instruments of the queen's despotism. Her majesty and her spies did every thing in their power to encourage this feeling; and the small party in the French interest were equally active; the queen used every art to induce Prince Belmonte to adopt these sentiments and to join her party; but he remained firm, nor could any private interest induce him to abandon what he justly considered as the cause of his country.

Finding that threats and promises were vain, when employed to change the sentiments of the barons, her majesty in the month of July, thought it necessary to take some steps against them; she employed one of her secret instruments to draw up a declaration, purporting to be the opinion of the deputati del regno assembled to report on the memorial delivered by the barons, in which they declared that document to be insurrectional, and the tax of one per cent. to have been legally laid on by his Majesty. This paper was laid on the table of the queen's cabinet; the four ecclesiastical deputies were first sent for and ordered to sign it;—they complied; Prince Butera then signed, and all the other deputies, except the cavaliere Bosco, the brother of Princess Paterno, who had the spirit to refuse.

This act could deceive no *Sicilian*, but it was probably hoped that it might make some impression on the British cabinet, and justify the more violent measures which were then in contemplation.

On the 17th, Prince Belmonte received certain intelligence that a determination had been formed to arrest him; his friends wished him to fly, but he felt himself called on not to desert those who had placed him at their head, and conscious that he was no traitor, but on the contrary, employed in defending the liberties of his country, he determined to brave the storm.

On the 19th, at eleven P. M. a council was held in the queen's cabinet, at which the hereditary prince presided, and it was determined to arrest the five leading barons, whose names we have mentioned. Orders were immediately issued, and before morning they were seized in their beds, and conveyed with every degree of insult on board a small vessel of the queen's, commanded

by an insignificant being of the name of Cacaci; whom alone, the queen acknowledged, she could trust with such a commission.

Three Sicilians were present at this council, and participated in an act of illegal violence intended to enslave their country. Prince Butera, Prince Trabea, and one Parigi, a man of no rank or consequence. The first, though possessing the largest fortune in Sicily, probably not less than 50,000*l.* sterling per annum, had become the humblest tool of the queen, partly from the imbecility of his mind, and partly from necessity. Prince Butera was very much in debt, his person was only free from arrest by the grant of the king, and his estates were by the same means preserved from the hands of his creditors. Prince Trabea was considered as having sold himself to the court, and the valuable monopolies he possessed secured his services for every occasion.

The awe of the military kept the city from any tumultuous proceedings, and the people had no leaders. The English, who were resident at Palermo, expressed their horror at the proceedings by crowding to the palaces of the arrested barons. The queen considered herself as triumphant, the English party as annihilated, and openly expressed her determination to resist force by force, and not to comply with any demand which Lord William Bentinck might make in the name of his government.

The situation of the Duke of Orleans, who had married the queen's daughter, and had conciliated the regard of all ranks during a three years residence at the court, was now considered as very critical. It was well known that his serene highness had used every exertion to induce the queen to confide in her allies, and to rule according to law. Born to fill one of the most splendid stations in Europe, his bright prospects had been clouded early in life, and adversity had long dispersed the mist which too generally obscures the sight of those who are born to royal fortunes. He felt that it was his duty to use every endeavour to save the family into which he had married from their impending fate: he had also constantly avowed his gratitude and his attachment to the British nation, which had received him in the hour of distress, and had liberally provided for him and his family.

In his early days he had imbibed a love of liberty with all the warmth of youthful feeling. Time had now moderated his fervor, but the rational freedom which he had beheld in England was the object of his unceasing admiration, and he was incapable of being an accessory to the annihilation of the liberties of his adopted country.

Convinced that Prince Belmonte had no treasonable object,

he had uniformly treated him with the most friendly confidence, and in return the gratitude of the barons was unbounded. The palace in which his serene highness resided at Bagharia had been attacked in the night, and though the assailants were beaten off by his guards, the conviction was very general that his life had been aimed at. Under these circumstances he had intended to remove to the palace on the morning of the 20th, but on hearing of the arrest of his friend Prince Belmonte, he refused to give that sanction to the measures of the queen which his presence at such a moment would convey to the minds of the Sicilians. Indeed it was generally believed, that the arrest of the barons was fixed for the day of his return under the expectation of such a construction being put on it.

All danger to the Duke of Orleans was removed by the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, on the 23d, and the court was instantly occupied by their arrangements with him. The barons were conveyed by Cacaci to their different prisons. Prince de Aci was landed at the island of Ustica, the Duke of Anjo at Maritimo, Prince Villa Franca at Pantellaria, Prince Belmonte and his uncle Villahermosa at Favignana; they were not, however allowed to be together, nor were any of them indulged with the usual permission of moving about the islands, but were closely confined in the different small forts.

Prince Belmonte and his uncle being the most obnoxious to the court, were treated with the greatest severity; the former was confined in a small fort on the sea shore, in which were 500 galley slaves, whose only residence during the day was the ditch underneath his windows, whence issued the most dreadful stench and incessant lamentations. His two apartments were hardly of a size to hold the one a bed and the other a table; the holes which served for windows had no glass in them, and the building itself was in so bad a state that the sides of his cell were covered with damp. His health had for some time been on the decline, and he was liable to violent spasmodic attacks, for which exercise and sea-bathing had been prescribed; the latter he soon found would not be granted to him, although the very galley slaves were permitted to go daily under a guard to the sea shore for that purpose. A short walk on the roof of his prison was the only liberty in which he was indulged; no one was permitted to correspond with, or to see him. Prince Villahermosa was put into a ruined fort on the summit of a hill, which admitted the wind and rain, and which he was obliged to render habitable at his own expense.

Under such privations and sufferings it is no wonder that the physical strength of Prince Belmonte sunk rapidly, though

his mental energy remained unshaken. He was found one morning totally insensible in his bed; the medical assistance which the island or the town of Trapani could afford was called in, and they sent a statement of his case to Palermo, where the family of the prince assembled the chief physicians to deliberate upon it. These gentlemen stated under their hands, that if the prince was not permitted to take exercise and use the sea bath his life would probably be endangered. This statement was presented to his Majesty by an uncle of Prince Belmonte, who at the same time besought him to have compassion on this nephew; his Majesty only replied "he had no compassion on us," and instantly quitted the room.

Such was the treatment experienced at the hands of the court by a nobleman of the highest rank and station, whose energy of mind, natural talent, and acquired information, justly gave him the confidence of every Sicilian, from the barons who were capable of appreciating his merit, to the peasant who heard of him as the opposer of the wanton expenditure of public money, and as the advocate for the abolition of the corn laws. Nursed in the lap of luxury, enjoying the society of literary men of his own country, and of every foreigner of distinction to whom his hospitable board was open, rich and highly distinguished, he hazarded every thing for the liberty of his country. Nor was he unaware of the dangers that attended his conduct. When the expected persecution fell upon him, he bore his sufferings with fortitude, and posterity will do justice to the patriotism and courage of this illustrious member of the house of Ventimiglia.

The king returned to Palermo, and the order for the arrest of the barons was then made public. We give it as a curious specimen of the shifts to which the court were reduced; not a charge were they able to bring against any one of the sufferers, and their silence on this occasion is a convincing proof that no charge could be made.

Proclamation after the arrest of the Barons.—"The bad conduct of the undermentioned persons being made known to the king, by positive facts, to the great displeasure of his Majesty, namely, turbulence of conduct, and disturbing the public peace; his Majesty perceiving no amendment in their conduct, after mature deliberation *avoiding all severe measures, and exercising his royal clemency*, has resolved, that they shall be immediately arrested and sent to different isles, to be at his sovereign disposition, viz. the Prince of Belmonte, &c. &c."

The events of the last few days had thrown additional difficulties in the way of Lord William Bentinck, but ministers could not have chosen a person more fitted for the critical cir-

cumstances under which he was to urge the interests of his country, against a timid and wavering though tyrannical court, ruled by a set of ministers, most of whom were either traitors or simpletons.

The Marquis Circello was ostensibly the foreign minister. This nobleman was believed to be in his heart attached to England, where he had resided for some time as minister, and to be really convinced that it was the interest of his sovereign to keep up the alliance with that country; but unfortunately he had been ambassador at Paris during the time of the revolution, and had imbibed the idea that Louis XVI. had been ruined by concession; he therefore always urged his sovereign to oppose every attempt made by the nation for a redress of their grievances, and to admit of no interference with his despotic authority.

There were other ostensible rulers of the queen's cabinet, but the most efficient minister was the Duke of Ascoli, a Neapolitan, more than suspected of being in the French interest, whose family still resided at Naples, and were permitted by the usurper Murat to enjoy the whole of the duke's property in that kingdom. He was the chief instrument of the queen in influencing the mind of the king, with whom he held the ostensible situation of secretary. He, in fact, guided every measure, and the Marquis Circello was subservient to him. Medici, Mellivrimi, and Castroni, were also her Majesty's secret advisers, and had great weight in the cabinet, where every measure was determined on.

When opposed to such men, the unalterable firmness and tranquillity of Lord William Bentinck's character was peculiarly serviceable; he began, however, by conciliation, and urged the court to a change of measures without having excited any grounds of dissatisfaction, by communicating with the Duke of Orleans, or the friends of the imprisoned barons. Conciliation or remonstrances were, however, equally vain; his lordship could not obtain compliance with any of the requests which he had been instructed to make, although they were solely directed to the necessary reforms in the several departments: he therefore determined, with a spirit and promptitude to which we owe the fortunate results that have since taken place, to return himself to England.

The chief power was left during his absence in the hands of Lieutenant-general Maitland, whose character was a guarantee that it would not be abused. Several conspiracies were discovered; the instruments were punished, and the ground for Lord William was considerably smoothed before his return.

The administration at home saw that the fate of Sicily, and even of more important kingdoms, depended on the measures now

to be taken, and his lordship returned with full power to meet the danger. The subsidy was suspended, and the court found themselves reduced to that distress which had been so often predicted to them. The Duke of Orleans, without sacrificing his principles, had escaped every danger, and he now assisted the British embassy in urging the hereditary prince, his brother-in-law, to step forward. The king was at length convinced of the dangers that surrounded him, from the violence of the queen's measures, and was induced to give that power to the prince which he had hitherto confided to her majesty; the prince was declared, as he had been twice before in Naples, vicar-general of the kingdom, with the title of *Alter Ego*.

The command of the Sicilian troops was given to Lord William Bentinck, the five barons were liberated from their imprisonment, and returned amid the acclamations of their countrymen to Palermo. Prince Belmonte had latterly suffered less from the severity of his imprisonment, and although his eyesight was injured, he may still live to establish the object nearest to his heart, a free government for his native country.

These objects were all obtained within a short period of Lord William Bentinck's return; and we have some reason to believe that his lordship accompanied his remonstrances by an assurance, that he was under orders to enforce them at the head of the British army; a declaration which we do not hesitate to declare, under all the circumstances, to be as consistent with sound policy, as with strict justice and the law of nations.

Neither the spirit nor the substance of the alliance with Great Britain had been in the least regarded; the subsidy was applied to no one purpose for which it was granted, and the very pay and expences of the flotilla employed in the Faro were defrayed by our military chest. Their army, it is true, was augmented, but instead of being recruited by loyal and brave Sicilians, it was surreptitiously supplied by Frenchmen, Neapolitans, and deserters from the Spanish patriots. And to add insult to perfidy, British property, navigating under licences signed by our secretaries of state, was indignantly confiscated, and all remonstrances from the injured openly set at defiance. These are all facts; and at such a critical conjuncture, when the preservation of our troops, and of one million and a half of loyal Sicilians, was at stake; when the law of necessity and self preservation superseded every other; will a reasonable man say, that there was any but one course of conduct for this nation to pursue? And will not all who are not blinded by party spirit and faction approve the firmness and resolution with which that course was followed, and applaud the skill and prudence so eminently displayed in the execution?

We are even informed from good authority, that in a visit

which Lord and Lady William Bentinck paid to her Sicilian majesty in her retirement, she conducted herself with admirable grace and condescension, and declared, that her royal mind was highly satisfied with what had taken place.

So much for the past. With respect to the future, we trust that the British government will never forget that they have now taken the Sicilian cause in hand, and are become responsible to the Sicilian people for their political welfare, and for the restoration of their ancient constitution. The liberation of the lower orders from every municipal oppression, whether arising from the privileges of the barons and senates, or from the grinding jurisdiction of the tribunal of patrimony, should be the first and indispensable objects of attention. Then may we confidently hope to see Sicily rise again to her ancient splendor. Syracuse may once more become one of the most opulent ports of the Mediterranean; Palermo and Messina may rival the fame of Agrigentum and Segesta, and the island may again flourish, the granary of the surrounding nations. England will hold forth an incontrovertible testimony to other nations of the purity of her views, and that her laudable wish not to interfere with the interests and privileges of ancient dynasties will never induce her to support their unjust claims, or to injure the rights of a people that may unite with her against the common enemy of true liberty, and of civilized society.

While she exhibits this bright example, she will also add greatly to the means of defending herself against her rancorous enemy. Not only will her army now confined in Sicily be liberated for the general purposes of the war, (nay, we have good reason to believe that some thousands may at this moment be liberated), instead of being employed to protect one tyrant against another, but she may recruit her ranks from a brave and attached population, exceeding a million and a half of souls, and composed of such materials, that Sir John Stuart, who raised a regiment of them, declared from experience, that the Sicilian peasantry were admirably constituted to make good soldiers. By the latest accounts there is every reason to believe that these hopes will be realized;—the hereditary prince having been at length induced, finally, to dismiss from his councils the Marquis Circello, together with Castroni, Ascoli, and other minions of the queen, and to replace them by the exiled barons and prince Casaro, a nobleman, whose prudence and firmness during their arrest, were highly conducive to the real welfare of his country.

From Palermo Mr. Galt proceeds across the fine plain of Alcamo. Hence, he passes through Marsala and Mazara, merely observing, that the latter “is a collection of relics and rubbish.” The magnitude of the blocks which formerly composed the stu-

pendous temple of the Olympian Jupiter, did, however, attract his observation; and our shrewd investigator informs us, that "it is not easy to conceive how these prodigious masses were lifted into the air."

From Sciacca, which town is represented as "bearing indubitable marks, not of decay only, but of ruin," Mr. Galt recrosses the country to Palermo.

At St. Margarita we are indulged with a minute detail of the inconveniences to which he was exposed. In a convent at this village the brotherhood surrounded him, and he accidentally informs us, "that they spoke only Sicilian, and *he did not understand them*, but he endeavoured to make affable faces at them."

From Palermo he proceeds along the north-west coast of the island to Messina: nothing can be more beautiful or picturesque than the scenes in many parts of this route; he does not, however, favour us with a single descriptive line, not even to convey to his readers an idea of the magnificence of the view which he obtained at day-light, from the summit of the range of Pelorus, of the shores of the Pharo, and of the Æolian isles. This journey is, indeed, made without any observations, "statistical, commercial, or miscellaneous."

Well might Mr. Galt think the fishing up of stones from the bottom of the sea a thriftless labour; had he however examined these stones, he would have found them perforated in an extraordinary manner, and containing a small cylindrical kind of shell-fish, called "*datoli del mare*," about the size of a man's little finger.

We will also tell Mr. Galt, as he is "at such loss to conjecture of what use it possibly can be," that the castle of San Alessio is an important military position, completely commanding the only road to Messina on this side, and securing a communication between that town and the heights of Toarmina; besides which, it is a most excellent look-out post, commanding an extensive view of both shores, and is furnished with an useful telegraph. Sir John Stuart differed so much from Mr. Galt, with respect to the value of this post, that he greatly increased its strength.

Our traveller not having energy enough to undertake a winter's excursion to the summit of Ætna, a task which has been performed by two English noblemen, contents himself with the more easy mode of endeavouring to detract from the interest of this wonderful mountain, and concludes his scanty observations upon it in this coxcomical manner. "After all that has been said and sung about it, Ætna does not really possess a tenth part

of the *aspectable* grandeur that *one* somehow expects." When viewed at their base the grandeur of all lofty objects is diminished of course; but from Taormina no object on the globe can be more grand and imposing than Mount *Ætna*.

From Catania Mr. Galt proceeds to Syracuse; whence he proceeded to Cape Passero, and embarked for Malta, and after one more unlucky misrepresentation takes his leave of Sicily. —He takes occasion to inform us that Scotland is a sylvan region in comparison with Sicily: although the fact is, that the whole N. W. coast along which he travelled is richly decorated with wood; the *Bosco di Caronia* furnishing large supplies of timber.

Mr. Galt, after touching at Malta, lands on the small island of Cerigo, of which he gives rather an interesting account. This place may be esteemed one of the keys of the Archipelago. Its population is calculated at 8000. It is now garrisoned by British troops, having been taken in 1809 from the French, who occupied it at the time when they took possession of the other islands of the Ionian republic. From this place he lands at Marathonesi in the Morea, and traverses that territory, visiting the ruins of Sparta and Argos, to Corinth. He gives us little or no description of any particular remnants of antiquity, but tells us, that "THOSE who are delighted with the sight of such fragments as Corinth and Mycenæ exhibit, appear to affect a sensibility that belies nature." He is consequently pleased to have recourse to the more novel and interesting topics of the difficulties of obtaining lodging, the exertions of the guards, and such frivolous circumstances, occasionally seasoning and interlarding them with passages of history, concerning which little new can be written.

"*At Megara he took some refreshment; and while the horses were baiting walked round the town, to see the antiquities, which consist of a few inscriptions, and statues, headless and limbless, and almost all shapeless.*"

The road to Eleusis leading along the brink of a precipice, which Mr. Galt thinks may have been that of Chelone, it recurs to his memory that the N. W. wind on the Temple of the Winds at Athens is denominated Sciron; and he thence infers, that the story of Sciron's kicking the travellers over this precipice into the sea, owed its origin to the violence of the gusts of wind from the N. W. blowing round this promontory. Then follows the most ingenious part of the "*elucidation*."—"The waves are probably the travellers; for, in their passage at this place, the sudden bursts of wind break their irregularity, and drive them out, in the form of spray, into the sea."

On this admirable hypothesis we should be glad to know by what concatenation of ideas we are to account for Sciron's being represented as a robber, and what we are to do with Theseus the hero of the fable;—he apparently must not be mentioned.—“Eleusis,” Mr. Galt “*miscellaneously*” observes, “is so celebrated a place, and the remains of the temples still indicate so much magnificence, that it deserved more attention than we felt ourselves *in the humour to bestow*.”

After these observations, we think that it would be loss of time in this place to make any further comments on Mr. Galt's antiquarian observations: we shall therefore entirely omit his remarks on Marathon, Thebes, Chæronea, Delphi, Thermopylæ, &c. and proceed to a more interesting part of the work. As he approached Larissa, he entered into the train of a division of 8000 men, composing a Turkish army, under the command of Velhi Pacha, marching towards the theatre of war on the Danube. Contrary to the general practice of the Turks when on a march, they do not appear to have desolated the country through which they passed; the power and authority of the pacha, in whose territory they still were, was sufficient to restrain them from their usual excesses.

An instance of the pacha's summary mode of enforcing discipline we cannot omit. “One day as he happened to be riding in the environs of Larissa, he saw two soldiers in a vineyard plundering the grapes. He immediately rode up and shot them both on the spot.” (P. 219.)

On his route through Salonica to Constantinople, Mr. Galt still followed the route of Velhi Pacha's army, which had increased, on one day's march beyond Salonika, to the number of twenty thousand men. Notwithstanding this augmentation, their march is still represented as orderly, and the country which they traversed as bearing no marks of rapine or violence. His quick transit through this province of the Turkish empire also affords us some other consolatory scenes. Several of the towns appeared neat and lively; the population not so scanty as might have been conjectured, and industriously employed in manufactories of printed calicoes and stuffs, and in shops of respectable appearance. The fields were planted with cotton and tobacco, and divided by neat hedges.

With somewhat less danger than an English country gentleman follows the fox-hounds, Mr. Galt traversed the ridges of mount Rhodope in the night, and escaped all dangers predatory or bacchanalian. Passing through Rhodosto and Selvira full speed, he safely reaches Constantinople.

This city has been so often described, that it would have been

expecting too much to have looked for any new communication from our author. Here however he surpasses our expectations, for he tells us, that "Constantinople seen from the harbour, greatly resembles London seen from the Thames." After this we make no doubt that Gibbon, whose table of contents Mr. Galt, previously to quitting Constantinople, takes great pains to organize, delineated his masterly description of the capital of the Eastern world, from a wherry between Blackfriars and London bridges.

On the 4th January, 1810, our traveller left Constantinople, on the truly arduous undertaking of visiting the Turkish army, and the theatre of war on the Danube. And this, however jejune his observations, is the most curious and interesting part of the journey, inasmuch as the latter part of it has not to our recollection been described in any modern work.

The situation of Philippopoli, on three rocky hills rising together from a plain, through which the Hebros meanders, is grand. But what is very extraordinary, Mr. Galt here thinks himself at Philippi. "By some strange negligence of recollection," says he, "I forgot that my way lay across the field in which the fate of Brutus and of Rome had been decided." This recollection is still more strange than the negligence of it. It must have been an unlucky hour indeed, when this passage of Roman history came across his brain. Mr. Galt should have known that Philippi was not far from the island of Thasos, where, according to Plutarch, Cassius was buried. He was very near Philippi when he passed through Kávala or Cavallo, as he calls it.

Hence, passing through Bazerjecter, in Romelia, a large town of 20,000 inhabitants, where he was received by the governor with the greatest hospitality, he proceeded towards the pass which separates the ridges of mount Hæmus from those of Rhodope.

"Hassan Bèy had, in case of any stragglers of the Asiatic banditti lurking in the recesses of the mountains, ordered a party of his guards to see us through the pass, and they recommended that we should stop, for the night, at Yengi-Ku, a small town, of which the houses are only wattled huts plastered with mud. It stands on the brow of the rising ground over which the road from Philippopoli turns into the pass.

"While looking back from this height, on the extensive plain below, through which the Hebros was seen meandering until the eye could no longer trace its course, I could not avoid remembering, in the reflections which occurred to me, that, from Selivria to Yengi-Ku, no natural obstacle but the river intervenes to check the progress of an invading army, and that no artificial defence has

been constructed. On the left the chain of Hæmus extends in a straight line towards the east, and, on the right, the chain of Rhodope towards the south-east, leaving a vast triangular plain between. On this spacious theatre, European tactics are calculated to produce their greatest effect. It seems reasonable to think, that when a Christian army shall have reached Bazerjeek, nothing but a miracle on the one side, or infatuation on the other, can save the Ottoman state.

“ While I was musing on the, apparently, inevitable fall of this hitherto deemed ‘powerful empire,’ an incident took place, opposite to the cottage, which would have disturbed more doleful reflections. A number of handsome young girls came from the adjacent cottages, as the sun was setting, and began to dance to their own singing. The magistrate of the town, a patriarchal personage, soon after issued from his abode, leaning on his staff, and advanced towards them. At his approach their gaiety was suspended. Having harangued them in a solemn manner, he added an impressive argument from his staff, *a posteriori*, and sent them all screaming to their homes. This vigilant governor was provoked, that they should so thoughtlessly tempt their stars, while Turks and Franks were in the town.

“ In the morning, at sun-rise, we were again on the road, and travelling in the pass. A quantity of snow had fallen during the night. The wind happening, at the time, to be strong, the mountains and trees on the left received the whole fleece, and were white and dazzling, while those on the right presented a dark and frowning shade. Though the native of a mountainous country, I had never seen any scenery so wild and dismal. The gloom of stupendous steeps, increased by overhanging woods, and the horrors of winter, enhanced by the dread of robbers, produced a general silence as we passed along. The road, for the greatest part of the way, lies in the bottom of the glen. Towards the west end it begins to ascend; and, after winding for some time along the shaggy cornice of fearful precipices, passes through a Roman gateway, which serves to attest the ancient importance attached to the pass. A small derwent, or guard-house, at the same place, also shews that its consequence is not entirely unknown to the Turks.

“ We halted at the derwent, and the soldiers treated us with coffee.

“ Having warmed ourselves, we again mounted, and, leaving the carriage road, descended by a more rapid and expeditious path to Ightiman.” (P. 331.)

Mr. Galt here gives some account of Ali Pacha, of Yanina (the father of Velhi Pacha, who commanded the Turkish troops), and of the kingdoms which he has carved out by his sword for himself and his family; with respect to which we shall be entirely silent on the present occasion, confidently trusting, that an

early occasion will arise of laying before our readers some interesting information concerning that singular adventurer.

On leaving Sophia, the cold was intense, and very heavy falls of snow had taken place, which rendered the roads or tracts almost impassable.

“ The road from Sophia, for about three hours ride, lay across the spacious plain on which the town is situated. Our horses were good, and we were enabled, now and then, where the snow had been blown thin, to ride fast enough to keep ourselves warm. I remarked, that the Tartars tied handkerchiefs firmly over their ears; and I found, that this manner of confining the insensible respiration by the ears caused an agreeable warmth to be diffused over the face.

“ The carriage way being closed by the snow, the postillions resolved to take the footpath over the first and lower range of the hills. They pretended also, that it would be shorter; but we found it so bad, concealed by the snow, and broken, that, even when we had reached the height, we could only walk our horses—no trifling hardship, considering the state of the weather. At length we again found ourselves on the highway, which runs, for several miles, along the bottom of a valley, that is entered without descending from the hills that we had passed.

“ At the west end, a break in the mountains discloses a landscape of alpine scenery, that, in a more indulgent season, would have awakened admiration, and inspired delight. At the close of a gloomy winter day, and as the pass by which I was to ascend to a region that was wrapt in dismal clouds, the view served only to fill me with regret and dismay.

“ After two hours of cheerless and impatient riding, we reached a small hamlet of wattled huts, at the foot of a stupendous and steep ridge, along the side of which our road, for the next morning, was seen winding on the snow towards the summit, like the junction of two clouds in the sky. This hamlet was inhabited by Turks, appointed for the purpose of facilitating the intercourse with the troops stationed on the northern side of the mountains. We found in the chief hut a comfortable fire, and a snug corner, in which I could stretch my whole length. The Turk, who had charge of the post, regaled us with sugarless coffee; and, in the course of the evening, with the help of a fowl, he contrived, with beans, oil, and onions, and with the all-worshipful pillau, to furnish out no despicable supper.

“ In the morning, by break of day, we were again on the road. The rigour of the cold had abated; the snow had ceased to fall; and a thick mist enveloped the landscape, rather, however, in detached masses than universally. From several places, in ascending the lofty ridge already mentioned, on looking down I saw breaks and openings in the clouds, which disclosed, far below, the track of a terrestrial stream in a vale, and other signs and evidences of the habitable region of men.

“ But our way led us still to a higher climate, above the haze and the clouds, and where the sun shone with almost insufferable splendour. On this higher tract, the road lies, for several miles, along a plain, gently inclined towards the north; here and there feathered with trees; for, when I passed, the trees had all the appearance of white feathers. They gradually increased in magnitude and number, till we found ourselves beneath the branches of the forest that clothes the northern side of the mountains. The road, which winds down through this wood, was, in many places, so steep and slippery, that we were obliged to dismount, and lead our horses.

“ Savage and gloomy places, such as the passes in this wood, perhaps, often tend, by some strange moral influence, to instigate the wretched inhabitants to the commission of those outrages, the dread of which induces the traveller to quicken his pace, and to rouse his courage. Near a rude bridge of trees, across a ravine, the first that we passed in descending from the great ridge of the mountains, a French officer of distinction, with his servants and three Tartars, were, some years ago, robbed and murdered. Perhaps it is not unworthy of being noticed and recorded, that, although robberies, in this part of Turkey, are not less frequent than formerly, they are now very rarely attended with murder. The commercial intercourse with Germany, through Hungary, has softened the spirit of outrage. The travellers are more numerous; but they seldom carry more money with them than is absolutely necessary for their expenses; deriving, by the extending circulation of bills of exchange, the means of executing their business, for which, formerly, they were obliged to carry effective money. They have therefore, now, comparatively, but a slight motive for resistance; and, unless they be indeed headstrong, they will always surrender at discretion.

“ When we had reached the lower part of the forest, we met a band of armed men, the chief of whom commanded us to halt and alight. It was the governor of Belkofsa and his guards, going to inspect a post in the neighbourhood. Vilhi Pashaw's Tartar immediately untied his portmanteau, and presented him with a ring from his master, and a letter, in which I was recommended to his protection. The governor had, in the mean time, seated himself on the ground. Putting the ring on his little finger, he began to read the letter. Suddenly, a blast of wind came roaring through the wood, shaking the whole wintry weight from the trees, and covering us all so quickly and profusely, that I began to fear that we were involved in the beard or tail of an avalanche. The governor having disencumbered himself from his pelisse of snow, and read the letter, after the usual Turkish salutations, took his inkstand from his girdle, and wrote instructions to his second in command, to furnish me with guards as far as Kaaralom, to the commandant of which the Tartar had another ring and a letter. He then mounted, and we also pursued our way.” P. 341—345.

Mr. Galt found Belkofsa, “ a town of less extent than So-

phia, but much better fortified." It is situated in a hollow sweep in the lower range of the mountains. "On a neighbouring hill overlooking the town, is a small ancient fortification, which has also lately been strengthened by new works, and a garrison of several hundred men." The garrison of Belkofsa, he thinks, amounted to upwards of two thousand men.

From Belkofsa to Kootlofsa in the road to Widdin, is a distance of four hours. The road was tolerably good, but it was with the greatest difficulty they could obtain food either for man or horse. Hence he advances to Kaaralom; the face of the country is not however described.

"The villages appeared to be semi-subterranean. The peasants, remarkably stout, tall, and well made, were dressed in sheep-skins, of which the wool was worn in the inside.

"The governor of Kaaralom, a frank, sensible Albanian, received me with much cordiality, and provided me with lodgings in the house of a Greek, whose humble habitation, though but a cottage, exhibited signs of an incipient taste for gentility. The hostess was active, and seemed superior to her class. It was situated, like the other houses of the town, within a small inclosure, which, however, instead of being a receptacle for old shoes, bones, rags, and rubbish, had the appearance, even through the snow, of being neatly planted. My room had not glazed windows, but the wooden frame was covered with writing-paper, uniform, and all entire. The floor was earth. Round the walls was a small platform, in imitation of the sophas of the Turks. A stove, constructed of tiles and mortar, which the kitchen-fire served to heat, warmed this apartment. My meal, though of homely materials, was dished in respectable earthenware, and with a palatable degree of heat; an ingredient highly essential, in winter, to the simplest fare, as well as to the compounds of the most abstruse cookery.

"From Kaaralom to Widdin the road lies along the banks of the Danube. The morning was thick and dull; and the opposite shore was not visible. The surface of the river was encrusted with floating ice, hurling along with a harsh and continual crashing."

"Widdin is the only fortress that the Turks retain on the banks of the Danube. Between Christendom and Constantinople there is, now, no artificial impediment; and I have described the most formidable of the natural, as seen and travelled under the inclemencies of winter.

"The walls of Widdin are well built, in the European style of fortification; or rather, they are but little changed from the state in which they were when it was taken from the Austrians. It is said, that no less than three hundred pieces of heavy brass ordnance are mounted on them. The number is certainly very considerable. The old castle, though almost in ruins, is still a stately and venerable pile. Seen from the river, it is a noble and picturesque feature in

the appearance of the town. By its vicinity to the new works, it serves to shew, that, whatever the structures of the modern art of fortification may have gained in the means of defence, those of the ancient displayed more *aspectable grandeur*. The new citadel, built in the time of Passwan Oglu, I did not visit; but it is considered here as a very redoubtable construction. On the east side of the city, a large suburb extends down the bank of the Danube; and it has also been inclosed, lately, by a temporary wall and ditch.

“ The population of the city and suburbs is estimated, at present, to amount to fifty thousand souls.

“ Between the houses of the suburbs and the river, there is an open space, about fifty yards wide, along which lie the vessels and boats employed in the navigation of the Danube. Owing to the jealousy with which I was treated, I did not choose to be very particular in my inquiries relative to any thing about the town or river; but, one afternoon, I counted upwards of seventy vessels at the wharf, of which the smallest seemed to be capable of carrying ten tons, and the largest at least thirty; and there were many more which I did not reckon. Between Belgrade and the mouth of the river, upwards of six hundred boats and barks are employed. The French are well acquainted with this, and, no doubt, know their value. For, by the river, they have now a communication with the Black Sea, by which they may approach almost to the confines of Persia; and they are, at this moment, organizing the means of intercourse.

“ Widdin afforded an interesting and an extraordinary scene. In the heart of the war, on the one side exposed to the Servians in open union with the enemy; on the other, to the troops of Velhi Pashaw, supposed to be as hostile to the governor as the public enemy, and with the public enemy immediately in front—yet it was enjoying a profitable and flourishing commerce. The transit being interrupted by the ice in the river, the quantity of goods, particularly bales of cotton, that had accumulated in the warehouses, sheds, and open streets, exceeded credibility. I have been told, that, in the course of last year, above a hundred thousand horse-loads of merchandize passed the river here; and I believe this, to a great extent, from what I have had opportunities of otherwise knowing. Yet, notwithstanding, and though those employed in the transit tax and charge as they please, there is not a consul in the town, not even an Austrian, or a public French agent or subject. On each horse-load that passes, the Russian general receives forty piastres. The fortifications of Widdin are defensible, but the houses are of wood; and the whole town might, in the course of a night's bombardment, be reduced, literally, to ashes. To what cause are we to ascribe the respite Widdin has enjoyed?

“ The town was reported to have been well stocked with provisions, which, however, owing to a continual dread of siege, were dealt with so much frugality, that, without actually suffering famine, it presented often the tumults and scenes that accompany

that calamity. The bake-houses were only opened at certain hours, and a guard was posted round them to keep the populace in order, who, nevertheless, frequently burst out into dangerous tumults. One day a man was shot at a bake-house almost opposite to my window.

“ While here, I obtained a few brief, but imperfect, notices of the state of the Servians; the sum and substance of which is, that although unanimous against their common foes, the Turks, they are factious and divided among themselves. The same spirit which they have exerted, has spread so rapidly and effectually throughout the whole of Bulgaria, that, if it were not for the presence of the armies, assembled on account of the war, the whole province would, by this time, have been either free, or in triumphant rebellion.” P. 354—358.

We have inserted these passages, because they give some account of the face and state of a country little known, and of the obstacles with which an invading force would have to contend. Previously to the war in the peninsula, men's minds were so strongly impressed with the results of the campaigns in Germany, that the conquest of Turkey in Europe was considered universally as an undertaking of the greatest facility.

We have recently in Spain seen campaigns conducted on different principles; the enemy has repeatedly been in military occupation of the country, without being materially advanced towards its subjugation. The state of society in Turkey is much less favourable to the advance of an army than that of Spain, and the obstacles which would be opposed to a force invading Turkey would be ten times more numerous and harassing. A compact and solid body of well disciplined European troops might probably advance in the face of the myriads of Asia to the Bosphorus, were it possible for them to carry with them a sufficient supply of provisions; but if they are to seek supplies in the country through which they advance, so few and so distant from each other are the villages, and so accustomed are the peasantry to move off with the greatest rapidity to the mountains with their stock, that regular troops dispersed on foraging parties would suffer extremely from the activity and dexterity of the Albanians, and the other light Turkish troops, perhaps better adapted for warfare in these mountainous tracts than any of the various tribes to be found in the Russian army.

To these impediments is to be added, the difficulty of conveying artillery across the mountains of the Balkan. It is from this arm that the Turks have principally suffered in their conflicts with the Russians. Neither is the disadvantage under which the Russians labour on the Danube, from the distance of their resources and of the seat of government, by any means inconsiderable.

We have no hesitation in asserting, that during the actual war, in no period have the disposable force and means of the Russians been adequate to advancing beyond the Danube; and the efforts which that nation is now capable of making for the conquest of European Turkey must of course be materially enfeebled, by the consideration that her Polish frontier is open to the inroad of a more powerful invader.

Whilst in the prosecution of this contest on the Danube, Russia has by various causes been prevented from making any very extraordinary exertions; the Turks have also abstained from calling forth the greatest resources of their empire, and have by little more than ordinary measures and voluntary levies been enabled to keep their enemy in check.

The protracted length of this campaign, has caused the Mussulmans in the more remote parts of Asia Minor to consider the advance of the Russians as a mere bugbear; but the first decided successes of the latter might, probably, awaken their dormant fanaticism, and the efforts of the Russians might be repelled by the enthusiasm of the Turks, who, in proportion as their cause becomes desperate, would flock in thicker hordes around the standard of Mahomed.

In the mean time nothing can be more gratifying to Buonaparte than this sanguinary warfare on the Danube. To the intrigues and machinations of his emissaries alone is to be attributed this profuse effusion of human blood. Subservient to his ambitious projects of controuling Europe, and of enforcing the continental system, he has scarcely a greater object than that of feeding the flames of war on the Danube. On the one hand, his agents at St. Petersburg are incessantly employed in impressing on the minds of that cabinet, the inconsistency of relinquishing the fruits of a five years war, or of ceding provinces they have held from the commencement of hostilities; they avail themselves also of every little reverse experienced by the Russian army to pique their love of military glory, and practise a thousand such subtle arts. Whilst on the other hand, at Constantinople they buoy up the hopes of the Porte, magnifying and extolling the power and resources of the Ottoman empire, and ridiculing the ignorance and want of military skill of the Russians; unceasingly representing to the divan, the disgrace of yielding the least portion of territory, which, as the Turks are enough inclined to believe, would break the whole charm of Mahomedan possession in Europe, and would be considered by the Prophet as the greatest of sins. And finally and chiefly, they hold out the flattering prospect of Buonaparte's marching to Petersburg, when, say they, "you,

the allies of the great Napoleon, shall dictate your own terms to our common enemies."

This is the way in which the French deceived Prussia while they were subduing Austria, in which they cajoled Russia while they were overrunning Prussia, in which they will paralise the Porte while they attempt to annihilate the power of the Autocrat. Should this object be attained, it is eviedent that the unwieldy mass of the Ottoman empire will then spontaneously crumble into dust, and lie resistless under the feet of the oppressor.

We shall not follow Mr. Galt in his return from Widdin to Constantinople, nor in his rapid tour to Nicomedie, the Grecian islands, Smyrna, &c. They contain no observations of much interest or originality; and the objects for which we undertook to review his work, namely, to elucidate the state of Sicily, and of affairs on the Danube, are now completed.

ART. XXII.—*Quinti Smyrnæi Posthomericonum libri XIV. nunc primum ad librorum MSS. fidem, et virorum doctorum conjecturas, recensuit, restituit, et supplevit* Thom. Christ. Tychsen. *Accesserunt observationes* Chr. Gottl. Heynii. Argentorati, ex Typographia Societatis Bipontinæ, 1807.

THE remote date which the title of this work exhibits seems almost to disqualify it for the notice of a Review, which was itself undertaken at a period considerably subsequent; yet such for some years has been the interrupted state of intercourse with the continent, that the importation of it has been comparatively recent; the copies which have been received are not, we suppose, numerous, and it is probably a work not as yet very extensively known in this country, at a time when we may again be said, like our British ancestors, to be divided from the world, or at least from the European division of it. Under these circumstances we have esteemed ourselves justified in reverting to this publication, though an interval of several years has elapsed since its first appearance on the continent.

The writer, whose work is the subject of this edition, is not indeed by any means entitled to stand in the first ranks of Greek literature, and his poem has at all times received, as it deserves, a share of attention much inferior to that which has been claimed by the more distinguished productions of the Grecian muse. The scholar, whose principal object in reading is the gratification of an elegant taste, or the acquisition of useful knowledge, will have directed his curiosity to many works of higher merit and more

extensive fame, before he descends to the comparatively uninviting pages of Quintus, obscure in reputation, and disfigured by corruption. The philologist will choose to bestow his labour on some of those departments of critical literature which have been cultivated with signal success, and in which, by the practice of accurate and elegant writers, a certain and acknowledged standard of judgment has been established, rather than involve himself in the study of an author, who flourished in a late age, whose authority is therefore of little weight, whose diction cannot always be reduced to the strict laws of antiquity, and probably not to a systematic consistency with itself. Though the poem of Quintus, notwithstanding these deductions from its importance, is by no means undeserving of attention, yet it is more interesting by its connection with various topics of literary and historical inquiry, than by any opportunity which it affords for curious, or minute, critical investigation.

This poem is remarkable for having appeared in the successive editions which it has hitherto obtained, in a state of corruption, which scarcely any other work of antiquity exhibits. It was first printed by Aldus from a very inaccurate manuscript, and the succeeding editors have transmitted nearly all the errors of the original impression. Many of these are indeed little more than very obvious mistakes of transcription, and may in numerous instances be corrected by the exercise of conjectural criticism alone, with a confidence little inferior to that which would be derived from the support of ancient manuscripts. This has accordingly been done by Rhodomannus in his annotations on this poet with distinguished success, and with a skill which proves his accurate and elegant knowledge of the ancient poetical diction. But in all editions, till the present, the received corruptions, however manifest, were suffered to retain their place; and Quintus was consequently an author who could not be perused without the inconvenience and mortification of meeting in almost every other sentence with some violation of sense, prosody, or grammar. A good edition of this author was therefore one of the desiderata of literature.

The labour of supplying this defect was long since undertaken by M. Tychsen, who having enjoyed the advantage of consulting extensive, and in some degree unexplored libraries in various parts of Europe, possessed some peculiar opportunities for this purpose; and literature has derived considerable benefit, and even some accession, from his researches. His intention of republishing Quintus was announced to the world in a critical dissertation on that author, entitled, *Commentatio de Quinti Smyrnæi Paralipomenis Homeri*; Gotting. 1783. The promise

here given has after a very long interval been in part carried into execution by the publication of the present volume, and we at length possess the text of Quintus in a state free at least from the gross corruptions which have hitherto disfigured it.

Any remarks which can at present be made on this edition, must necessarily be in some degree imperfect, as the authorities and notes do not accompany this volume, but are reserved for a future publication. We are left ignorant, therefore, which of the numerous emendations received into the text are derived from the authority of manuscripts, and which of them depend for their support on the conjectures of learned men. The copious and accurate dissertation which is prefixed to the present volume, contains, however, much curious and interesting literary information, and it will be the principal subject of our present notice.

The argument of Quintus Smyrnæus is sufficiently indicated by the title of *Posthomerica*, which his poem usually bears. He seems to have regarded the *Iliad* of Homer (we may be allowed to conjecture) as a detached fragment of the Trojan story, which he probably considered as executed with spirit and genius; but regretted that so noble a composition should be brought, as he conceived, to no regular and perfect conclusion. He therefore resolved to perform the same service for it, which at a subsequent period was undertaken by Maphæus Vegius, with similar views, for the *Æneid*. This supposition is at least suggested by the form of his work, which takes up the incidents of the Trojan war at the conclusion of the *Iliad*, and pursues them in a regular narrative to the capture of the city, and the departure of the Grecian fleet. If such were the design of the poet, it is evident that he had little comprehension of the nature of epic unity, and little perception of that excellence of plan which distinguishes the *Iliad*, and is not one of the least remarkable circumstances of that extraordinary composition.

As the poem of Quintus has been little read, a brief account of the incidents which it comprises will not be useless, especially as they possess a close connection with an important and curious subject of Greek literary history. The work consists of fourteen books. The business of the poem occupies about thirty-two days, independently on a few scattered passages which contain no distinct calculation of time, so that the interval which it supposes to have elapsed between the concluding events of the *Iliad*, and the catastrophe of the Trojan war, consists of about forty days. The following are the principal events.

A few days after the performance of the funeral rites of Hector, the Amazon Penthesilea, with a train of her attendants, arrives to the aid of the Trojans, and having signalized her valour,

falls, in a combat with Achilles. Thersites reviles Achilles for his expressions of regret at the fate of Penthesilea, and is slain by him. This occasions a contention between Diomede and Achilles, which is appeased by the intervention of the Greeks. The Trojans, reduced to despondency by their successive defeats, summon a council to deliberate concerning their affairs. Memnon, the son of Aurora, arrives with a band of Æthiopians, and on the following day contends with Achilles, and is slain. The principal event of the subsequent battle is the death of Achilles, who is wounded in the heel by Apollo. Funeral games are performed in honour of the hero, and his arms are proposed as the reward of superior merit. The competitors are Ajax and Ulysses, who plead their cause before a singular tribunal of judges, an assembly of the Trojan captives. The award is given in favour of Ulysses. The disappointment of Ajax is converted into madness, and in this distemper of his imagination, he assails the flocks of the Greeks, supposing that he is inflicting vengeance on his enemies, especially the Atridæ and Ulysses, and finally falls by his own hand.

It is observable, that Quintus on various occasions imitates, with a servile closeness, the remarkable incidents of the *Iliad*. As in the second book of that poem, Agamemnon after the secession of Achilles, thinks it prudent to make an experiment of the disposition of the Greeks; so Menelaus is here represented as addressing the army with a feigned speech, exhorting them to desist from the calamitous and hopeless enterprise in which they were engaged. Calchas, who maintains the same office in Quintus as in Homer, exhorts the Greeks to seek the aid of Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, and they send an embassy to Scyros for that purpose. In the mean time a third auxiliary, Eurypylus, a descendant of Hercules, arrives at Troy with an army of Mysians, and the fortune of war is turned against the Greeks, who (in conformity again with Homer) are driven to their ships, to which the victorious Trojans threaten to set fire. Ulysses and Diomede return from Scyros, bringing with them Neoptolemus to the Grecian camp. In the battle which ensues, Eurypylus is slain by Neoptolemus. Philoctetes, who had been abandoned in the island of Lemnos by the Greeks, is prevailed on by Diomede and Ulysses to join the camp, and his wound is healed by the sons of Æsculapius. Paris, being wounded by the arrows of Philoctetes, is destined by the fates to be saved only by the intervention of C  none, whom he had deserted. She refuses her aid, and the destination of the fates is fulfilled in his death. C  none, relenting too late, throws herself in despair upon his funeral pile, and is consumed. The Greeks make an

assault upon the city, but are repelled by the valour of *Æneas*. Calchas and Ulysses suggest the stratagem of the wooden horse, which Minerva inspires, and assists *Epeus* to construct. At this passage of the poem a combat of the gods intervenes, evidently imitated from Homer, and not deficient in spirit. The poet proceeds to relate the departure of the Greeks for Tenedos, the fraud of Sinon, the fate of Laocoön, told somewhat differently from the description of the same event in Virgil, the joy of the Trojans at their supposed deliverance, their fatal insecurity, and the devastation of the city. The shade of Achilles appears to his son, demanding the sacrifice of Polyxena, which is yielded to him. The captives are divided, and the fleet departs. On the return, Ajax, the Locrian, perishes by shipwreck, in a tempest raised by Minerva, in revenge for the violation of her temple.

It is not easy to ascertain with any considerable degree of accuracy the age of the poem, the chief incidents of which we have here briefly described.

The first indication of time may be derived from the style. The general character of the language does not resemble that of the pure and flourishing ages of Greek poetry. It has a scholastic air, which seems to refer it to the age of imitators; it is often loaded with useless epithets, and interspersed with fragments of Homeric diction, not always aptly introduced; the sentiments and descriptions are usually trivial, the expression of them often pompous and inflated. Rhodomanus thinks that the language of Quintus bears a considerable resemblance to that of Coluthus, Tryphiodorus, Musæus, and Nonnus, a class of recent writers, who may be termed the grammatical poets; and who seem, in general, to have flourished about the fourth or fifth century after the Christian æra.

Some marks of time may also be deduced from allusions and descriptions which occur in the poem. That it was written after the Roman power had risen to a great height, is apparent from the prophecy put into the mouth of Calchas, which describes the future dominion of the posterity of *Æneas*, seated on the banks of the Tiber, and extending their empire to the utmost limits of the east and west.

Τὸν γὰρ θέσφατόν ἐστι, θεῶν ἐρικύδει βουλῇ,
 Θύμβριν ἐπ' εὐρυρέεθρον ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο μολόντα,
 τευξέμεν ἱερὸν ἄστυ, καὶ ἐσσομένοισιν ἀγῆτὸν
 ἀνδρώποισι, αὐτὸν δὲ πολυσπερέσσι βροτοῖσι
 κοιρανέειν· ἐκ τοῦ δὲ γένος μετόπισθεν ἀνάξειν,
 ἄχρις ἐπ' ἀντολίην τε, καὶ αἰκάματον δύσιν ἔλθῃ.

xiii. 335.

A simile which describes the games of the Circus, and the

combats with beasts, peculiar to the customs of the Romans; affords another general ground of conjecture respecting the age of the poem. The term *ανακτες*, which is employed in this description, is that by which the Greeks were accustomed to denote the Roman emperors; and there can be little doubt from this circumstance that Quintus flourished under the imperial dominion.

..... τοὶ δ' ἐν μέσσοισιν ἔόντες
στρωφῶντ' εὐτε σύες μέσῳ ερκεῖ, ἡδὲ λέοντες,
ἥματι τῷ οὔτ' ἀνακτες ἀολλίσσως' ἀνθρώπους,
ἀργαλέως τ' εἰλῶσι, κακὸν τεύχοντες ὄλεθρον
θηρσὶν ὑπὸ κρατεροῖς· οἱ δ' ερκεος ἐντὸς ἔόντες,
δμῶας δαρδάπτουσιν, ὃ τις σφίσις ἐγγὺς ἴκηται.

vi. 531.

To these evidences it may be added, that Quintus is quoted and mentioned only by authors of a late age, and rarely indeed by them. It is the opinion of M. Tychsen, that he probably flourished about the time of the emperor Julian. Earlier than this, from his style, and the general analogy of the Greek literary history, he cannot well be placed.

The personal history of the author is involved in still greater obscurity than the period of time in which he flourished. The few grammarians by whom he is cited simply call him Quintus, which is also his appellation in the most ancient manuscripts, without the epithet of Calaber, added in the Aldine and subsequent editions, and by common usage attached to his name. For this title no better reason is given than that a manuscript of his work, till then unknown, was discovered by Cardinal Bessarion at Otranto, a town of Calabria. To this supposition the editors of the *Journal des Sçavans* have objected; that Otranto is not situated in Calabria, but in Apulia. It is, however, by many geographers of reputation assigned to the former province, and was, in fact, situated within its ancient limits.

The poet himself, in a single place, has left us a sufficiently clear intimation of his country. The passage is addressed to the muses.

ὕμεῖς γὰρ πᾶσάν μοι ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θήκατ' αἰοιδῆν,
πρὶν μοι αὐτὸ παρήια κατασκίδνασθαι Ἴουλον,
Σμύρνης ἐν δαπέδοισι περικλυτὰ μῆλα νέμοντι,
τρὶς τόσον Ἑρμοῦ ἄπωθεν· ὅσον βοόωντος ἀκούσαι,
Ἄρτεμιδος περὶ νηὸν, ἐλευθερίῳ ἐνὶ κήπῳ,
οὔρεϊ οὔτε λίην χθαρμαλῶ, οὔθ' ὑψόθι πολλῶ.

xii. 308.

As these words leave little doubt respecting the country of the poet, the appellation of Smyrnæus, expressive of the place

of his birth or residence, has been of late more usually added to his name than the former, but erroneous, title of Calaber. The meaning of the passage has, however, been differently expounded by critics. Some learned men have constructed a fanciful hypothesis for the allegorical interpretation of it, and have imagined that, under the figure of a shepherd attending his flock, the poet meant to allude to his own profession, which they suppose to have been that of a grammarian or instructor of youth. "Quid enim aliud," says Rhodomannus, the best of the commentators on Quintus, "per musarum hortum et oves, præterquam scholam, et discipulos in eâ doctrinæ et eloquentiæ studiis addictos intelligi existimemus?" This notion, besides the utter uncertainty of all such allegorical hypotheses, appears to be sufficiently refuted by the age which the poet ascribes to himself while engaged in this pastoral occupation, and which seems scarcely consistent with that celebrity in his scholastic profession which the advocates of this interpretation suppose him to have attained. The passage is therefore to be literally understood; and it is possible, as Bayle conjectures, that the writer intended to allude to the poetical fiction of Hesiod, who represented himself as visited by the inspiration of the muses while feeding his sheep in Helicon. The sole conclusion of fact which can be deduced from it is, that the poet was a native or an early resident of Smyrna or its vicinity.

One of the most singular of the various unfounded notions which have been entertained respecting him is that of Barnes *, who, from the circumstance that Ennius was a Calabrian, and because he also bore the name of Quintus, has proposed it as a probable supposition, that this Latin poet was the author of the *Posthomerica*. Quintus Calaber means, therefore, according to his interpretation, Quintus Ennius, the Calabrian. It is sufficient to say in refutation of this conjecture, if it deserve the name, that we have no evidence that Ennius employed the Greek language in the composition of any of his poems. Barthius supposing, with no authority, that the author was a Greek who flourished in an early age, will not allow that Quintus, as being a Latin word, can have been his real name, and supposes it to have been the appellation of some Roman possessor of this work, whose name being inscribed on his copy, was taken for that of the poet. It is, however, well known, that long before the age in which it is necessary to suppose Quintus to have flourished, the practice had become common of communicating the rights

* Il. ii. 219.

of citizenship, and giving Roman names to strangers. Reinesius conjectured the name of Quintus, or Cointus, as it is sometimes written, to be a corruption of Corinthus, and supposed the grammarian of that name to be the author of the poem in question. An opinion so vague neither admits nor requires a distinct confutation. Nor does the conjecture of Chandler * appear to be more fortunate, who argues from the following verses of Ovid,

‘ Tu canis æterno quidquid restabat Homero,
Ne careant summa Troica bella manu.’

De Pont. II. x. 13.

that Æmilius Macer, a Roman poet, to whom they are addressed, was the writer of this supplement to the Iliad. It is obvious that, from the identity of their subjects, the identity of the authors cannot be inferred. The anonymous editor of Aristotle’s Poetics, published at Oxford in 1760, has introduced among his notes a dissertation, the object of which is to prove that the poem of Quintus is the little Iliad mentioned by that critic. The arguments employed are much too weak to establish such a conclusion, and do not indeed deserve to be enumerated. The author of the latter poem is known to have been Lesches; it was of great antiquity, the fragments of it do not occur in Quintus, nor do the subjects of the two works fully coincide.

We must therefore be content with the scanty information which time has spared, that there flourished at Smyrna in some recent, but not very certain age, a poet named Quintus, of whom history has transmitted no other knowledge, and of whom the work before us seems to be the only remaining monument.

With respect to the merit of this poem, we have already intimated that our opinion of it is by no means so exalted as that of those critics who have represented it as little inferior to the immortal work of which it professes to be the continuation. In the invention of circumstances and arrangement of incidents, it is not entitled to any distinguished praise. There was probably, indeed, but little demand in this respect on the invention of the poet, his subject having been largely treated, in the same order, by preceding writers. No skill of epic arrangement has been practised by him, unless we may refer to this head a species of artifice, which, in imitation of Homer, he has adopted, of making the exploits of different heroes in succession the prin-

* Tychsen, *Comm. de Q. S.* xxii.

principal objects of his narrative, and thus concentrating and varying the interest. In the characters we find little of that strength and discrimination which distinguish those of the *Iliad*. A general poverty and triteness of sentiment and description pervade the work, very different from the richness, spirit, and originality of Homer. The similes are abundant; many of them are mean and coarse, although some appear not deficient either in propriety or invention. The chief merit of the poem appears to us to consist in the free and copious use which the writer possesses of the diction of Homer. He is styled, however, by Rhodomannus, *Iliados continuator, Homeri simillimus, and poeta longe præstantissimus*; while another of his editors observes, *adeo verbosus est Quintus, ut si otiosa et superflua tollas, pars tertia fere operi decedet*.

The subject of the Trojan war is well known to have attained the highest degree of celebrity among the Grecian writers, especially the epic and dramatic poets. The latter have treated several of the events which fall within the plan of Quintus; but he seems to have been little indebted to them for his incidents, sentiments, or delineation of characters. The plan and form of his work, there is reason to believe, was, in a great degree, borrowed from some very ancient epic writers, whose works have long since perished, and who are usually known under the denomination of the *cyclic* poets.

Many of the numerous narrative poems which anciently existed, beginning with the earliest fables of mythology, and ending with the Trojan war, and the events immediately subsequent, were, in process of time, formed by the grammarians into a connected system, called the epic cyclus, the most distinct account of which is preserved in some fragments of a celebrated grammatical treatise of Proclus, entitled *Chrestomathia*, by which the arguments of some of the principal poems embodied in that great collection have been transmitted to us. Some of these fragments are preserved by Photius; the most important of them were recently discovered by Tychsen and Siebenkees in valuable manuscripts of the libraries of the Escorial and St. Mark. The latter were first communicated to the world in a German journal, and have very properly been rendered more accessible to English scholars by Mr. Gaisford, being reprinted in the edition of *Hephæstio*, lately published by him at Oxford. From the inspection of the curious arguments preserved by Proclus, it plainly appears that the work of Quintus bears a close and remarkable affinity to the ancient cyclic poems.

The first in this series relating to the Trojan war, was the

Cypria, a production of so great antiquity, as even in the age of Herodotus to be ascribed by some to Homer, though the historian shews the error of that supposition, by the inconsistency of this work in the relation of certain facts with the acknowledged writings of that poet. This work related entirely to the events prior to the Iliad. It has therefore no connection with the subject of Quintus, and its author is uncertain.

The *Æthiopis* of Arctinus, the Milesian, immediately succeeded the Iliad in the order of narration. This very ancient poet is placed by some writers in the fourth, by others, in the ninth Olympiad. His work derived its title from Memnon, the *Æthiopian*, whose exploits and death, among other events, it related. It consisted of five books, and appears from the argument preserved by Proclus to have comprised the events of the Trojan war, from the arrival of Penthesilea to the contest of Ajax and Ulysses. It was coincident in subject with the first five books of Quintus, though the incidents must have been treated more diffusely, as we learn from an ancient monument that it consisted of nine thousand verses.

The subject of the *Æthiopis* was continued by the little Iliad, of which Lesches, the Lesbian, was the reputed author. He is supposed to have flourished in the middle of the seventh century before the Christian æra. The argument of this poem is also preserved by Proclus. It concluded, or was made by the grammarians to conclude, somewhat abruptly with the construction of the wooden horse. The part of Quintus, which corresponds with it, extends from the sixth to the twelfth book. The Iliad of Lesches consisted of four books.

On the destruction of Troy, two ancient poems were extant, written by the two authors just mentioned. The argument of that by Arctinus is alone preserved, and the events appear to have differed little from those related by Quintus.

The subject of the epic cyclus, though obscure, is curious, and the poem of Quintus appears to possess additional interest, as the only remaining representative of an important part of that ancient collection. The language seems to have been entirely his own, as no traces of imitation of the few fragments of the original poems which have been preserved occur in him.

A curious monument has been transmitted from antiquity, intended to be illustrative of Homer, and some of the cyclic poems, and possessing some connection with that of Quintus. It was discovered at Rome in the seventeenth century, and a representation of it was published by Fabretti at the end of his work on the column of Trajan. It is likewise given by Montfaucon; but a better engraving of it may be found in the fourth

volume of the Museum Capitolinum, Pl. lxxviii. It is in a rude style of execution, representing in many compartments various events taken from the poems of Homer, Arctinus, and Lesches as is signified by an inscription on the monument itself. Part of it is lost. The names of the heroes are indicated by inscriptions placed under their figures. The incidents taken from the cyclic poets closely agree with the remaining arguments of their works, and with that of Quintus.

The style of Quintus, as a poet, has been already touched on. His chief peculiarities of language, in a grammatical view, some of which indicate his age, are the following.

The language, like that of the other Greek epic poems, is in general constructed in imitation of the diction of Homer, with such variations as time, and the practice of writing in a dialect which, in the later ages, had become in some degree artificial, may have naturally produced. Some frequent peculiarities which occur in the use of the pronoun of the third person, connect this writer with other poets of a recent age: The pronoun *οι*, in the dative form, is used with a strange latitude in the Argonautics of the Pseudo-Orpheus. In Quintus it occurs frequently with the power of a genitive, and even admits the connection of a participle in the genitive form, of which licence instances are cited by Herman* from Oppian, and the poem entitled *Lithica*. So in Quintus:

. καὶ οἱ αμαρτε,
τυτθὸν ἀλευαμένοιο.

II. 245.

The other peculiarities ascribed by Herman to the use of this word by Quintus, seem to be doubtful.

Some forms of declension occur in this poet, such as *νηδυά* and *οἰζύα*, which are not found in Homer. The distinction established by Dawes in the use of the optative and subjunctive moods after such particles as *ἵνα*, which is not always observed by Homer, is still less regularly regarded by Quintus. He uses the phrase *ὡς ὄφελον* adverbially, without the variation of person and power of government, which in Homer it possesses. The word *ἐκποθεν* is frequently employed as a preposition. Some other minute particularities of words and construction occur.

The literary history of this poem may be briefly dispatched. It first became known in the western parts of Europe since the revival of literature, as we are informed in the life of Coluthus prefixed to the Aldine edition, from the discovery of a manu-

* Orphica, p. 800.

script by Cardinal Bessarion, in the church of St. Nicholas near Otranto. It was first published by Aldus from a very inaccurate manuscript, without a date. It is usually supposed to have been printed in 1521, but has been proved by Renouard to have appeared so early as 1504 or 1505. The other editions, (which are few in number) with the exception of those of Rhodomannus and Pauw, it is not necessary to mention. The former (whose edition appeared in 1604) has, in his notes, done almost all for Quintus that can be done by conjecture for a very corrupt writer. The edition of the latter, from its typography, and its collection of the notes of various editors, is the most commodious and agreeable of the editions which preceded that of M. Tychsen.

The manuscripts of Quintus, which are known to exist, are eighteen, chiefly very recent. Two of these, those of Naples and Munich, are far more valuable than the rest. The former was written in 1311; the latter is only a fragment, yet, in the parts which it contains, has supplied ten verses wanting in other copies.

Many of these manuscripts have been collated for the present edition. "Quantum ex hoc apparatu profecerit Quintus meus," says the editor, "ipso carmine legendo intelligere velim lectores. Accesserunt ei versus XXIII. e codicibus plenioribus ducti, quorum X. solus Monacensis suppeditavit. Lacunæ insigniores expletæ sunt XVI."

With respect to the improvement which the text has received in this edition, to those who are acquainted with Quintus in the former editions, it may be sufficient to observe, that it is now possible to read him throughout with little obstruction arising from gross and monstrous corruption. For how much of this benefit we are indebted to the manuscripts, and how much of it has no higher authority than the conjecture of ingenious and learned critics, we are unable to determine. For the purpose of ascertaining, in some degree, this question, we have closely collated the ninth book in the editions of Tychsen and Pauw. All the instances of variation it would be tedious to enumerate. The results we shall mention, and point out some of the most important alterations.

The book consists of 545 verses; the instances of variation from the former editions exceed one hundred. Of these, nearly eighty, we believe, are either derived from the conjectures of Rhodomannus, or are coincident with them. The principal of them we shall here enumerate.

V. 4. ἀτελῆρες is well substituted for ἀτελῆροι, the reading of former editions, which cannot stand, as well from its impro-

priety, as from the occurrence of the same adjective in the preceding verse. The authority of the new reading we do not know.

14. The indubitable conjecture of Pauw, λαοὶ for ἄλλοι, is admitted into the text.

36. The conjecture of Rhodomannus is admitted, πυρὶ καιέμεν, for περικαιέμεν.

45. This verse is probably corrupt, the adjective διγῆεις standing without a substantive. No correction of it appears in the present edition. Perhaps a line is wanting.

64. ἴσαν is properly received from the correction of Rhodomannus for ἔσαν.

100. This corrupt passage is well restored either from authority or ingenious conjecture. We shall transcribe the readings of the two editions.

..... ἔοικε δὲ πάντ' Ἀχιλῆϊ
μήτε τιν' ἄλλον Ἀχαιῶν ὑποτρομέειν περὶ πατρὸς
μαρναμένους.

PAUW.

ἔοικε δὲ μήτ' Ἀχιλῆα,
μήτε τιν' ἄλλον, &c.

TYCHSEN.

104. Some verses respecting the vicissitudes of human affairs which here occur, being in rather a more vigorous strain than is usual with the versification of Quintus, we shall on that account transcribe them.

ἢ οὐπὶ τὸδε οἶδατ' ἀνὰ φρένας, ὡς ἀλεγεινοῖς
ἀνδράσιν ἐκ καμάτοιο πέλει θαλίη τε, καὶ ὄλβος,
ἐκ δ' ἄρα λευγαλέων ἀνέμων. καὶ χειματος αἰνοῦ,
Ζεὺς ἐπάγει μερόπεςσι δι' ἥρος εὐδίων ἡμᾶρ,
ἐκ τ' ὀλοῆς νούσοιο πέλει σθένος, ἐκ τε μόθοιο
εἰρήνη; τὰ δὲ πάντα χρονῶ μεταμείβεται ἔργα.

In the last of these lines ἔργα is received from the conjecture of Rhodomannus, for ἔργω, a reading devoid of sense.

155. In this extremely corrupt passage the ingenious and clear emendation of Rhodomannus is received into the text. The old reading is,

ἵπποισι δ' ἐκέκλετο μακρὰ τινάσσων
Εὐκλήρου δ' ἔχε μᾶστιν.

The sense of the passage is clearly restored by reading,

ἵπποισι δ' ἐκέκλετο μακρὰ τινάσσων
εὐλῆρ', οὐδ' ἔχε μᾶστιν.

252. αἰχμῆς appears in this edition at the conclusion of the

verse, in place of the former reading ὀρμῆς. The variation is probably taken from the manuscripts.

263. The hiatus of the common editions is supplied from the manuscripts by the insertion of the following verse:

ὡς ἄρ' ἔφη· δνοφερὸν δὲ νέφος καθύπερθε Κρονίων.

307. For οἰωνοὶ κατέλιπον is read οἰωνοὶ κατέρυκον, a good emendation, probably derived from manuscripts.

353. This verse also supplies a new and valuable reading. In the former editions it is obviously corrupt.

Οἱ δ' ὅτε δὴ Λῆμνον κίον, ἠδὲ καὶ ἄντρον κοῖλον
λαίνεον.

The conjecture of Rhodomannus for κοῖλον is ἱκανον or ἱκοντα: ἔδυνον, the reading of the present edition, is much better.

375. This passage is in the former reading extremely corrupt. The correction of it is dubious. The elision of the final syllable of οὐνεκα before the pronoun οἱ, which the present edition exhibits, is not agreeable to the usual practice of Quintus and the other epic poets.

384. ἰου ἀπὸ στυφελοῖο, τὸν οἱ ἐνομόρξατ' ὁδοῦσι

This verse will be improved by reading στυφελουῖ. The aspirate of the pronoun οἱ has usually the power of producing a position.

390. The indubitable correction of Rhodomannus, ἰχωρῆς for χωρῆς, is received into the text.

455. For πίσσα περιδμηθεῖσα is read πυρὶ δμηθεῖσα: a correction which we likewise find inserted in the margin of a copy formerly in the possession of Gilbert Wakefield.

461—463. These verses are represented according to the very excellent conjecture of Rhodomannus. They stand thus in the old editions, and may afford a specimen of the corruption of Quintus:

τὸν δὲ στερεὸν καὶ ἄνουσον
ῥακύτερον ποίησεν· ὃ δ' ἡματος αἰψηροῖο
ἶσος ἐπουρανίοις Ποδαλείριος.

The emendation is indubitable.

ῥακύτερον ποίησε νόηματος αἰψηροῖο.

The care of the typographical execution is highly spoken of in the preface. The errors are not, in fact, numerous, but some of them are rather gross. Thus, in the 9th book, (vv. 59, 448) δυσμηνέες and δῖα occur for δυσμενέες and δῖαν. We have also to notice a typographical barbarism which defaces this and other books printed by the Deuxpont Society; the employment of the

separate characters ΣΤ to denote the numeral Bau episemon, which has no other affinity with them than its accidental similarity of form to the contracted character used for those two letters.

We have derived so much satisfaction from the perusal of this work in its present state, that we shall be much gratified by seeing the completion of it in the publication of the second volume containing the annotations. As far as we can judge without the possession of the authorities, it bears the marks of being executed with fidelity and diligence. The observations of Heyne, announced in the title, are reserved, we suppose, for the next volume.

ART. XXIII.—*Some Account of the Life and Writings of James Benigne Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux.* By Charles Butler, Esq. London: Longman and Co. 1812.

WE have read with interest the small volume now before us. Allowing for the partiality of a biographer, and for the natural bias which, in the present instance, he may be supposed to derive from being himself a Roman Catholic, we are enabled, by the perusal of these pages, to form a tolerably fair estimate of the character and attainments of the distinguished prelate whose life they record. James Benigne Bossuet descended from an ancient and noble family in Burgundy. He was born on the 27th of September, 1627. An ardour for study was discovered in him in his earliest years, and the Bible having accidentally engaged his attention when he was a mere boy, he perused it with exquisite delight; his attachment to the sacred pages increased with his years; and he was generally supposed to know their whole contents by heart.

He first studied at the college of Jesuits at Dijon, where, from his laborious application, he obtained the nick-name of Bos Suetus Aratro, in allusion to the surname of his family. Afterwards he removed to the college of Navarre at Paris. The principal of this college was Nicholas Cornet, a person of great learning, and one of the earliest and most formidable antagonists of the Jansenists. In 1652, Bossuet received the order of priesthood, having previously taken the degree of doctor. His first preferment we are told was a canonicate in the cathedral church of Metz, and he was successively raised to the rank of arch-deacon and dean of that church. The affairs of the cathedral making it necessary that he should go to Paris, he frequently

preached in the capital. His sermons were universally applauded, and much admired by Louis XIV. who, in 1669, nominated him to the bishopric of Condom.

On the death of the president, Perigny, preceptor to the dauphin, Bossuet was appointed to fill his place.

“ Soon after the education of the dauphin was finished, Lewis the Fourteenth nominated Bossuet to the bishopric of Meaux. He was appointed successively, almoner to the dauphiness,—superior of the college of Navarre,—warden of the university of Sorbonne,—counsellor of state, and first almoner of the Duchess of Burgundy. When that princess came from Bavaria into France, for her marriage, Lewis XIV. appointed several persons of distinction at his court, with Madame de Maintenon and Bossuet at their head, to meet her. ‘ This,’ Madame de Sevigné wrote to her daughter, ‘ is a great distinction. If the dauphiness thinks all the men and women in France resemble the two, which have been sent her, she will be greatly disappointed.’ ”

“ Bossuet’s residence in his diocese was constant. Immediately after his consecration, he re-assumed the function of preaching. His sermons were then in the nature of familiar discourses: full of unction and plain instruction; and breathing a pastoral solicitude for his flock, which gained their hearts. He was particularly solicitous that the children, within his diocese, should be assiduously catechised, and thoroughly grounded in their religion. He composed, for their use, three catechisms, for beginners, the instructed, and the well-instructed.—They are printed among his posthumous works; but they have been altogether superseded by the excellent catechisms of Fleury. If it were necessary to mention the book of early instruction, the want of which, among Roman Catholics, it would be most difficult to supply, the Historical Catechism of Fleury would, perhaps, be the first thought of. Bossuet also composed for the general use of his diocese, a Prayer-book of the usual devotions, and translated for its use several hymns of the church.

“ He was attentive both to the spiritual and temporal wants of the poor. He was most kind to the inferior clergy of his diocese, and drew many ecclesiastics of distinction into it. He held religious conferences with the most learned of his clergy: a Treatise on the Love of God, published among his works, resulted from them.

“ In two long law-suits, he successfully supported the spiritual jurisdiction of the see of Meaux, against the princely abbesses of Jouarre and Faremoutiers. These were the only contests by which the administration of his diocese was disturbed. That there was a noble simplicity in all his proceedings; that his manners were conciliating; that he confined himself within his proper sphere of duty; that he was zealous for the glory of God, officious to serve his friends, charitable to the poor, and benevolent to all, is proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all his contemporaries. He enjoyed an uniform

state of good health, till the last year of his life. He was then afflicted with the stone." P. 168, &c.

Bossuet died on the 12th of April, 1704, in the 76th year of his age. Having given this slight sketch of his life, we must proceed to his writings, habits, and general character. Mr. Butler gives the following testimony:—

"All the biographers of Bossuet mention, that, in the early part of his studies, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages; that he had repeatedly perused the works of the principal poets, historians, and orators of antiquity, and that Homer and Demosthenes, among the Greeks, and Virgil among the Latins, were his favourite authors. His acquaintance with them gave him that chaste and nervous style, which is so seldom attained by persons who have not formed themselves on those models. In the works of such writers, brilliant, pathetic, and even sublime passages are often found; but that, which constitutes the perfection of style, and alone enables it to engage attention, when it is not excited by a sentiment, an image, or a turn of phrase particularly striking, the indescribable charm of the proper word in the proper place, is learned nowhere, but in the Greek and Roman school. With how much difficulty it is attained, Bossuet himself is a striking example. The Benedictine editors of his works inform us, that his manuscripts are so much disfigured by obliterations, insertions, and corrections of every sort, as to be almost illegible. This is the case of almost all writers, whose works reach a future age. It was particularly the case of a celebrated orator and author of our times. Nothing seems more flowing or more easy than the style of the late Mr. Edmund Burke; it has all the appearance of an effusion of unpremeditated eloquence. But we are informed, that almost every period in his writings was written over three times, at least, before it satisfied its author; and that, even in that state, the work was printed with a large margin, for the purpose of a still further revision; and was, even then, once more corrected before it was submitted to the public eye.—Such is the toilsome drudgery to which every writer must submit, who aspires to be numbered among the classical writers of his country.—Yet, after all the labour we have mentioned, the writings of Bossuet, those even which he polished with the greatest care, are not wholly free from sins against syntax and grammar.

"Through life, Bossuet was a very early riser: and if, while he was in bed, his sleep was delayed or interrupted, he availed himself of it, to write his letters, or to commit to paper any interesting thought which occurred to him; he also frequently gave this time to prayer. No portion of time, he used to say, was so favourable to devotion as the stillness of the night; none, when the Holy Spirit was more propitious to those who invoke him.

"He had no regular hours for his meals; visits of ceremony, which

the most imperious etiquette did not prescribe, he neither received nor paid: but it appears that he was easy of access, and affable in conversation.—He was so covetous of his time, as to deny himself the blameless recreation of a walk in his garden. Once, however, he fell into conversation with his gardener; and remarked that his garden had few of his visits.—‘That is very true,’ said the gardener; ‘but; if the trees bore Chrysostoms, or Austins, or Ambroses, you would be devouring their fruit from morning to night.’” P. 8, &c.

One of Bossuet's first works was an eloquent reply to a letter which father Caffaro, a Theatine monk, wrote to Boursault, a dramatic writer, and published in defence of the stage.

In the work before us, there is an account of the rise and progress of the modern form of theatrical amusements. They originated, according to our author, in the days of chivalry, and were made, in some degree, subservient to religion.

“The first glimmering of the restoration of the drama is discernible in some exhibitions which generally made a part of the national feasts of the Carlovingian monarchs. These feasts were opened by a grand high-mass; the deliberation followed, and was succeeded by a sumptuous dinner. After dinner, shows of foreign beasts, and of animals, trained to do particular tricks and exercises, were exhibited; and ballad-singers, harpers, and jugglers, the rude forefathers of the modern drama, also attended, and contributed their share to the festivities of the day.

“Chivalry introduced into them magnificence, order, and refinement. It is probable, that the tilts and tournaments of the feudal ages excelled whatever ancient or modern times have produced, in the form of public spectacle; and to them we owe the revival of the scenic art. The provençal bards often appeared at them in companies, and recited tragic or comic poems. By degrees they formed them into dialogues, and, to make their dialogues more interesting, put on a dress and gait suitable to those of the persons whose characters they assumed. From this, the passage to an exhibition, possessing all the substantial requisites of a scenic entertainment, was easy; and, as nothing could be more congenial than these exhibitions to the taste and manners of a chivalrous age, they soon attained a high degree of order. But there was more pageantry in them than of dialogue, and every thing about them had a military air. Devotion, however, had some share in them; so that there were both secular and religious dramas. They were distinguished into *mysteries*, in which remarkable events in the Scriptures, or in the lives of the saints, were represented; *allegories*, in which Faith, Hope, Charity, Sin, and Death, and other mystic beings, were introduced to speak and act in personification; and *moralities*, in which sometimes real and sometimes fictitious characters were brought into scenic action, and a general moral was drawn from the

exhibition. Of these entertainments, the mysteries were most popular: they were sometimes performed in churches.

“A confraternity, under the appellation of the confraternity of the holy passion, obtained from the parliament of Paris a patent, which conferred on the members of it the exclusive right of representing dramatic exhibitions in the city of Paris; but the disorders, to which they gave rise, induced the parliament in 1541 and 1548, to forbid their representing sacred subjects.—At a much earlier period, the exhibition of them in churches had been absolutely prohibited by the clergy.—When these sacred exhibitions were interdicted to the confraternity of the holy passion, they assigned their privilege to a troop of comic actors, called the ‘*enfants sans souci*.’ There were other companies, but the *enfants sans souci* were always the favourite performers. Their privilege was revoked in 1584.—They were succeeded by a company called the ‘*gelosi*,’ and those, by the company called ‘*l’elite royal*,’ which, in 1641, was indirectly sanctioned by an edict of Lewis the Thirteenth,—the magna charta of the French theatre. This company afterwards divaricated into two branches; one established itself at the Hotel de Bourgogne, and the other at the Hotel d’Argent aux Marais. The abolition of tilts and tournaments, the revival of the arts and sciences, the merit of some dramatic writers, the great extension of the city of Paris, the increase of its wealth, and of the number of its idle inhabitants, and the consequential diffusion of gallantry, produced, in the capital, an universal passion for stage entertainment. It rapidly pervaded every part of the kingdom, so that, towards the end of the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth, there scarcely was, in his dominions, a town of any consequence, which had not its theatre.—The introduction of the Italian opera into France, in 1633, carried dramatic song and dance to their utmost pitch of refinement.” P. 17, &c.

Much was written and said on this occasion against the lawfulness of stage entertainments, which no doubt still continued to be frequented by respectable persons. In this conflict of example and argument, father Caffaro undertook the defence of theatres, and proved himself an able advocate in their cause.

“Father Caffaro begins his letter with an acknowledgment, which may be thought to make the defence of the stage an arduous undertaking. ‘The more I examine the holy fathers,’—these are his own expressions,—‘the more I read the works of theologians, the more I consult the casuists, the less I feel myself able to form any conclusion. The school divines are somewhat less hostile to the theatre; but I hardly find a passage in them which sounds in its favour, when I feel myself overwhelmed by a torrent of passages from councils and fathers of every age, who have thundered against the theatre, and employed all the fervour of their zeal and powers of their eloquence to make it an object of horror to Christians.’ He

cludes the sentence which these high authorities seem to pronounce against the stage, by bringing before the reader the abominations with which the theatrical representations of Rome abounded, and from which the theatre of his, and our times, are certainly free.—‘But, you must read the fathers very carelessly,’ Bossuet indignantly replies, ‘if you find that, in the theatrical exhibitions of their times, the fathers condemned nothing more than their idolatrous representations, or their scandalous and open impurities.—They equally condemn the idleness, the enormous dissipation of spirit, the violent emotions so little becoming a Christian, whose heart should be the sanctuary of the peace of God, the desire of seeing and being seen, the being engrossed with vanity, which banish from the heart all recollection of God, of his holy presence, of his awful judgments. In the midst of all this pomp and agitation, who, they ask, can raise his heart to God? Who would be bold enough to address himself to the deity, and say to him, ‘O my God, I am here, because it is thy holy will!’ In the midst of the silly joy and silly tenderness of the stage, who can preserve a spirit of prayer? St. John (Ep. I. ch. ii. 15, 16,) cries out to all the faithful, ‘Love not the world, nor that which is in the world: for every thing in it is concupiscence of the flesh, concupiscence of the eyes, or the pride of life.’ In these words, the world, and the theatre, which represents the world, are equally reprobated. In the theatre, as in the world, all is sensuality, ostentation, and pride; in the theatre, as in the world, nothing but a love of these wretched things is inculcated.—All this and much more is said by the holy fathers, and all of it is applicable to the theatres of the present day.’” P. 22, &c.

Our limits will not permit us to insert the whole of this controversy, we will merely add the latter part of it. After many arguments on both sides it concludes thus:

“‘But,’ says father Caffaro, ‘you can’t take a step, open a book, or even enter a church, without meeting with something which excites your passions;—it is therefore no objection to the theatre, that you find in it objects which excite them.’—‘The reasoning is excellent,’ says Bossuet:—‘the world abounds with unavoidable dangers, therefore you should multiply them. Every creature you meet with is a snare to man, you may therefore invent new snares for his ruin. Every object that meets your eyes may excite your passions, you may therefore add to your dangers by seeking objects, whose elegance and refinement make them more dangerous.—Rather say,—the dangers of the world are already too great, let us not add to them:—God vouchsafes his assistance to us in dangers inseparable from our condition, but he abandons us in dangers of our own seeking; he has assured us that all who love danger shall perish in it.’

“Such is the general tone of Bossuet’s reply. It was communicated privately to father Caffaro. He almost immediately

answered it by a letter, in which he protested that the letter which he had addressed to Boursault, in defence of the theatre, was not designed for publication; and intimated, that it had been altered, in some respects, in the impression; but he seems to admit, that the alterations in it were not of importance. He professes to be convinced, by Bossuet's arguments, of the errors of the doctrines contained in it, and promises to retract them. This promise he performed in a letter addressed by him, a few days after, to the archbishop of Paris. He expresses in it the great concern which his having written the letter in question had given him; he retracts it unequivocally, and concludes by saying, that, after a full examination of the subject, he was perfectly convinced that the reasons urged in defence of stage entertainments were frivolous; and that the reasons given by the church, for her condemnation of them, were solid and unanswerable." P. 30.

One of the most esteemed of Bossuet's controversial works was his Exposition of the Doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, which Mr. Butler informs us was the means of converting Marshal Turenne from the Protestant to the Catholic faith. However we may lament that this great warrior was drawn from what we conceive to be the truth, we cannot but admire his disinterested conduct on the occasion.

"His majesty," he said to Bossuet, "has, more than once, intimated to me his intention of conferring on me the dignity of high constable of France, when I should abjure the Huguenot religion. Say from me, that I abjure the Huguenot, and embrace the Roman Catholic religion from conviction. But I rely on his majesty's kindness to me, that he will never mention to me the dignity of high constable." P. 42.

The 7th chapter contains the conference of Bossuet with M. Claude. Although consideration for our readers patience forbids our entering into the particulars of their dispute, yet we cannot forbear inserting a quotation from it, as we think that the mild and christian spirit with which it seems to have been carried on by both parties may afford an useful lesson to the fiery controversialists of the present day.

"The account which Bossuet has given of this conference is extremely interesting. It turned on some points of the most important of all the articles in dispute between Roman Catholics and Protestants,—the authority by which Jesus Christ directed Christians to be governed in the disputes which he foresaw would arise on his doctrine. All Roman Catholics, and all the Protestants of the old school assert, that these disputes should be decided by the church. But, when churches themselves are divided, the question must be, which of them is to be obeyed. The Roman Catholic says, it is that church which existed before all other churches, and from which all

churches, not in union with her, have separated. This description, they assert, applies to the Roman Catholic church, and to no other. She, therefore, in their opinion, is the mistress and judge of controversies. Her authority the separatists from her deny; and the dispute on this point is the most important of all their differences, as the decision of it involves the decision of every other article in dispute between them.

“ M. Claude, the antagonist of Bossuet in this conference, enjoyed the highest reputation in his party. Bossuet speaks of his learning, polite manners, and mildness, in high terms of praise. He mentions that, throughout the conference, M. Claude listened with patience, expressed himself with clearness and force, pressed his own objections with precision; and never eluded an objection made to him, which admitted of an answer.

“ The conference was held at the request of Mademoiselle de Duras, a niece of the great Turenne. Several Huguenots of distinction assisted at it; the Countess de Lorges, a sister of Mademoiselle de Duras, was the only Roman Catholic present.

“ On the day preceding the conference, Bossuet, by the desire of Mademoiselle de Duras, waited on her, and explained to her what he understood by the words ‘ Catholic church,’ which he foresaw would frequently occur in the conference. He explained to her that, in his controversy with M. Claude, he should not appropriate these words to the Roman Catholic church, but use them to denote generally, what both M. Claude and he admitted,—an external and visible society, which professed to believe the doctrine of Jesus Christ, and to govern itself by his word. That, to found this society, the Son of God issued from his eternal Father; that, while he was on earth, he gathered round him certain men who acknowledged him for their master; that, in subsequent times, the faithful aggregated themselves to that society, and formed, what is called in the Apostles’ Creed, the Catholic or Universal Church:—that, sometimes surrounded by infidels, sometimes torn into pieces by heretics, there had not, from the first moment of her divine origination, been one instant of time in which she had not possessed the faith, the doctrine, and the sacraments of Christ; or, in which she had not been protected by him, or had not been visible, as the meridian sun, to all on earth: had there been but a single instant in which she ceased to profess the faith, or possess the sacraments of Christ, it would necessarily follow that the promises of Christ to teach her all truth, to be with her to the end of the world, and to prevent the powers of hell from prevailing against her, would have failed. That there is such a church, M. Claude admits. But it cannot, says Bossuet, be the church of M. Claude.—‘ The reformed church, to justify her separation from the Roman Catholic church, must either charge the Son of God with a breach of his promise, or shew the other great and visible church, in which the true faith has been uninterruptedly preserved.—To assert the former, would be blasphemy; to assert the latter, would be to deny historical evidence.

When the church of the reformers first separated from the one, the holy, the Roman Catholic church, their church, by their own confession, did not enter into communion with a single Christian church in the whole world.' " P. 43, &c.

Here we must pause to remark upon Bossuet's opinion respecting the *true* Catholic church. He rests it solely on the idea of that church being an external and visible society, descending from the early days of Christianity in one uninterrupted series of forms and ceremonies; and we beg to refer our readers, for what we conceive to be a true view of the subject, to Milner's *History of the Church of Christ*. From that excellent and entertaining work, it appears clearly that the true or invisible church, the little flock of Christ, that is, a set of persons professing the pure doctrines and practising the pure precepts of christianity, has existed and been preserved, though in obscurity, through the darkest ages. This church is there proved, upon the indisputable evidence of historical fact, to have been continued through all the period, during which the Romish superstitions drew away the majority of professing Christians from the truth, and to have blazed forth with the splendour of meridian light at the glorious æra of the Reformation. Therefore, though we may allow the truth of Bossuet's premises, we deny his inference in favour of the Romish religion. But to return to his controversy with M. Claude, we will only add that both parties, as is usual on these occasions, appear to have retained their original opinions. The chapter ends thus:

"Both Bossuet and M. Claude published accounts of it; and, as it generally happens in such cases, their accounts disagreed. On this circumstance, Bossuet expresses himself with great good temper and moderation.—'It is not my intention,' he says, 'to accuse M. Claude of wilful misrepresentation. It is difficult to remember, with precision, the things which have been said, or the order in which they were spoken; the mind often confounds things that were spoken, with things that occurred afterwards; and thus, without the slightest intentional aberration from it, truth is often disfigured.—All I say of M. Claude, he has my leave to say of me.' This is the language of a Christian and a gentleman. Violence ever injures the cause which it is intended to support, and often refutes the accusation, in aid of which it is used." P. 68, &c.

Besides other controversial works, Bossuet wrote the *History of the Variations of the Protestant Churches*, and he entered into a correspondence with Leibnitz on the reunion of the Lutheran Protestants to the Roman Catholic church. But the most celebrated of his works are his *Funeral Orations* and his *Sermons*,

which were distinguished for their eloquence. Of funeral orations in general Mr. Butler thus expresses himself:

“Funeral orations, of the description of those of which we are now speaking, are little known in England, and are not, perhaps, a branch of oratory, the want of which we should greatly lament. It is evident that nothing should be heard from the pulpit but the language of the gospel; and nothing praised or blamed from it by any other standard.

“But, when the orator has to pronounce the eulogy of a person distinguished only by worldly greatness, it must be difficult for him to avoid speaking the language of the world. ‘If,’ says Massillon, in his celebrated address to Lewis the Fourteenth, in the exordium of his sermon on the feast of All-Saints—‘if the world addressed your majesty from this place, the world would not say, Blessed are they who mourn. The world would say, Blessed is the prince who has never fought, but to conquer; who has filled the universe with his name; who, through the whole course of a long and flourishing reign, enjoys in splendor all that men admire;—extent of conquest, the esteem of his enemies, the love of his people, the wisdom of his laws. But, Sir, the language of the gospel is not the language of the world.’ Here Massillon contrasts the two languages: which of them is the general language of funeral oration? Does it not almost always sound like that which Massillon puts in the mouth of the world?

“But this is not the only objection to funeral orations. The life of him, who is to be celebrated, though his achievements raise him to the height of human glory, is often wholly sterile of those actions, which the counsels, or even the precepts of the gospel inspire. Perhaps, even his general remissness in religious duty is known to his hearers. On such a life, what is to be said by him, who should only speak the language of the gospel? Yet, when once funeral orations become frequent, lives, such as these, will regularly claim and receive the usual tribute of funeral eulogy.

“In another view, the frequency of funeral orations must be mischievous. It is obvious, that they are a tribute of distinction, which should be paid to none but the most exalted characters. Exalted rank will soon be thought a title to them: and the claim will descend. Even extraordinary wealth will sometimes put in and be allowed its claim.—Thus praise will become too general to confer honour; and one of the strongest incitements to virtue will be lost. Even on eloquence itself the effect of this promiscuous praise will be baneful. When the demand for it becomes frequent, the necessity of inventing a subject of praise, when it is wholly wanting, and of amplifying it, where it is merely of ordinary size, must frequently occur. The consequence will be, that the natural and easy will often be excluded from such compositions, and they will be filled with that inflation of sentiment and expression, which a continued state of forced exertion makes unavoidable. That this is not

exaggeration, is evident from the general style of funeral orations:—it may be truly said, that, with some brilliant exceptions, they are the least pleasing compositions to be found in French literature.

“ Among the exceptions, the funeral orations of Bossuet hold confessedly the first rank. The general style of them is worthy of him: they abound with beautiful, affecting, and sublime passages; with short, but interesting narratives and descriptions; and with characters, sketched by a master's hand.” P. 113, &c.

We confess that to our apprehension the funeral orations of Bossuet cannot be altogether exculpated from the charge of these inflations of sentiment and expression, which Mr. Butler has here traced to their real source. Among the most admired of Bossuet's works of this kind, are the orations on the deaths of Henrietta Maria of France, wife of Charles I., of her daughter Henrietta, who married the brother of Louis XIV., of the Grand Conde, and of the Chancellor le Tellier.

The following is given as an exact specimen of Bossuet's general manner.

“ I can scarcely listen to the idle objections which worldly wisdom makes to us, on the false supposition, that God ought to have manifested himself to the world, with a splendor and a train, that should be thought worthy of his majesty. Miserably does opinion deceive us, if we think that the splendor of this world contains any thing worthy of God, who himself possesses sovereign greatness. Shall *I* mention what strikes *me* in the babe of Bethlehem, as great and admirable, and truly worthy of a God, descending from heaven, and conversing with man? From on high, he saw that man was touched by nothing but sensual pleasure and external pomp. In his wisdom, he remembered, that he had created man for much more solid happiness; and, being resolved to show, as much by his own example as his precepts, the folly of these notions, and his contempt of what this world admires, he chose for his lot what the world most despises. He was pleased, therefore, to be born in a wretched stable: but that stable becomes, as it were, a triumphal car, after which he drags the vanquished world. There, all that the world has of ignominy is conquered; all its terrors are treated with contempt; all its pleasures are spurned; all its torments are braved; the triumph of Christ over them is complete; nothing is left undone, nothing left unfinished: and it appears to me, that, in the midst of this glorious triumph, he turns to us his animating countenance, and loudly exclaims to us, ‘ Take courage! I have vanquished the world!’ By the lowliness of my birth, by the obscurity of my life, by the cruelty and ignominy of my death, I have triumphed over all that men admire, all they esteem, all they fear. This is the sign, by which you should know me!—Yes, O my God! by this sign *I* do know thee! Thou art my Saviour and my God!” P. 139.

Bossuet wrote several other devotional works; the most im-

portant of them are his Elevations and Meditations, of which Mr. Butler gives some beautiful and interesting specimens, well deserving the notice of our readers.

Among the miscellaneous writings of Bossuet, one of the most valuable is, his Introduction to Universal History, written for the use of the Dauphin, for whom he also wrote, by the desire of Louis XIV., a short course of anatomy. His last work was a commentary on the 22d Psalm, written during his painful disorder, in the intervals of ease.

“ That Psalm has always been considered to be a prophetic description, remarkably distinct and clear, of the bodily and mental sufferings of Christ on the cross, of the resurrection of Christ, and of his establishment of his church. It was the aim of Bossuet, by the frequent meditation of the subject of this Psalm, to raise himself to an imitation of the great model of patience, which it describes. It appears to have been a favourite theme of Bossuet: he has left us four sermons upon it. In each of them, his eloquence takes its highest flight;—and each of them abounds with those terrible beauties which Longinus so greatly admires in the Grecian orator, and with that strong pathos, which equally subdues and satisfies reason.” P. 173—4.

The biographer of Bossuet touches but slightly on his controversy with Fenelon, simply remarking that both were blameable; and as he is also the biographer of Fenelon, we might look for impartiality. Yet as we recollect that Fenelon was supposed to lean towards Protestantism, and that therefore Mr. Butler, being a Catholic, may feel a little indisposition towards him, we should wish to examine farther into the merits of the controversy, before we form an opinion. We have always felt a high admiration for the piety and christian simplicity of Fenelon, who in the corrupt court of Louis XIV. dared to speak unpleasant truths at any risk, and seemed wholly unmoved by the influence of Royal ascendancy, against which Bossuet was by no means so fortified. It appears even from Mr. Butler's account that he was a courtier, and that his opinions were at times warped by a desire of recommending himself to the favour of Louis le Grand.

On the whole, however, we are induced to think very respectfully of the character of Bossuet, both intellectual and moral. In addition to his splendid talents, he possessed much warmth of devotion, and much zeal in promoting the interests of what he conceived to be the true religion. After the copious extracts we have made, it is scarcely necessary to add, that we also entertain a very favourable opinion of the talents displayed by his learned and respectable biographer in this “ *ludus literarius*.”

- ART. XXIV.—1. *The Barrington School; being an Illustration of the Principles, Practices, and Effects of the New System of Instruction, in facilitating the religious and moral Instruction of the Poor.* By Sir Thomas Bernard, Bart. London: printed for the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor. Hatchard. March, 1812. 8vo.
2. *A Vindication of Mr. Lancaster's System of Education from the Aspersions of Professor Marsh, the Quarterly, British, and Anti-jacobin Reviews, &c. &c.* By a Member of the Royal Institution. London: 1812. 8vo.
3. *The Origin, Nature, and Object, of the New System of Education.* London: Murray. 12mo. 1812.
4. *An Experiment in Education, made at the Male Asylum of Madras:—suggesting a System by which a School or Family may teach itself, under the Superintendance of the Master or Parent.* By the Rev. Andrew Bell, late one of the Directors, and Superintendant of that Establishment; Chaplain of Fort St. George, A. M. &c. &c. London: Cadell. 1797. 12mo.
5. *The Report of the Military Male Orphan Asylum at Madras, with its original Proofs and Vouchers, as transmitted from India, in 1796, and published in London 1797 under the title, "An Experiment in Education, &c. &c." A new Edition, to which are subjoined additional Documents and Records, illustrative of the Progress of the new System of Education in the School in which it originated; and of its Fruits in the Character, Condition, and Fortune of its Pupils.* By the Rev. Andrew Bell, D. D. &c. &c. London: Murray. Edinburgh: Blackwood. Dublin: Cumming. 1812.

EVERY succeeding month brings forth facts and incidents, casting a glow of novelty and interest over the noblest and most important of the questions that now agitate the public mind; viz. how best to train up the rising generation of the poor, and those which are to follow for succeeding ages, in the paths of industry and virtue. God be thanked, the expediency of the object is at length finally settled. All the authorities in church and state, together with every virtuous and enlightened individual, seem now to be convinced, that gaols and solitary cells, workhouses and penitentiary houses, (excellent as their effects may sometimes be,) are of too confined a scope, and require a management too complicated, to be successful in operating a general reformation in the morals and manners of the people.

All parties seem now to be agreed, that the hardened mind of an *adult* criminal is very impenetrable; that when his reformation is effected, the evil which his example has brought upon society is by no means counteracted; and that in fact under the lenient administration of our laws their vengeance alights upon the heads of only a very small proportion of offenders. Of the comparative unprofitableness of the immense sums which have been expended of late years for the above purposes, the return of the criminals annually committed to our gaols, which have been lately laid before the House of Commons, exhibit ample proof: they ascertain a gradual and no inconsiderable increase of crimes. Within the last seven years the committals to the various prisons in England and Wales have increased from 4,605 to 5,337; nor can we perceive in the returns any proof that the progressive increase has been less in those countries where the greatest attention has been paid to the economy and arrangement of their prisons.

It is time then to resort to other modes; and, in addition to the example of Scotland, we may cite the gratifying circumstance, that of children brought up in Dr. Bell's and Mr. Lancaster's schools scarcely an instance has occurred of their committal to prison, or of their conviction for any criminal offence; which, considering the many thousands who have now passed through those schools, is a fact highly worthy of remark. The utter impossibility, under the ancient systems, of imparting instruction to the mass of the people at any reasonable rate of expence, affords the best apology for the substitution of other measures, with a view to their reformation. But after all that has been said and written, that apology can now be set up no longer; and it only remains for every honest man, who has the interests of his country and the welfare of his fellow-creatures really at heart, to consider, without prejudice or predilection, by the patronage of what application of the new or Madras system of education, to the full extent of his means, he can best promote the glorious object of the universal instruction of the poor in the principles of religion and morality. Nor will a philanthropist confine his views on this subject merely to his own country. The new system of education is an engine applicable to all states of society, to all countries, and to all religions. It may with equal facility be made subservient, under Dr. Bell, to the extension of the church of England; under Mr. Lancaster, to the spread of general knowledge, independent of peculiar doctrines; under the Mufti, to the dissemination of the moral code of Mahomed; or, under the Bramins, to the improvement of society among the Hindoos. But in all cases it will invariably lead to the further cultivation

of the human mind, and it will be the object of the statesmen in each country to discover under what form or modification it promises, under all the circumstances, to be most conducive to the moral and religious improvement of the people.

In the prosecution of this object, as applied to our own country, we shall endeavour as far as possible to avoid the feelings of partizans. The indignation which we could not help expressing a year ago*, at the unwarrantable attempt made to deprive Dr. Bell of the credit due to his genius and industry, has been considerably softened by perceiving the degree in which the attempt has been instrumental in eliciting the real truth, and in reflecting upon his merits that light which nothing else perhaps could have kindled. The progress of such a controversy, embittered as it has been by the collision of religious differences, could hardly fail to be fruitful in asperities. But those who come in, as we now do, at the end of the fray, who have only to collect and concentrate the scattered arguments, (and many still remain to be gathered,) may exercise our office with minds undisturbed by any other emotion, than regret that so many bad passions should have been excited in such a cause.

The works enumerated at the head of our article are sufficient to afford to a patient and attentive reader a complete idea of the controversy that has been carried on, as to the origin and invention of the new system, and also concerning the mode in which it can best be put into practice by a person desirous of establishing a school. They have all been published within the last six months, except the original Report of the Madras Asylum, now republished; their authors have therefore availed themselves of what has been previously known and written on the subject, at the same time that they exhibit it with an aspect somewhat new. We recommend the works themselves to the perusal of the curious on this subject; but as some of them are diffuse and desultory, and may perhaps be said to contain the arguments rather than to array them in their due order against each other, it is our intention after a brief account of each work, to bring at once into view the leading points of the question as it now stands, and then to draw a few practical inferences for the use of those, who are anxious to serve, not their own party merely, but their country, and the cause of humanity.

We must, however, premise that there are many other excellent publications on the same subject, which want of space only prevents us from noticing. Among these we would strongly re-

* See British Review, No. I. Art. X.

commend Mr. Hollingsworth's Sermon and address, printed for Rivingtons, &c. 1812; and Mr. Grimwood Taylor's Sermon. It is fair also to state, that a paper on Mr. Lancaster's side, that has attracted some attention, and is much recommended by his advocates, appeared in a new periodical work, entitled the *Philanthropist*, of January 1812. We have perused the paper, and think, notwithstanding its sophistry, that it is worthy the attention of an impartial inquirer. But the ability with which it is written will not deceive those who also read the works recommended to their attention in this article.

1. The *Barrington School*, by Sir Thomas Bernard, is a plain statement of the method and practices of the Madras system, as embodied in the schools of the Bishop of Durham, at Bishop Auckland. Sir Thomas is a private friend of the excellent prelate, and passes some weeks with him every summer. The philanthropy and sagacity of the worthy baronet are well known; we are not therefore surprized that many of his leisure hours were passed within the walls of the school, or that his mind should have fully embraced all the essential points of practice, however minute. Accordingly we find in his book a perspicuous and pretty accurate summary of almost all which need be known by a person wishing to establish a school on the new system. And we have no doubt, that under its directions, assisted by a lad from the Military Asylum, the White-chapel school, or any other that has been some time established, a new school might be organized, and in operation in a very few weeks.

2. "*The Vindication of Mr. Lancaster's System*" is a party production, being a brief recapitulation of all the arguments which have been brought forward in Mr. Lancaster's behalf by Mr. Fox and the various periodical writers who have advocated his cause, without the least regard to selection, or to the propriety of omitting those which have been recently and triumphantly answered by his opponents. It is, therefore, a very indiscreet work, and will probably do more harm than good to the cause it espouses. It is, however, the more valuable to a candid and impartial inquirer, as he will there find brought together the whole of the arguments on one side of the question, and will of course be more capable of judging of the means by which it has been supported, and of bringing their accuracy with greater facility to the test of the arguments on the opposite side. Among the most prominent and valuable of these is;

3. The little work on "*The origin, nature, and object of the new system of Education*." This is the production of a strong advocate of the Madras System, fired with indignation at the

pretensions which have been set up by the advocates of Mr. Lancaster, with unparalleled effrontery and disregard of truth. It embraces in about the same space as the "Vindication" most of the arguments which have been used on the side of Dr. Bell from the beginning of the controversy. Its propositions are supported throughout by authentic documents, and it is not because we think its conclusions unfair or untenable, that we are disposed to call it a party production; but because we think that the indignation roused in the author's mind, by the unfounded pretensions which Mr. Lancaster advanced, in defiance of his own full and repeated admissions, has in some degree prejudiced it against that gentleman, and induced it to overlook the great and extensive good, which he has doubtless been the humble, though unworthy, instrument of effecting. We will venture to predict however, that this will be a very popular little work. It is the production of a man of no mean talents, and besides the utility of its object and the closeness of its reasoning, it is considerably the most entertaining book on the subject that has lately fallen under our observation.

4. The fourth work mentioned in the title to this article, is a small duodecimo of 48 pages, but which will probably operate a greater change in society than any thing that has been written since the days of inspiration. It is no less than the parent of the new system, the first account extant of its practical application to the instruction of the poor, and without the shadow of a doubt, the foundation of every thing that has been done, written, or published in this country since. It is a simple reprint of certain public documents transmitted by the government of Madras to the government at home, in the year 1796, (which date our readers will please to bear in mind) and giving an account of an experiment in education, *actually made* previously to that date, at the Male Asylum of Madras—" *suggesting a system by which a school or family may TEACH ITSELF, under the superintendence of THE MASTER OR PARENT**." This tract was published in England in the year 1797, before Mr. Lancaster had any thoughts of becoming a schoolmaster, and before any European

* We must beg to call the attention of our readers to a mistake of the press in the 18th page of this pamphlet, in an important passage, which has been copied into many other publications. In this page it is written, "the system of the school may be seen in the following scheme"—and then instead of the diagram in the opposite page, which contains the scheme, and ought immediately to have followed,—the printer, in order to fill up his space, has interposed "a list of matters, &c. &c." In the Report 1812, p. 32, the diagram is placed in its proper situation; and we may observe, that if Dr. Bell had no other evidence of the originality of his invention than this diagram only, it would yet be established beyond the efforts of controversy.

had ever thought of applying the system of self-tuition to schools on a large scale, or for the instruction of the poor.

The fifth and last work is a republication just made of the last-mentioned "Experiment" of 1797, before out of print, together with a few other Indian documents of a subsequent date, exhibiting the progress and consequences of the new system in the school in which it originated, and of its fruits in the character, conduct, and fortunes of its pupils. And before we proceed to the general question, we must observe, that this new matter is of a most gratifying and satisfactory nature : a regular series of documents, from 1796 to March 1811, attests not only the gratitude of the pupils, but also the solid grounds upon which that feeling was founded. They were almost without exception advanced to lucrative or honourable stations, and conducting themselves in a moral and exemplary manner. Early extracts from the records of the Madras Asylum are also to be found at the end of this pamphlet, which give the most interesting accounts of the progress of the discovery from the first embryo in the Rev. inventor's mind, to the state of perfection, recorded in the following extract from a report dated 1796 :

" The success of this measure—*conducting the school through the medium of the scholars*—independently of its economy, has surpassed what I had imagined to myself the most fondly of the system I adopted so early, and laboured so strenuously against many obstacles, and under many difficulties, to accomplish. These obstacles and difficulties removed, the school has, for some time, shown to me the very spectacle I had all along proposed to my own imagination, but at times was afraid I should be compelled to stop short of, from the want of such assistants as were necessary for the uniform and constant execution of the rules formed for this purpose. It requires no great sagacity to predict, that men, capable of conducting this great institution, will seldom be induced to remain in this charge, when with the ability, sobriety, and attention, necessary to this office, they can, in so many other lines of life in this country, earn far higher salaries with much less labour and confinement, and much more freedom and indulgence. What I had made a matter of choice in the setting out is actually a matter of necessity in the end. Of its success I can scarcely forbear recording instances and proofs, for the benefit of those who come after me, and *with a view that a scheme of education so successful, as I have found this to be, may be diffused abroad.*

" It is particularly to be noticed that the boys, formerly called bad boys, are almost all of them now made to attend by the watchfulness of their schoolfellows, which could not before be effected by the severity of the ushers, not always judicious and uniform : and nothing pleases me so much as to observe that in proportion as the improvement of every branch of education goes on, and the

discipline is rendered more and more rigid, punishment becomes less and less necessary, and less and less frequent.

“How pleasing this mode of instruction is to the boys themselves, I have proofs every day, in the applications made to me for leave to go into a higher class; and the countenances, which they show without knowing that I observe it, when they change their places in school. And *their regularity, their good conduct, their respect to religion and morality, and that regard to truth, so difficult to be attained by the youth of this country*, charm me beyond expression: and I am more and more delighted every time I survey this happy and pleasing scene.” P. 121, &c.

We now proceed to the general question.

That the *principle* of the new system essentially consists in *the tuition of the scholars by the scholars, in classes of equal proficiency, by short, easy, and perfect lessons*, and not in any of the practices either introduced into the Male Asylum by Dr. Bell, or subsequently by Mr. Lancaster, is most clearly and satisfactorily proved by this simple criterion. Discard all the peculiar practices or contrivances of the school, and if the *tuition by the scholars* be duly carried on, the difference of progress will not be greatly material. On the other hand, discard the system of tuition by the scholars, and retain all the practices, the charm ceases, subordination and diligence cannot be so readily maintained, punishments must be resumed, and after all, the school is comparatively inoperative. THE SYSTEM, therefore, is evidently one and the same in both cases, and in all its applications. If a Mahometan were to start up and apply it to the Koran, or a Bramin to the Shaster,—it would be equally reasonable for them to call it the Mahometan or the Hindoo System, as for Mr. Lancaster to call it Lancasterian, unless he can prove that it originated with him.

Lord Bacon says in one of his Essays, “Honour, that is gained and broken upon another, hath the quickest reflection, like diamonds cut with fascets; and therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow.” Now though we do not quite think that the turn of mind which produced this sentiment is precisely that which drew down upon its author the third of the epithets in the famous line of Pope*, yet we cannot but think the principle very dangerous, and that safely to act upon it, requires a larger share of candour and self-denial than often falls to the lot of the competitors for worldly reputation. In the instance before us, the honour of having invented the mode of applying tuition by the scholars themselves, under one master, to the purpose of in-

* “The greatest, wisest, meanest of mankind.”

structing the poor in large schools, is claimed by their respective advocates for Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster; and although the determination of this question cannot affect the soundness or utility of the principle itself, yet it is very far from being useless or uninteresting. For is it nothing to know the bearings of a mind which has struck out an invention so useful to the world? Can no conclusions thence be drawn as to the fitness or unfitness of any accessory practices that may be proposed, or of any particular applications that may be attempted? Has not what we shall presently say on the subject of punishments been sufficient to shew that important practical conclusions flow from ascertaining to whose mind the invention is to be traced? It is also a point of strict justice to the fair fame of one of the parties, after all that has passed, that the question of originality should be accurately determined. This we think that we can both fairly and concisely effect, by extracting the arguments which have been brought forward to clothe Mr. Lancaster with the honour, and then placing in direct opposition to them extracts from the public documents transmitted from or recorded at Madras, which relate to transactions performed while Mr. Lancaster was yet in his boyhood, and which were published in England before he thought of assuming the office of a schoolmaster.

Vindication of Mr. Lancaster.

“ It appears that at Egmore, near Fort St. George, where Dr. Bell was chaplain, there was a school for the half-cast children, called the Male Asylum; that at the request of the Directors, the Doctor entered upon the charge of this charitable institution, as the superintendent, and declined all pecuniary recompence. This school was under the direction of *FOUR masters*, Francis Johnson, Richard Taylor, James Blood, and J. Mackay. Dr. Bell being dissatisfied with the proficiency of the children, began with introducing a plan which he had seen in a Malabar school, viz. ‘ to instruct beginners in the alphabet, by teaching the letters in sand, spread over a board or bench before the scholars, as on the ground *in the*

Bell's Experiment, first published in London in 1797, and republished with additions 1812.

Extracts of Letters from the Governor of Fort St. George to the Government at home, or at Calcutta.

“ An extraordinary degree of success has attended the *mode of education* introduced by him (Dr. Bell.) Intro. p. x.

“ The Military Male Orphan Asylum having flourished under a *system of Tuition altogether new*, we are desirous of diffusing, especially in India, the report of its progress and present state, and the mode of teaching practised there.” P. x. *ibid.*

Extracts from a Report made by Dr. Bell to the Government of Madras IN THE YEAR 1796.

“ I soon found that, if ever the

schools of the natives of this country. Under this plan, the children acquired the knowledge of letters much faster than on the old mode, but the MASTERS did not readily fall into it, and rather opposed the Doctor. On this account, he employed those children who had acquired a facility of tracing the letters in sand, to teach those who had not learnt the alphabet. When the children had thus learnt the letters, in like manner they made the double letters, &c. &c.

“This is the Doctor’s *own account* of the Madras School. It is evident that he had greatly improved it, so that in comparison with its former state, it might well be entitled to be called ‘altogether new.’ At length, after having superintended the school about seven years, he found it necessary for his health to quit India, when he received a letter from the *four* masters. It begins thus—‘We, the *Masters* of the Asylum, who have had the honour of being under your direction during the time we have have been employed as *teachers*.’ It concludes with expressing their grateful acknowledgements ‘for the Doctor’s unexampled assiduity in promoting *our* welfare, as well as that of the whole school.’

“If it had entered into the Doctor’s mind that *one* presiding master could have conducted the whole school, he ought to have reported to the Directors of the Institution, that the continuance of the FOUR MASTERS was no longer necessary. But instead

school was to be brought into good order, taught according to that *method* and system which are essential to every public institution, it must be done either by instructing ushers in the economy of such a seminary, or by *youths from among the pupils trained for the purpose*. For a long time I kept both of these objects in view; but was in the end compelled, after the most painful efforts of perseverance, TO ABANDON ENTIRELY THE FORMER, AND ADHERE SOLELY TO THE LATTER. I found it difficult beyond measure to new model the minds of men of full years; and that whenever an usher was instructed so far as to qualify him for discharging the office of *teacher* in the school, I had formed a man who could earn a much higher salary, than was allowed in this charity, and on far easier terms. My success, on the other hand, in training my young pupils in habits of strict discipline and prompt obedience exceeded my expectation; and every step of my progress has confirmed and rivetted in my mind the superiority OF THIS NEW MODE OF CONDUCTING A SCHOOL THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE SCHOLARS THEMSELVES.” P. 9, 10. “The system of the school may be seen in the following scheme*. Francis Johnson, the schoolmaster, has a *general charge*. Richard Taylor has a *general charge* in one of the school rooms. James Blood has charge *out of school*. When the salary of men CAPABLE OF TEACHING THIS SCHOOL would

* The diagram is here omitted, but it may be found, as we have stated in a former note, at p. 32 of Dr. Bell’s Report. Ed. 1812.

is, those persons were re-
l *as masters* of the school
g *the seven years Dr. Bell*
attended it, and were left
n in that capacity; and the
or, in his farewell letter, ad-
them to recommend them-
to THE FUTURE SUPER-
NDENT.

From the foregoing state-
, I trust I have vindicated
Lancaster from the charge
ing adopted from *Dr. Bell*
vention of conducting a
l of one, two, or three thou-
boys, by the aid of one pre-
g master. I propose in my
Letter to examine the ques-
of economy as resulting from
Madras System." Pp. 6 et

not be less than 30 or 50, or even
100 pagodas a month, these ma-
sters receive only 5, 10, and 15.
None of the masters have made
a progress in letters equal to the
boys in the first class. Their
duty IS NOT TO TEACH, but to
look after the various depart-
ments of the institution; to ob-
serve that the daily tasks are
performed; to take care of the
boys in and out of school; and
to mark any inattention, irregu-
larity, or neglect among the
teachers or scholars." P. 18.
"After this manner the school
teaches itself; and, as matters
now stand, the *schoolmaster alone*
is essentially necessary at this
school. He has the charge of the
daily disbursements and monthly
expences under the treasurer, and
is to attend the school so as to
maintain the observance of the
rules." P. 24.

When we take into consideration, that Dr. Bell was not
elf the schoolmaster, but only superintendent of the Asy-
; that the work, from which these extracts are taken, was
ished in England long before there was the least idea of a
roversy concerning the originality of the system,—and simply
a view to spread the knowledge of it in England;—that the
were boarded, lodged, and fed at the Asylum, and therefore
ired masters to attend to their general conduct and welfare,
e same description with the serjeants at the Military Asylum;
e think that no impartial man can hesitate to admit that the
boys at the Male Asylum were instructed by the tuition of
scholars themselves, under the superintendence of *one master*
he most; and that the practicability of applying the system
larger number was plainly pointed out. The circumstance
the boys in the Madras Asylum were boarded, lodged, fed,
also clothed, offers a complete answer to the argument in
17th page of the "Vindication," where the superior economy
Mr. Lancaster's day-schools in England is attempted to be
ved by comparing their expenses with those of a boarding-
ool at Madras in the East Indies. We hardly know how to
ress our astonishment that men should have recourse to argu-
its so plainly betraying the weakness of their cause and the

falsehood of the premises they wish to support. The expression in the masters' address to Dr. Bell, where they call themselves teachers, may well be accounted for, when we observe that their actual salaries were 5, 10, and 15 pagodas a month, and if they could bring themselves to be considered as *really* teachers, their fair salaries would have been 30, 50, and 100 pagodas respectively. (See preceding extracts.)

If then Dr. Bell invented the system, as the same discovery cannot probably have been made at the same time by two persons, it follows that Mr. Lancaster did not invent it, as, indeed, he has himself frequently acknowledged: nor can his first application of it to a school of 1000 children invest him with the discovery, any more than the enlargement of the solar system by Dr. Herschell, by the discovery of new planets, can with any justice place him on a level with Copernicus or Newton, who verified their theory by the motions and revolutions of the smaller number of planets known in their days. Another kind of merit, however, may fairly be ascribed to Mr. Lancaster, that of having, by indefatigable zeal, and the pursuit of means which the station, habits, and professional duties of Dr. Bell, prevented him from pursuing, first made the system generally known in England, and of having procured for it the patronage of many exalted and distinguished individuals, with the Sovereign at their head. Mr. Lancaster also invented a few æconomical practices in the use of slates * and spelling cards, which are equally applicable to all schools conducted on the new system, and which have been adopted in Dr. Bell's school, without any denial of their origin, just as the sand-writing and syllabic spelling were *confessedly* borrowed from Dr. Bell. He invented a variety of new punishments, in the application of which his scholars were made the correctors, no less than the instructors of each other; and many of which were of a nature seriously to injure their moral character;—to make them insolent, turbulent, and overbearing. As the third mentioned of the publications before us expresses it; he has invented

“ 13. The key and the ignorant teacher. 14. The wooden shackles for the leg. 15. The manacles. 16. The single wooden collar. 17. The double collar. 18. The caravan collar. 19.

* With respect to the slates, they could not of course be used in India, because they could not be procured in that country at a cheap rate. With respect to the large spelling cards used by Mr. Lancaster, instead of the more numerous small ones by Dr. Bell, the object is evidently trifling in point of æconomy, but if worth contending for, we are by no means certain that the praise of superior æconomy is not with Dr. Bell, supposing æconomy to consist in the cheapest mode of imparting *effectual* instruction.

The punishment of the basket. 20. The punishment of the go-cart. 21. The punishment of the pillow. 22. The punishment of the cradle. 23. Washing and slapping the face of a boy by a girl. 24. Washing and slapping the face of a girl by a boy. 25. The leading an inferior to his place by the hair of his head. 26. The tin crown. 27. The dying speeches. 28. The bashaw with three tails. 29. The punishment of suck-finger baby. 30. The punishment of tying a truant up in a blanket, and leaving him all night on the floor in the school-room."

Having shewn the inconsistency of such punishments with the spirit of the system, it would be useless minutely to describe their nature; they may be found in the publication just referred to; it is enough to observe here, that, besides their evident coarseness, their object is to punish a child by exposing him to the scorn and derision, the taunts and mockery of his schoolfellows, "thus generating a resentful and malicious disposition, hardening and rendering him insensible to shame; or rather, as the best boys are always most alive to shame, it renders punishment more severe, precisely in proportion to the good qualities of the offender." It is also obvious, how certainly such practices must create and foster in the boys a spirit of coarse and vulgar insolence. We can never agree with an advocate and partisan of Mr. Lancaster's, "that these punishments are devised with a thorough knowledge of the nature of children, derived as much from long experience, as from just and even philosophical reasoning." We would rather say, that they exhibit the coarsest taste, and the grossest ignorance both of the nature of boys, and of the peculiar system which Mr. Lancaster had adopted for their instruction. The field for this sort of inventions was certainly quite open for him; for Dr. Bell having adopted his system with a view to prevent faults, and consequently punishments,—he found those of the latter which were already in existence more than sufficient, and therefore discarded them. See Barrington school, p. 23 and 24, and Index to the Report of 1797, edit. 1812, under the head "Punishments," for proof that such was the actual result.

But to our minds this long string of punishments affords the most convincing evidence that Mr. Lancaster was not the inventor of the new system; for it proves beyond contradiction his complete ignorance of its bearings and results even after he had *adopted* it. He evidently thought that the system was deficient in stimulants, and therefore added Eighteen new ones. But, as the recipe in the hands of the original physician was found sufficiently active, these additions form only a ridiculous and noxious adjunct, and display a perfect ignorance of the original

medicine. As tests of original invention, they should, in fact, be classed with the writing on wet sand with shewers, as practised by Mr. Lancaster, till he was informed of the simple and proper mode by Dr. Bell.

The usual defence of Mr. Lancaster's punishments, that they are scarcely ever used, only strengthens the preceding argument; for why invent them unless he thought they would be necessary? It cannot be argued, that the necessity of applying them has been precluded by the terror of their name; because the facts recorded in the passages just referred to of the "Barrington school," where no punishments are held up in terrorem, and in the original report from Madras, prove that it is to the constitution of the system itself, and not to the fear of punishment, that the good behaviour of the children is to be ascribed.

Lastly, Mr. Lancaster made it a fundamental rule of his schools, that no explanation of the Bible, or system of religious instruction, should be introduced into them, except such as were agreeable to the opinions and tenets of every denomination of Christians.

The rapid dissemination of schools upon this plan, was thought by many friends of the Church to be pregnant with a danger which was but very insufficiently counteracted by the orthodox piety of some individuals, who took the mechanism of their schools only from Mr. Lancaster, and introduced the church catechism, or other expositions of the Bible, into their system. They were aware that these were exceptions to the general rule advocated by Mr. Lancaster, and as far as in him lay, established in practice wherever his advice prevailed. They thought that in a country possessing an established religion (the doctrines of which are so confessedly excellent and unimpeachable, that they are even admitted to be scriptural, and highly conducive to moral practice by four-fifths of those who dissent from the discipline of the church), the mass of the infant poor should be brought up in the regard and veneration of those doctrines: indeed as honest and conscientious believers in their efficacy they could think no less. Their object therefore naturally was to find out some person who might be made the instrument of widely disseminating instruction to the poor (of the expediency of which Mr. Lancaster's exertions had now convinced the minds of the community), but who would also conduct it upon principles not professing indifference to the established religion of the country; who would in short make it a fundamental practice of the system to instil into the tender minds of the children those peculiar doctrines, and that exposition of the Bible, which they thought most conducive to their temporal and

eternal welfare. It is obvious that no person could be selected more perfectly fitted for this object than the original inventor of the new system, a clergyman of the church, zealous, orthodox, active, philanthropic, and eminently disinterested, as his whole conduct in the affair of the Male Orphan Asylum at Madras abundantly evinced. It was obvious also that the fact of Dr. Bell's having been the INVENTOR of the system would give him an incalculable advantage over Mr. Lancaster, from the consideration which must naturally occur, that the inventor of a system must be best acquainted with its bearings, objects, and details, and the best judge of the consonance of any auxiliary practices with its spirit and principles. Accordingly we find, that when through the patronage of the Bishop of Durham and others, and by the exertions of many friends of the church, the merits and claims of Dr. Bell began to be widely disseminated and placed in opposition to the views of Mr. Lancaster; many respectable persons who had patronised the latter, as the instrument of the most eligible plan for general instruction *then extant*, transferred their patronage to the former, when they found that they were thereby securing the propagation of the doctrines of the establishment, forming the minds of the rising generation upon a model exempt from the vices consequent upon Mr. Lancaster's system of punishments and of religion, and at the same time promoting in an equal degree the dissemination of useful knowledge.

Under this change of his circumstances, Mr. Lancaster was exposed to great temptation, and precisely to that species of temptation which tries the honesty and purity of a man's character; and which places it in his option either to gain a present apparent advantage by deceit, or to forego it upon principle, and trust to the justice of Providence for the reward of his sincerity. If Mr. Lancaster under this trial had admitted the justice of Dr. Bell's claims to the extent in which they were justly made; had satisfied himself with the great merit of being the first disseminator of the system upon a large scale in England; had expressed his wish to become the coadjutor rather than the rival of Dr. Bell; and had either defended by fair argument the different practices in which he had deviated from him, or modified them, so as to suit the different situations in the United Kingdom to which their different religious views might have been applicable;—Mr. Lancaster would now have stood erect in the public opinion, an honest and an useful man, commanding the love, the esteem, and the gratitude of every friend to virtue and to humanity. But when in defiance of documents, recorded by the public authorities in India and in England, nay even recorded and published by HIMSELF, and in order to weaken

the advantage which the advocates of Dr. Bell derived from the circumstance of his being the inventor, Mr. Lancaster stood forth and called upon the Divine Providence to attest that he was himself the inventor of the new system, we think that he has fairly made himself amenable to considerable severity of condemnation. We therefore shall not think it any departure from the strict line of impartiality, to place his own assertions in opposition to his own assertions, and then to quote from his opponent's book the just conclusion to be drawn.

Mr. Lancaster's Pamphlet, 1803.

"I ought not to close my account without acknowledging the obligation I lie under to Dr. Bell, who so nobly gave up his time and liberal salary that he might perfect that institution which flourished greatly under his fostering care. He published a tract in 1798," (really in 1797, not the year following, as is stated for very obvious reasons, Mr. Lancaster having himself commenced schoolmaster in the latter year), "entitled, 'an Experiment on Education, suggesting a system whereby a school or family may teach itself under the superintendence of the master or parent.' — Dr. Bell had 200 boys who *instructed* themselves, made their own pens, ruled their own books, and did all that labour in school, which, among a great number, is light, but resting on the shoulders of the well-meaning and honest, though unwise teacher, often proves too much for his health, and embitters, or perhaps, costs him his life. *I must regret that I WAS NOT ACQUAINTED with the beauty of HIS SYSTEM, till somewhat advanced in my plan; if I had known it, it would have saved me much trouble and some retrograde movements. As a confirmation of the goodness of Dr.*

Extract from Mr. Lancaster's Advertisement, soliciting subscriptions for his school.

"Joseph Lancaster, of the free school, Borough-road, London, having *invented*, under the blessing of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, a NEW and mechanical SYSTEM of education for the use of schools, feels anxious to disseminate the knowledge of its advantages through the united kingdom. By THIS SYSTEM, paradoxical as it may appear, above 1000 children may be taught and governed by one master only."

Extracts from Mr. Lancaster's Letter in the Morning Post, Sept. 4th, 1811.

"WORK to that man, whoever he be, who shall endeavour to pervert judgment by concealing facts! — I stand forward, before the public, at the bar of mankind, to the present and for future ages, avowing myself the inventor of the British or Royal Lancastrian System. — I submit the plan, ORIGINAL as it is, to the country. The same cannot be found in any other work, unless copied or pirated: and I leave its enemies, as well as my own, to the reproach of their own hearts, and the goodness of a *righteous Creator, at whose*

Bell's plan, I have succeeded with one nearly similar, in a school attended by almost 300 children." P. 64.

"Dr. Bell was fully sensible of the waste of time in schools, and his method to remedy the evil was crowned with complete success. *I have been endeavouring to walk in his footsteps* in the method about to be detailed. The scholars have a desk before them with ledges on every side, and it is filled with sand, &c. &c. I must again refer the reader to Dr. Bell's pamphlet; he cannot do better than procure one, and read it himself; which will save me going more into detail, and afford him greater satisfaction*." P. 78.

tem; and that Dr. Bell personally visited the school in the Borough-road for the furtherance of this purpose. Now accustomed as we are to weigh with coolness and precision the arguments on each side of a controversy, we confess, that even our knowledge of the shifts to which zealous partisans will condescend is insufficient to repress our amazement at the astonishing effrontery of Mr. Lancaster and his advocates, who directly, in the teeth of all this printed and recorded evidence, have absolutely made these visits and this correspondence the foundation of a charge against Dr. Bell, not only of purloining from Mr. Lancaster what he learned during their progress, but also pilfering from a book of Mr. Lancaster's, which was absolutely not published till after the said Mr. Lancaster had, in his own hands, the very work of Dr. Bell, upon which the accusation is founded. If any pilfering therefore occurred, it is evident where the guilt lies.

We shall now proceed to lay before the public a passage from the third of the publications mentioned at the head of our article, which, severe as it is, appears to us not to go a single point beyond the line of strict justice.

"He (Mr. Lancaster) appeals for the truth of his claims to 'HIM

hands I hope they will find the mercy they do not merit.

We shall only add to these passages, that, in the third edition of Mr. Lancaster's "Improvement," &c. p. 1, he admits, that in 1798, when he first opened school, he "knew of no modes of tuition but those usually in practice;" that, in consequence of difficulties which he found in modelling his school from Dr. Bell's book, he opened a correspondence with, and visited Dr. Bell at Swanage in 1804 and 5; and received from him a full and complete communication of the whole details of the new system;

* Why was Mr. Lancaster ever tempted to deviate from this style with respect to Dr. Bell? It is consistent with truth and justice—and exhibits a sincerity and liberality, the title to which it was surely *even bad policy* to forfeit.

unto whom all things are open,' and in that same spirit with which he first advertised his stolen invention under Divine Providence, this audacious usurper of another man's merits offers up a mockery of prayer for those whom he has injured, slandered, and insulted, profaning to his own vile purposes the words of the Redeemer: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!' —The church catechism is excluded from Mr. Lancaster's schools, but the commandments are probably taught there. Does this man look his boys in the face when they say, 'Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain?' and has he no touch of conscience at the words, 'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour?'" P. 187.

We do not think it necessary to enter into the curious account given in the *Literary Repository* for April 16, 1788, of the Chevalier Paulet's institution for the education of young gentlemen at Paris, (*Vindication*, p. 31.) nor into the still more curious description given by Pier della Valle, an old oriental traveller, of some schools which he observed in the East Indies, (*Origin, Nature, &c.* p. 181.) They both contain unquestionably the seeds of the Madras System, and even discover, with some plainness, its main and essential principle, which indeed has long been in practice in many of our great schools, where a new-comer is placed under the care of a *substance*, whom he attends as his *shadow* till he is become familiar with the business of his form. But we perfectly agree in the position, that "none of these facts in the slightest manner affect the merit of the discoverer. The person who first introduced into a school the principle, *as a principle* of conducting it by means of the scholars themselves, is as much the discoverer of that principle, as Franklin of electricity, or Jenner of vaccination. 'The facts were known before them, but in an insulated and unproductive form; they systematized them, and thus communicated to us a new power.'" (*Origin, Nature, &c.* p. 184.) That Dr. Bell was well aware of the force of his new power, and of its probable effects on society, the following passage, extracted from *the original Madras Report of June, 1796*, affords a sufficient proof.

"Such is the result of the essay I have made at this school. Whether the success of these measures depends upon circumstances, peculiar to the character or condition of these children, or whether a similar attempt would be attended with equal success in every charity or free school, where the master possesses the same unqualified and unlimited powers over the scholars, so as in every case to direct their energy in the way which seems to him most subservient to the general good, I do not say; much less do I presume to say, whether the system might not be so modified as to be rendered practicable in the hands of masters of talents and industry equal to

the task, and possessing the confidence of parents, in the generality of public schools and academies. But I am anxious to see the experiment made in both instances, with due attention to circumstances. If successful, I should indulge the pleasing hope, that a rational foundation were laid for forming the characters of children, and implanting in the infant mind such principles as might, perhaps, continue through life, check the progress of vice and immorality, meliorate the rising generation, and improve the state of society." P. 35.

Thus much concerning the question of originality. That concerning the economy of the two schools may be very easily settled. Dr. Bell introduced the knowledge of sand-writing and syllabic spelling, which Mr. Lancaster confessedly borrowed from him. Mr. Lancaster having first opened a *large school**, introduced the economical use of slates in many cases where paper-books were necessarily used at Madras. But these slates are now used in Dr. Bell's schools. Mr. Lancaster also invented a *large card* with the letters and short words printed thereon, one of which stuck against the wall serves the whole class to read from: whereas Dr. Bell prefers that each child should have a *small card* of its own, which it may look at and con over at its pleasure. The difference in the first cost of these instruments amounts to about seven shillings per 100 children yearly; and the use of either is a matter of mere opinion as to the advantage of giving each child's lesson into its own hand. Many of Dr. Bell's schools use the large cards, many of Mr. Lancaster's the small ones; *a few* Bibles and Testaments are admitted to be as necessary in Mr. Lancaster's schools as in Dr. Bell's. So that in fact the two schools are now on a *perfect equality* as to expense. The use of slates, or of paper books, for writing and ciphering, depends on the respective tastes of the master or patrons. If they think the pride and pleasure which a child and his parents take in looking back upon the records of the progress he has made will more than repay the expense of paper books, they will adopt them. If they think otherwise, or if their funds are very confined, they will reject them. *The system* will be neither the better nor the worse for their determination either way, or for the adoption or omission of the small or the large card, or for a multitude of other things, about which much noise has been made—but which are often worth nothing, or are in truth worse than nothing.

What shall we say then to the author of the "Vindication," who, after admitting the principal expenses of the two schools

* We are aware that Dr. Briggs at Kendal, and Mr. D. P. Watts at Aldgate, opened comparatively small schools upon Dr. Bell's system before Mr. Lancaster adopted it.

for masters salary, rent, and rewards, to be equal, entirely omits any item for *the few* Bibles and Testaments necessary in Mr. Lancaster's school, and presumes to make out a difference against Dr. Bell of 731*l.* 12*s.* 8*d.* in a school of 1000 boys, for books and stationary only? We can only say, what we have said before, and what we shall have occasion yet to repeat more than once—weak must be that cause whose advocates can condescend to arguments so false!

Of the system of punishments we have little to add to what may be found in a preceding page. Dr. Bell has invented or adopted none which can annihilate the spirit or injure the moral character of his boys. Such as are inflicted, are adjudged by a jury of the best boys, to be modified, but never increased, at the discretion of the master. Whatever objections may be raised *a priori* and in theory to this plan, the practical result has been so satisfactory, that Sir Thomas Bernard informs us, that in the Barrington school, which has been established a year and a half, there have been only two offences registered, and two trials of offenders. P. 64. We strongly recommend the whole of the 5th and 15th chapters of Sir Thomas's publication to the careful perusal of our readers. They will there see the beauty and simplicity of Dr. Bell's system well portrayed, and the objections to its several parts answered in the most satisfactory manner, viz. by a reference to facts, which he sums up in the following passage: "It is thus that, without COMPULSION, SHAME, TERROR, or PUNISHMENT, the faculties are awakened and put in action; habits of regular and practical attention are acquired, and instruction becomes an object of interest and attraction. This is one of the peculiar characteristics of Dr. Bell's system. It is this desire of excelling daily, this *hourly* contest for pre-eminence, that renders unnecessary all those severe and humiliating punishments for which Mr. Lancaster has been so repeatedly censured. It is this that keeps the scholar perpetually on the alert, and produces that active habit of exertion which will prove through life a blessing to himself and others." Barrington School, p. 175.

After this, what shall we say to the author of the "Vindication," who states, that in Dr. Bell's schools "the classification is complex, and with difficulty applicable to a considerable number of children," although at the Military Asylum at Chelsea 1300 are taught under it with the greatest facility? and what shall we say to his further assertion, that dejection and constraint are apparent among the scholars? We can only repeat, weak must be that cause that can condescend to such a misstatement of facts! That there is less noise and bustle, less turbulence and insolence in Dr. Bell's schools than in Mr. Lancaster's is perfectly

true; but that there is more real gaiety and contentment of mind among the scholars is evident, because the whole process is calculated not to foster and encourage, but to smother and extinguish their bad and unruly passions.

Of the humble, grateful, modest, and pious feelings which Dr. Bell has the art of instilling into his pupils, the various unsolicited addresses of thanks that have come over to him from those formerly under his care at Madras, afford signal evidence (see Appendix to Report *passim*): and we have great satisfaction in adding to the list a very interesting document which arrived by the last Indian fleet.

“ *Madras, 1st March, 1811.*

“ At a meeting of the Reverend Dr. Bell’s pupils at Madras.

“ Resolved, that a service of sacrament plate, and a gold chain and medal, be made up and presented to the Reverend Doctor Bell, from his pupils at Madras, as a testimony of the gratitude, respect, and affection they have for their worthy preceptor and kind benefactor, who, for a long period of years, had engaged his whole attention in rearing up their infancy in the irksome toils of education in the Military Male Orphan Asylum at Egmore.

“ Resolved also, that 100 copies of the Reverend Doctor Bell’s miniature, on copper-plate engravings, be procured, which are to be distributed to his pupils on their arrival here; and that the Reverend Doctor Bell be requested, in an earnest address from his pupils, to permit the execution of the same by an artist in England; a gratification which they will hold dear to them as expressive of their attachment to his person and regard for his worth.

“ Resolved also, to depute on the part of the whole body of the Reverend Doctor Bell’s pupils, now at Madras, and elsewhere, the following of their fellow pupils, to convey their sentiments on this occasion to the Reverend Doctor Bell, in an address to be signed by them, viz.

M. DUNHILL,
G. STEVENS,
J. ANCHANT,

S. GODFREY,
T. ADAMSON,
M. READ.”

See Report, Ed. 1812. P. 106.

Such are the sentiments and recollections entertained at the distance of fifteen years from their boyish days by the pupils of a man who has been represented by his enemies as “ the knight of the rod;” “ the tyrant who exercises that tyranny in school which he is debarred from exhibiting towards men;” “ him whose pupils bear the marks of dejection and constraint;” “ him who pleads with virulence for every kind of punishment that can embitter learning;” “ who writes the virtues of his boys *in sand*, but *records* their faults;” “ who dooms children to perpetual degradation.”—Weak, most weak must be that

cause, whose advocates descend to such falsehoods and misrepresentations!!

It is with pain that we find these falsehoods and misrepresentations thicken upon us as we advance. But we think it will only be necessary to notice one more. Dr. Bell, after having completed the detail of his *Experiments*, in a chapter on "*the application of his System to Schools of Industry, and the administration of the Poor Laws*," and in treating of what he calls "*Schemes adapted to the state of things, and of public opinion*," has the following passage:—

"It is not proposed that the children of the poor be educated in an **EXPENSIVE MANNER**, or even taught to write and to cypher. Utopian schemes for the universal diffusion of general knowledge, would soon realize the fable of the belly and the other members of the body, and confound that distinction of ranks and classes of society on which the general welfare hangs, and the happiness of the lower orders, no less than that of the higher depends. Parents will always be found to educate at their own expence children enow to fill the stations which require higher qualifications, and there is a risk of elevating, by an indiscriminate education, the minds of those doomed to the drudgery of daily labour above their condition, and thereby rendering them discontented and unhappy in their lot. It may suffice to teach the generality, on an œconomical plan, to read their Bible, and understand the doctrines of our holy religion." Bell's *Experiments*, second edition, p. 62; third edition, p. 90. *Elements of Tuition*, &c.

Now we think that nothing can be more plain or innocent, or less inconsistent with Dr. Bell's preceding views and objects, than this whole passage. In discussing the practicability of the darling wish of his heart, the moral and religious instruction of the mass of the people at the public expence, he knew that it was the opinion of many enlightened and respectable men, it was very probably his own, that the State had no right to compel contributions from individuals for any other object than to instil into the minds of the poor *moral and religious instruction*:—that to call upon the middle classes for money to impart generally to the poorer classes knowledge, calculated only to enable them to rise in life, is both *unnecessary*, because individual exertion has always afforded more than enough of it, and *unjust*, because it is compelling one man to assist in rearing a rival to himself in his own line of life. Now it is perfectly obvious that the talent of reading, and the practice of it on the Bible, and on the best expositions of that sacred book, are absolutely necessary to moral and religious improvement. And it is equally clear, that even writing and cyphering, and more particularly

“higher qualifications” and “the diffusion of general knowledge,” have little more tendency towards the same end than geometry or playing on the fiddle. We do not mean to say, that writing and cyphering may not be very useful to those who can acquire the knowledge of them ; and Dr. Bell is so much of that opinion, that he has never established a school of which they do not form an essential part. But we do assert, that contemplating a legislative enactment calling upon the higher and middle classes to instruct the lowest, (which was the subject of discussion where the above passage is written), there is nothing bigoted or uncharitable in the opinion, that the state has no right to call for one additional farthing for the purpose of teaching them to write and cypher. We have ourselves seen small parochial schools, upon the new system, under the superintendence of country gentlemen and country ladies, where reading and religious instruction are imparted, but where the masters and mistresses are not even capable of teaching the children to write or cypher. Yet their minds have acquired a very high degree of moral improvement. Dr. Bell wished to state *the fact*, that the new system was capable *even* of this application, and Mr. Lancaster’s virtual denial of it will not make it one jot the more or the less applicable. That this was Dr. Bell’s meaning in the passage is evident from the explanation contained in his “Elements of Tuition,” published in 1808, where the passage stands thus :—

“It is not proposed that the children of the poor should be educated in an *expensive* manner, OR ALL OF THEM (instead of *even*) taught to write and to cypher.” “ALL, however, may be taught on an economical plan to read their Bible, and understand the doctrines of our holy religion.”

But what has all this to do with the comparative merits of the two schools, or with the system of self-tuition, or with its application by churchmen and dissenters to their respective purposes ? To what ground of preference of Mr. Lancaster’s school can it lead, even in the mind of a person anxious to disseminate writing and cyphering among the lowest ramifications of society. Dr. Bell is the very man who has been blamed by Mr. Lancaster’s advocates for the excessive expenditure of materials for writing and cyphering, *essentially inherent in his system* ; which is at least a proof that writing and cyphering to any extent are compatible with it, and among its first and original principles.

The general instruction of the infant poor by legislative enactment, and at the public expence, was at the time when Dr.

Bell wrote, and still is, a case purely hypothetical ; and was it because he asked *too little* or *too much*, that he did not succeed in attaining this favourite object? When the legislature shall at length in its wisdom think proper to pass a law for the purpose, we shall see how far they now agree with Dr. Bell, as to the extent to which it shall be carried* ; and we will venture to predict, that he will cheerfully submit to their award, should they resolve to go further than appears to him to be absolutely necessary. But we are really quite at a loss to discover how the private opinion of Dr. Bell, as to the expediency of imparting one-third, two-thirds, or the whole of the boon which he has bestowed upon his country, to a particular class of its inhabitants, at the public expence,—can at all influence the preference which is respectively due either to his entire and perfect modification of the system, or to that of Mr. Lancaster, in cases where individuals are disposed to administer one or other of them in its complete form. To prefer the entire plan of Mr. Lancaster to the entire plan of Dr. Bell, on such an account merely, appears to us no less absurd than to prefer the Greek of an under graduate to that of Mr. Porson, because the learned professor may have thought it unnecessary to impart the knowledge of that language to the ladies. Let it also be remembered, that as the system has hitherto been conversant only with the efforts of individuals, or private associations, who stand in the light of parents to the children of the poor, it exemplifies that portion of Dr. Bell's opinion, where he states that “ parents will always be found to educate, at their own expence, children

* We should ourselves be disposed to counsel, that in parochial schools, supported out of the poor's rates, as much writing and cyphering should be imparted as may be taught by the use of the sand-board and slates. But that the use of paper books, pens, &c. should be conditional, and that the parents or friends of the children should pay the expence of them. We think it would be both unfair and unjust to charge it upon the rates. The difference in a school of 1000 boys is stated in this exaggerated manner by the author of the 'Vindication,' for a purpose to which we have before adverted.

Master's salary	L.105	0	0	Master's salary	L.105	0	0
Rent for school-room	52	10	0	Rent of school-room	52	0	0
Rewards for children, &c.	35	0	0	Rewards for children, &c.	35	0	0
1000 slates, at 4d. each	16	13	4	Books for reading, at 5s.			
1 spelling-book	0	8	0	per ann. each	250	0	0
Reading lessons	0	12	0	Pens, ink, paper, copy,			
Arithmetic lessons	0	14	0	cyphering-books, &c.			
				at 10s. each per annum	500	0	0
	210	17	4				
					942	10	0

Being a difference in the expence of the necessary requisites for each school of
731 l. 12 s. 8 d.

enow to fill the stations which require higher qualifications." Consistently with this opinion, he never has either directly or indirectly assisted in or contributed to the erection of a school where writing and cyphering is not an essential part of the plan. Witness the Lambeth, Bishop Auckland, Military Asylum; Whitechapel, Swanage, National Society, and various other schools. What shall we say then to the author of the indication, who, in estimating the comparative merits of the *two plans*, dares to insinuate in the face of such a host of evidence, founded on facts, that the plan of Dr. Bell is hostile to writing and arithmetic? It is evidently no more so than Mr. Lancaster's, whose plan may be adopted either in its entire or in a partial state by any individual to whom it is presented.

But by far the most important part of the subject, in a practical point of view, is the difference of plan with respect to religious instruction respectively followed in the two modifications of the new system. We have seen the progress of opinion in the conduct of individuals. (See pp. 429, 430.) Let us now trace it in that of the church as a body. When Dr. Bell first arrived from India, and published "his Experiment," in 1797, he sent copies of it to the leading members of the church, and endeavoured to spread the knowledge, and to press the adoption of his plan in England, by every method which his limited means placed within his power; and which was consistent with the functions and duties of his professional calling. But the clergy, as a body, were not disposed at once strenuously to countenance the invention of an individual of whom they previously knew nothing, and of the applicability of whose system to the instruction of the poor in England, they had seen no evidence: nor do we blame their circumspection in this respect. The chief part of what was done for the education of the poor, previous to Dr. Bell's arrival, was performed by the clergy. They were witnesses of extensive good resulting from their exertions, and without ascribing much to that natural tendency to repose which is characteristic of all old establishments, we are not surprised that they were backward *at first* in putting any part of the existing good to risk on the venture of a new experiment. Dr. Briggs of Kendal, however, and Mr. D. P. Watts, in a school at Aldgate, realized the principle in practice before Mr. Lancaster adopted it; and Sir Thomas Bernard recorded the results in the reports of the Society for bettering the Condition of the Poor. But this was slow work, and we are sorry to admit that there was no great appearance of acceleration in the proceedings of the church, till Mr. Lancaster started up with all the eagerness and activity of a sectary—with all the zeal of a

missionary—with all the adventitious motives and practices of a person whose subsistence and reputation depended upon the success of his plan; and fortified with all the countenance and support of the host of sectaries, whose eagle-eyes perceived at a glance what an opportunity was offered, at once to place the cause of humanity in opposition to that of the Church,—what a glorious occasion was presented to associate in the minds of the people the ideas of charity and dissent.

Impelled by all these aids and motives, Mr. Lancaster soon became the prominent character on the canvas, and by the great mass, both of the clergy and laity, who had never heard of Dr. Bell, was considered as the *necessary*, indeed the *only* instrument through whom the new system could be carried into practice. And we shall ever consider it as reflecting immortal honour on many zealous ministers of the church, that the practicability of the plan was no sooner shewn by Mr. Lancaster, than they immediately lent him their countenance; and finding to their regret that no propositions having in view the general instruction of the poor were *then* circulated and enforced by the authority of the church as a body, they trusted to their own individual exertions to make Mr. Lancaster's plan square as well as they could with the interests of the church. We should certainly have been glad to see her interfere sooner, as soon indeed as it was evident and publicly notified by experience that the new system imported by Dr. Bell was a practicable one for the instruction of the poor. We should then have been furnished with a stronger argument than we now possess for repelling the sneering insinuations of those, who lose no opportunity of observing, that but for the exertions of Mr. Lancaster and his partizans, and the fear and emulation which they have excited, the prospects of general instruction for the poor would have been very different from what they now are.

By whatever means, however, the effect was produced, the Church is at length roused, and those who wish to secure to the rising generation of the people a knowledge of the excellence of her doctrines may now do so without any alloy of danger, which even the most trembling solicitude for her safety can entertain; and we think that none can now oppose the dissemination of the blessings of education but those who “are a nameless set, whom the church views with dislike, as the authors of her disgrace; who having entered within her pale with views entirely secular, wish to batten upon her riches at their ease; who are conscious that the improved morals of the poor, in consequence of their improved education, would reproach their own dissipated lives; who fear the immission of light on the minds of others because they love

darkness in themselves; who in a word have been well described as possessing the bigotry without the sanctity of former ages, and the laxity without the liberality of the present. But granting that these persons are disreputable and low, may they not make up in numbers what they want in respectability? No! they form an inconsiderable exception, both in principles and practice, to the body of the clergy; and their numbers, small as they are, continually decrease, as fresh accessions to the piety and zeal of the opposite class are daily made*."

We conscientiously believe this to be an unbiassed account of the religious progress of the new system; and the question which we now wish to determine is, what course of conduct a man sincerely desirous of converting it most to the advantage of the poor ought to follow under all the circumstances as they now exist. This is a question involved in some difficulty, arising from the various sects into which our population is divided, and the different opinions as to the proper use of the Bible in education. We shall hope, however, to solve them without trespassing much longer upon the patience of our readers.

The advocates for omitting all peculiar doctrines and expositions of the Bible from the system of general instruction, rest their arguments on these two grounds:—First, that the population is divided into so many sects, each differing from the rest in opinion, that no exposition or set of doctrines can include them all; therefore it is right merely to give them the means of acquiring knowledge and some instruction from the Bible, the general source of Christianity. And secondly, that this cannot be attended with danger to the church, or to any particular sect, because the ministers of each may severally instruct the children out of school in the peculiar tenets of their respective creeds; for we cannot really condescend to notice those arguments which solve the difficulties by saying that the religious education of the children may be left to their parents; when the incapacity and religious ignorance of the poor are the very reasons which render schools for the instruction of their children necessary. Now the first of these arguments is well answered in the little work to which we have so often referred.

“The enemies of the church say, that if national education be conducted upon the principles of the church, elementary instruction will then, like the offices of the state, be confined by a test to

* See a pamphlet entitled “Impartial Considerations on the present State of the Question between Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster, &c. &c.” Hatchard: 1812. The pamphlet is temperate and well written.

the members of the establishment. This is an unfair statement, for what is to prevent the dissenters from establishing schools for themselves? And let us enquire who are the persons who would be excluded by the use of the church catechism? The Quakers have their own schools: they have no poor who require gratuitous education, and if they had, their principles would prevent them from suffering their children to be educated with those of a different persuasion. The Socinians have no poor; theirs is a religion which has never reached the lower classes, and never will reach them,—they therefore are as little aggrieved as the Quakers. The Roman Catholics, it is well known, understand their duty too well not to insist upon making their tenets a part of education; and we know that in Ireland, where for their sake this experiment has been tried of excluding our own doctrines from elementary schools, in those places where the parents have been persuaded to let their children attend the school, the priest has waylaid them with a horsewhip in his hand, and interposed, by the help of that instrument, an effectual veto. But if this were not the case, the Bible would exclude them;—those reasoners indeed who call upon us to treat all religions alike, because all religions are alike to them, would perhaps wish us, as a proof of liberality and of a conciliating spirit, to use the Douay Bible; or, as a further accommodation to the Catholics, to exclude the Bible altogether,—but they have not yet obtained concessions enough to come upon us with this demand. There remains then, (for it is not worth while to take into the account those minor and wilder sects, who may be considered rather as varieties and monsters, than as distinct species), only the orthodox dissenters, or the three denominations, as they call themselves, who are at least nine-tenths of the whole body of English dissenters. Of these there are only the Baptists whom the church catechism would exclude. They are not a numerous sect, in fact none of these sects are numerous, and they are chiefly confined to the middle ranks of society, having few of the higher, and fewer still among the lowest classes; that is, among those who would avail themselves of gratuitous education for their children. We will venture to say, that not twenty children in a county would be excluded from the national schools by their religion. The Methodists indeed are numerous; their name may truly be called Legion; but they, as well as the Presbyterians and Independents, profess the doctrines of the church. Those persons then who cry out so loudly, that all specific religious instruction ought to be excluded from the national schools, make this unreasonable demand, not because it would be serviceable to the dissenters, but because it would be injurious to the establishment." (P. 111, &c.)

In truth, when we perceive men who profess to dissent from the church on conscientious grounds, and because they think their own tenets or discipline more conducive to moral practice and to future salvation;—when we see such men entirely omitting

all particular instruction in what they pretend to think so necessary, provided they can thereby also exclude the doctrines of the church—we are compelled to admit that here, as well as in other cases which we have formerly noticed, it is not the *dissenting conscience*, but the *dissenting interest*, which guides their conduct, and by the rule which we have laid down for ourselves with respect to all hypocritical profanations of religion to secular or political purposes, either within the church, or beyond its pale, we should be disposed to treat such objectors with very little ceremony. In point of fact, we do not find that when a fair discretion has been exercised, the introduction of the church catechism has at all prevented the dissenters from sending their children to school. At Bath, where (as Dr. Haygarth informs us *) the children of all denominations of Christians are impartially admitted, the church catechism has been learned by all the scholars without any objection whatever from their parents or themselves; the same may be said of the Bishop of Durham's, and many other schools, where all the children learn the catechism and expositions of it, but are permitted to attend such places of worship as are frequented by their parents. We recorded in our last number † some instances in which the children had ended by going to church with their parents; and we must confess that we do not quite perceive how any sincere Christian can possibly object to this mild and innocent species of proselytism. It is at once enlightening an ignorant mind, and opposing to its prejudices a pure and practical system of religion. And, surely, no friend to the great blessing of unity of doctrine can hesitate to admit, that where there is an established religion, which must, of necessity, exist as a system in the country, it is at least fair and desirable that its tenets should be fully laid before the impartial judgment of the people, that none may make a breach in that unity without a real and conscientious difference of opinion.

One of the most plausible, and therefore one of the most dangerous grounds of argument upon which the omission of peculiar tenets in the instruction of youth is advocated, has been lately drawn from the example of the Bible Society. This we are anxious to correct, because we think it more likely to injure that respectable and excellent institution, than all the fulsome and flimsy

* See the new edition, 1812, of his Letter to the late Bishop of London, containing a plan for furthering the establishment of schools for the general instruction of the poor, wherever foundation schools, under specific regulations, are now in existence.

† See article on Professor's Marsh's pamphlet on the Bible Society.

arguments which have been hitherto used in opposition to it. The friends of Mr. Lancaster have industriously circulated the proposition, that, because the Bible alone, without note or comment, is circulated by the Bible Society with the view of instructing the people, therefore its solitary and exclusive use in schools is sufficient to afford to the poor a good and practical system of religious education. Accordingly, we find that a body of men in the city who successfully opposed the establishment of a school for 1000 children, on a plan including the church catechism, thought fit immediately afterwards to establish one upon the following basis * :

1. "That education be bestowed gratuitously or economically on any poor children who may be deemed eligible objects, whatever be the religious opinions of their parents.

2. That with such education shall be combined instruction in the principles of morality and religion, by acquainting the children with the holy Scriptures, and by requiring their habitual attendance at public worship.

3. That the committee be selected in equal numbers from the members of the established church, and from dissenters contributing to the institution—that all the clergymen of the established church, belonging to the parishes within this district, and the dissenting ministers of congregations assembling therein, be honorary members of the committee—that all the reading lessons be taken from the holy Scriptures, and that no other papers be introduced, except as lessons for spelling and arithmetic—and that the children shall regularly attend such places of public worship as their parents or guardians, on their admission, shall select, proving the punctuality of that attendance to the satisfaction of the committee.

4. That an institution so liberal and comprehensive is entitled to the protection and support of all persons who wish to imitate the most illustrious examples—to diminish the evils of ignorance—and to promote religion, Christian charity, and the public welfare."

We have not heard how this society got over the first and obvious difficulty concerning the choice of a schoolmaster; but it is very clear, that unless they could find a man one half a churchman and one half a dissenter, or who would agree to alter his religious opinions each alternate day, the principle of equa-

* See the proceedings of a meeting of the inhabitants of the wards of Aldersgate, Bassishaw, Coleman-street, and Cripplegate, and of the parish of St. Luke, and of the liberty of Glasshouse-yard, in the county of Middlesex, held March 4. 1812. Alderman Wood in the chair.

lity on which they set out, must have been infringed at the first step. Nor is this the only instance in which the analogy with the Bible Society does not hold good. The domestic object of that Society is to afford Bibles at a cheap rate to opulent Christians of all denominations, to distribute to their poorer brethren, of course with such instruction and explanation as every sincere well-wisher to it cannot fail to impart according to his conscientious interpretation of its contents. But evidently this school, so far from affording any such opportunity, absolutely *precludes all possibility of it*. Nor is it any sufficient answer to say, "Let the ministers of the several congregations teach their peculiar doctrines to the children during divine service on the Sunday." In the first place, the minister's official duties on that day render it absolutely impossible that he can pass it in *teaching* the catechism to the children of his parish. He may, and indeed ought, always to *catechise* the children; that is, to examine them as to their proficiency in what it has been understood they have been employed during the week in learning to retain and to understand—and in explaining and correcting what is deficient. But this is the utmost which the most zealous minister can do, and much more than a very great proportion of the clergy actually perform; and it is evidently insufficient to supply the place of weekly instruction in the school, where the poor and ignorant child ought to imbibe with the first rudiments of knowledge a reverence for such doctrines as its spiritual pastor thinks necessary to salvation. Moreover, the great temptation to most parents to send their children to school, is not the religious, but the worldly knowledge which they acquire there. If the two objects therefore are separated, it will not be difficult to foresee which will be preferred.

But in answer to this reasoning, it is said, that the Bible alone, put into the hands of an ignorant child, is sufficient to enable it to make out for itself a safe and practicable system of morals and religion. Now assuming, for argument's sake, that the persons who make this statement are sincere, they must suppose that the peculiar grace of God will so attend all perusal of the Scriptures, as inevitably to lead *even a child*, who is conversant with them, to the knowledge of the truth. But what says experience to this? and how far does it prove that Providence did not design that secondary causes should be employed for the purpose? To say nothing of those opposite and inconsistent systems which men of some education equally and sincerely profess to build upon the foundation of the Bible, we would turn our attention on this occasion to what more obviously applies to the subject under discussion, namely, the systems which the lower

and more ignorant classes of society have been led by their ignorance, or duped by designing impostors, to build upon the foundation of the Bible. Of these, the Jumpers, Dunkers, Destructionists, Sabbatarians, Shakers, Swedenborgians, Mystics, the followers of Johanna Southcot, and many others form a lamentable list, calculated to rend the heart of every friend to pure religion and sound morals. We have also lately heard of another sect, called the *Freethinking Christians*, some of whose records are now before us, whose founder and apostle was, as we understand, a carpenter retired from trade. Their fundamental principle is to abolish preaching, *as a pernicious innovation in the church*, not sanctioned (as they assert) by the *authority* or *example* of Scripture, or by any *command, precept, or example* of *Jesus or his apostles!!!* They have agreed that one man's teaching, to the exclusion of the rest, is a principle positively contrary to the direction of St. Paul, "that they should all teach one by one, that all might be edified." Upon this solitary passage, in opposition to the whole tenor of the precepts of the gospel and the example of our Saviour, whose sublime sermon on the mount has, in all subsequent ages, been a standing precedent—these sectaries have converted their chapels into debating societies; and as their name imports, encourage a sufficient latitude of discussion. In fact, there is no species of blasphemy and impiety which is not there discussed, and defended upon scriptural grounds.

To make many extracts from the mass of corruption contained in their records, would be an odious task. But we cannot withhold the following delectable morsels from our readers.

They begin with stating, "that they do not promise a display of great literary talents, or even at *all times, grammatical correctness;*" yet they venture to designate all those who do not hold communion with them, (including the established church) as *dissenters* from the real church of God, slaves of priestcraft, &c. &c. The following are the most moderate of the doctrines to which it seems we are to subscribe, to avoid these imputations, and to promote *unity in the church*.

ON PRAYER.

"I was not present when this subject was discussed at the Free-thinking Christians' meeting, but I was informed that one of the speakers expressed his opinion that prayer was proper.

"Upon the whole, prayer appears to me to be altogether irrational, and founded on a mistaken notion of the nature of the Supreme Being."

CHARACTER OF MOSES.

“ I should be glad to know your opinion on the third verse of the 12th chapter of the book of Numbers; for I think it cannot be admitted as a fact, that it is Moses who speaks, without rendering himself truly ridiculous and absurd: for example—‘ now the man Moses was very meek above all the men which were on the face of the earth.’

“ If Moses said this of himself, instead of being the meekest of men, he was one of the most vain and arrogant of coxcombs; and the advocates for the books of Moses may now take which side they please, for both sides are against them. If Moses was not the author, the books are without authority; and if he was the author, the author is without credit; because to boast of meekness is the reverse of meekness, and is a lie in sentiment.”

“ The enquiry, whether the present is or is not the only stage of our existence, is so interesting in its nature, and important in its consequences, as to require no apology for my adding another to the list. For my own part, I am not an enemy to the Christian religion: some of its doctrines appear to me just and sublime; and many of its precepts are, beyond all doubt, salutary and beneficial. If I reject its pretensions to divinity, it is upon a general principle, and not from any fixed or rooted antipathy to the system itself.

“ I almost depaied of having any thing more to add, by way of making still more evident to every one, who would exercise those faculties with which God has endowed man, that the bread and wine ceremony, falsely called the Lord’s Supper, has neither Scripture nor reason to support it.”

Such are a few of the miseries to which a perverted use of the Bible may be rendered subservient. We shall not soil our pages with any more of them; having, as we hope, detailed enough to prove that the early instruction of the lower orders in some *system of doctrine and precept*, founded on the Bible, is absolutely necessary to prevent the most lamentable and fatal perversion of its spirit and its objects. That the *Free-thinking Christians* are well aware of the truth of the converse of this proposition, appears from an advertisement which they have lately put forth, inquiring for a *large room in the neighbourhood of the Borough*, in which to hold, periodically, their religious meetings.

If then some system of religion must be taught, we are entitled to call upon all those who do not dissent from the *doctrines* of the church, as they value their consistency, their honesty, or their consciences, to make those doctrines a part of the instruction of their children, and of the poor, as far as their influence extends. It is well observed,

“ As for the very few dissenters whom the catechism could possibly exclude, it requires no small portion of absurdity to believe,

and of impudence to assert, that the state, in condescension to the prejudices, and what it must needs consider the errors of the few, should sacrifice the principles of the many, lose sight of its interest; and neglect its duty. How very few those children would be whom such a test would exclude we have already shown: the Methodists of every description, Calvinistic or Armenian, old or new, have no objections to an orthodox school; neither have the Presbyterians nor the Independents. Their children you will have: you will not have the Quakers, even if you give up your creed, nor the Roman catholics, even if you give up your Bible. They will have schools of their own to breed up their children in the way of their fathers: they know their duty, and it is to be hoped that we know ours. Nothing would be gained, were the church to make the concessions which are so insolently demanded. The Jews, indeed, might come to the national schools, if we would be liberal enough to exclude the gospel for their accommodation,—how is it that the advocates of ‘*Liberal Opinions*’ have overlooked them, and forgotten to make this modest but consistent request in their behalf? They have their poor, but they have their rich also; the Baptists have few poor, the Arians and Socinians none who stand in need of gratuitous education for their children. Let them have their own schools. Dr. Bell’s system is open to them as well as to us: it is a discovery not for us alone, not for one people, or one country, but for all ages and all nations: for the Jew, the Mahommedan, and the Heathen, as well as the Christian. It is as common as the light of heaven, and will one day become as universal.”—(Orig. Nat. &c. p. 198.)

But in order to include as many as possible of the real dissenters from *our doctrines* within the benefits of our system, we would recommend to every individual, or society, establishing a school, and particularly to the National Society, to abstain from studiously and ostentatiously informing the dissenters of all the sacrifices which they must make, for the sake of sending their children to church of England schools. Such a display cannot but be very offensive to that pride, from which dissenters are no more exempt than other men; but which we of the church must above all others cast away, if we mean to be useful in the present generation.

We should never forget that the object *now* is, not magisterially to state on what terms we will admit dissenters, but to endeavour to attract them by all *justifiable* means to take from us what they have full means in their own hands of acquiring without us. When, therefore, we establish schools on the Bell System, including of course the catechism and its best expositions, let us not studiously cast in the teeth of the dissenters all the sacrifices they must make to partake of the advantages of the school, but let us hold out a public and affectionate address to them to send their children, expressing at the same time that they are at perfect

liberty to attend any place of worship, without suing for permission to exercise so obvious and so simple a *right*. Thus would their pride be flattered, their feelings of charity warmed, and we are authorized by experience in asserting, that many would be gained to the church. (See No. V, Br. Review, pp. 144, 145.) In short, the more we think of it, the more fully are we persuaded that the combination of zeal with charity is the only way left, which affords a fair probability of firmly establishing the church, and of diminishing the evils of dissent: and very sorry are we, as ardent admirers of the pure doctrines and reasonable discipline of the church, that many of its respectable members are, we fear, helping on the bad cause by the mistaken means which they adopt with a view to promote the good one.

If, however, contrary to experience, there be found any who cannot be gained over by the liberal, consistent, and conciliatory process which we have recommended, that small number must either be left to individual exertion, or, if possible, an arrangement must be made according to the circumstances of the case, by which instruction may yet be imparted to them, and the Bible put into their hands and into their hearts, without offending the religious prejudices of their parents and teachers. If we cannot make them good churchmen, let us at least make them, if possible, good dissenters, and soften, as far as we can, their sectarian asperities.

These are the objects to be attained; but we are yet very far from their attainment. To ascertain, however, and precisely to define the *real object*, is one grand step towards its attainment, particularly if, when rightly understood, all parties have an equal interest in promoting it. Another grand step would be, a sober legislative enactment to facilitate public instruction. When that occasion should offer, we would strongly recommend the plan suggested by Dr. Haygarth, and successfully pursued at Chester, as detailed in a pamphlet just published by Messrs. Cadell, to which we have before adverted. It appears to offer a simple and unobjectionable method of converting into useful seminaries for the furtherance of general instruction, many foundation schools, which have become useless from the impossibility of bending the strictness of their fundamental rules to the alterations that have occurred in the wants of society.

We shall now conclude this article with a brief recapitulation of the several points supposed to be established in the preceding pages.

1. We assert that the new system, whether practised by Dr. Bell, by Mr. Lancaster, by Dr. Briggs, or under the patronage of the Bishop of Durham, is *essentially one and the same system*; and that it is only by a low and contemptible quackery that the ap-

plication of the mode adopted by Mr. Lancaster is denominated by him or his friends the "*Royal Lancasterian System*;" of which he states, "that *the same* cannot be found in any other work, unless copied or pirated." Had Dr. Bell, on his first arrival from Madras, procured a patent for his invention, and tendered his little work, published in 1797, as the specification, would or would not a British jury decide that Mr. Lancaster's additions and alterations, (whether deteriorations or otherwise) have produced such a *difference in the system*, as to shield him from the consequences of an infraction of the patent, or, to use Mr. Lancaster's own phrase when discussing the claim of originality, from the charge of "copying and piracy?" If not, the two plans, and fifty others, which we venture to predict will now rapidly succeed each other, are only different applications of one and the same system.

2. In point of œconomy, we think that there is no doubt, whether with a view to the practice of the system as it now stands, or to the original invention of any particular contrivances, that Dr. Bell's application of it stands upon a full and fair equality with that of Mr. Lancaster. Dr. Bell's schools have adopted such of Mr. Lancaster's practices as are not pernicious; and if it be worth while to contend for such a point, a very large proportion of the useful practices of both schools were first communicated by Dr. Bell.

3. That in point of moral improvement, and the formation of the youthful mind to amiable, regular, and consistent habits, (we here speak independently of religion) the system of discipline and punishment adopted by Dr. Bell is in a very high degree preferable to that of Mr. Lancaster: or rather, the one carries on instruction without punishments—the other has accumulated them, in direct opposition to the spirit of the system, and that to a most ridiculous extent. All is consistent with Dr. Bell: you will not there see the Bible, on one hand, instilling meekness, forbearance, goodwill, and goodnature,—and the rules of the school, on the other, encouraging insolence, scorn, and malice. But the Bible will do its office, and so much the more effectually as every auxiliary practice is made to coincide with and promote its divine tempers and intentions. And this appears to us to be a solid answer to those who state, that you *may* (see Edin. Rev.) found upon Mr. Lancaster's (i. e. Dr. Bell's system, or the new system) whatever system of religion, and whatever plan of discipline and punishments you please. This is perfectly true;—but then you have at once deprived Mr. Lancaster of all his inventions; you have taken away from his plan every thing in which it has deviated from Dr. Bell's; you have stripped the *Lancasterian System* of every thing that even by equivocation may be said to make it *Lancasterian*; and you recur to the plain, sim-

ple, and consistent system of the original inventor. Now we apprehend that a man wishing to build a house would not employ an architect whose plan included a great number of complicated adjuncts, which he either did not mean to erect, or which, if erected, he must pull down,—in preference to one who had delivered him in a beautiful and consistent plan, containing precisely so much, and no more, as suited his ideas of correctness and propriety.

The practical result will therefore be, that any man, really desirous of instilling religious instruction according to any system of doctrines whatever, will adopt the plan of Dr. Bell, and modify the peculiar tenets according to what he *honestly* thinks true, and consistent with the Bible; carefully eradicating from his mind, on an occasion which fixes so heavy a responsibility upon his conscience, all sectarian or orthodox asperities,—which are too apt to be engendered by subjects connected with controversy.

Finally, for ourselves, as it is our impartial and unprejudiced judgment, that when the poor are taught, care should be taken that they improve by what they learn;—and that the church catechism, with its best expositions, contains the finest code extant of scriptural doctrine and morality;—we must earnestly exhort all those, whose objections to the doctrines therein contained are not *insuperable*, to include it in their plan of instruction. Unity of doctrine is a great spiritual blessing, even where unity of discipline cannot be obtained, and will in fact lead to unity of discipline, whenever all parties, by the blessing of God, shall be found equally simple and sincere in purifying their religion from secular feelings and motives.

ART. XXV.—*An Essay on the Preservation of Shipwrecked Persons, with a descriptive Account of the Apparatus, and Manner of applying it, as adopted successfully, by G. W. Manby, Esq. honorary Member of the Humane Society. Illustrated with Engravings on Wood. London: Murray; Longman and Co. 1812,*

WE have been induced to notice this little work, as well from the philanthropic nature of the objects it describes, as from the ingenuity of the methods invented to obtain them; and we trust, with some confidence, that our readers will find their heads and their hearts equally gratified by the following short account.

It has been the good fortune of an individual to revive the hopes of shipwrecked mariners in situations where it has been

hitherto extinct, and to snatch them from the jaws of death in the short suspense between danger and destruction.

Those who have had the opportunity of seeing the pictures of desolation realized on the eastern and north-eastern coasts of our island, and who have beheld the dreadful train of consequences that ensue;—the agonizing cries of the sailors;—the torturing suspense of the bystanders on the beach;—the dead bodies washed on shore;—and too often the lamentations of the wife or child over the body of an honest and industrious parent;—can best appreciate the merits of the author of the work before us, who is also the inventor of the life-preserving contrivances, of which it gives a detailed account. He was a captain of engineers, and held the station of barrack-master at Yarmouth, on the coast of Norfolk, in the year 1807. It is well known, that the coast for several leagues N. of that port, and, indeed, the whole eastern coast of our island, is peculiarly dangerous to navigators in the winter months, and totally unprovided with secure harbours. The consequence is, that many ships are unavoidably driven ashore, or rather upon the shoals off the coast, which will seldom permit the approach of a wreck within less than 100 yards of the land. Frequent are the instances in which vessels thus fixed within sight of their owners, and crews, whose cries were within hearing of their friends and relations, have been beaten to pieces by the waves, and engulfed in the deep, without the possibility of affording any assistance, from the want of means to establish a communication either by a boat, or by a rope, with the object in danger. It is obvious, that if communication, even by a slender packthread, can once be established between a stranded vessel and persons on shore, a rope may first be run out, and then a cable, by means of which the crew, and the most valuable parts of the cargo, may be successively drawn to the land. The following extracts from the preface give an account of the events which first drew Captain Manby's attention to the subject, and of the difficulties which he had to surmount; the perusal of them will render the description of the means, to which he had recourse, both more intelligible and more interesting.

“ The dreadful events of the 18th of February, 1807, when his majesty's gun-brig, *Snipe*, was driven on shore near the Haven's mouth at Yarmouth, first made an impression on my mind, which has never been effaced. At the close of that melancholy scene, after several hours of fruitless attempt to save the crew, upwards of sixty persons were lost, though not more than fifty yards from the shore, and this wholly owing to the impossibility of conveying a rope to their assistance. At that crisis a ray of hope beamed upon

me, and I resolved immediately to devote my mind to the discovery of some means for affording relief in cases of similar distress and difficulty. It is matter of no small consolation, when I reflect that my efforts were soon crowned with the happiest success, and have been already instrumental to the preservation of ninety souls from a watery grave, of which seventy-seven were my countrymen, and thirteen unfortunate Hollanders.

“ In the prosecution of my object considerable difficulty presented itself, viz. in the case of vessels grounding on a bar, when running for a harbour, as their only chance of safety; the broken water, by giving no resistance to the blade of the oar, prevents a boat from pulling up to the ship's aid, though within ten or twenty yards of her. My attention became here engaged in the construction of a small piece of ordnance for the purpose of projecting a rope from the boat so as to communicate in such circumstances with the ship. A small portable mortar was also essential, the better to ensure a prompt and effectual communication, at a period when each successive instant was big with the fate of an entire ship's company.

“ The dreadful event also of a Swedish brig, called the *Wandering Main*, driven on shore at Hasbro', in the night of the 5th of January, 1809, imprinted on my feelings the necessity of contriving a method of affording the same assistance at the more awful hour of night, when darkness doubles the danger, and baffles even the experienced navigator. It was on this lamented occasion, a dark and dismal night, when objects were scarcely discernible, that numerous unavailing attempts were made to project a rope to the vessel by the means successfully used in the day; but its flight could not be observed, either by the persons on shore or those on board, and seven long and anxious hours elapsed before the light of day favoured the endeavours to effect the much-desired communication; when, at the very instant the cot reached the vessel, she went to pieces, and every soul on board perished!” P. vi.

We may add also, that in one day only, viz. the 10th Nov. 1810, the crews of sixty-five vessels, wrecked on our N. E. coasts, entirely perished within one hundred yards of the shore. The number of souls was estimated at 500;—and it is fair to presume, from the result of experience, that if the apparatus of which we are about to give a short description had been within reach, 460 of these lives might have been saved. On these data some probable estimate may be formed of the annual saving of lives to the nation, from the general adoption of the apparatus on the coasts of our islands.

We have already stated, that the object in view was to discover some certain means of projecting a rope in boisterous weather from the land to a ship stranded on a shoal at some distance. The active and philanthropic mind of Captain Manby was not tardy in pointing out a probable method. It struck him that a cannon

shot affixed to a rope, and projected from a piece of ordnance over a stranded vessel, was a *practicable* mode of establishing the communication. But to reduce it to practice was found to be attended with much greater difficulty than the simplicity of the object seemed at first sight to promise.

In the first place, the faking or manner of laying the rope so as to unfold itself with the rapidity equal to the flight of a shell from a mortar, without breaking by sudden jerks at each returning fold, and without entanglement from the effect of uneven ground and boisterous winds, was no easy task. But it was at length attained by adopting what is called a French faking, in folds of the length of two yards; and by laying the rope in a flat basket always kept ready, with the rope in order, in a secure place; so that it could be transported at a moment's notice to the situation required, and laid upon rocks and uneven ground, even in the most boisterous weather, without fear of disarrangement. These contrivances, as well as all the rest, are exemplified throughout the work before us by wood-cuts neatly executed.

The next difficulty consisted in the means of connecting the rope with a shot, so as to resist the inflammation of gunpowder in that part of it which must necessarily occupy the interior of the mortar. Chains in every variety of form and strength universally broke from the sudden jerks or *PLAY* to which they were liable, "which proved, that not only an elastic, but a more connected body was necessary." "At length," says Captain Manby, "some stout platted hide, woven extremely close to the eye of the shot to prevent the *SLIGHTEST PLAY*, extending about two feet beyond the muzzle of the piece, and with a loop at the end to receive the rope, happily effected it."

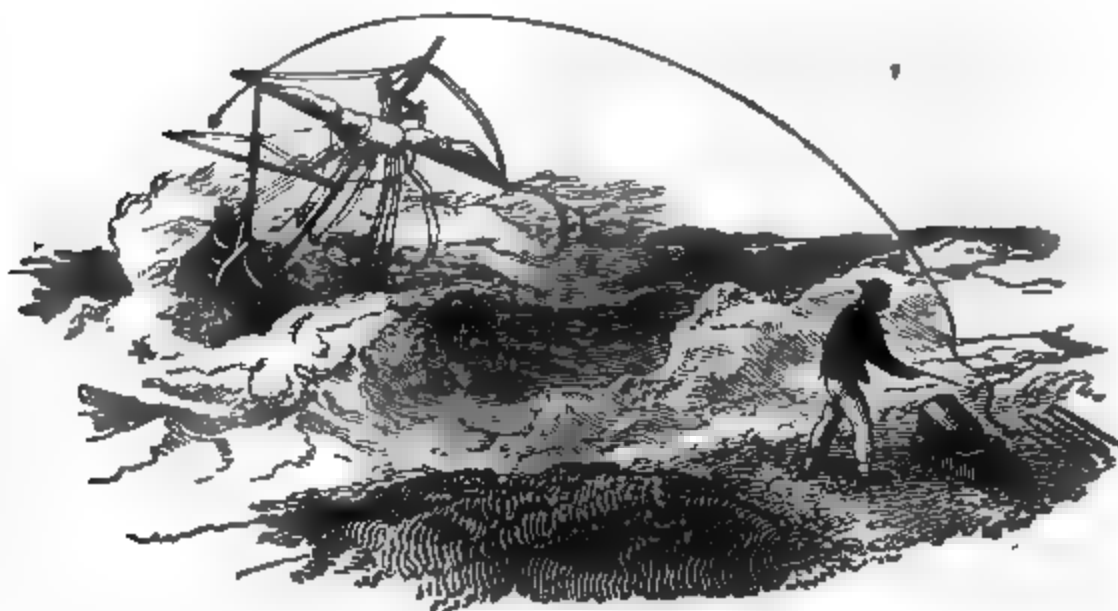
This apparatus projected over a vessel stranded on a lee-shore from a small howitzer, so light as to be easily conveyed from one part of the coast to another, affords a certain means of saving the lives of the crew *in the day-time*; and when from cold and fatigue they are not disabled from seizing and fastening the rope, and in other respects, joining their own exertions to those of their friends on shore. The following extract from an account of experiments made before some colonels and field-officers of artillery, shew the celerity with which the service may be performed.

"A person is completely equipped with every necessary apparatus to effect communication with a vessel driven on a lee-shore. A man mounted on horseback was exhibited, accoutred with a deal frame, containing 200 yards of log line ready coiled for service, which was slung as a knapsack; with a brass howitzer of a three-pounder bore on its carriage, and two rounds of ammunition, the

whole weighing 62 pounds, strapped on the fore part of the saddle. The person thus equipped is supposed to be enabled to travel with expedition to the aid of ships in danger of being wrecked on parts of the coast intermediate to the mortar stations; and with this small apparatus, the log line is to be projected over the vessel in distress, from which a rope should be attached to it to haul the crew on shore. Captain Manby caused the howitzer to be dismounted from the horse, and in a few minutes fired it, when the shot was thrown, with the line attached, to the distance of 143 yards.

"At a subsequent trial the horseman, fully equipped, travelled a mile and a third; the howitzer was dismounted, and the line projected 153 yards, in six minutes." P. 32.

In order more fully to explain the mode of operation, we have gone a little out of our way on this occasion, to lay before our readers a sketch of the apparatus in full activity.



Such is the simple but efficacious nature of Captain Manby's first invention; and a few practical experiments soon ascertained the allowance to be made in pointing the mortar to windward of the object over which the rope is to fall, in order to obviate the effect of a strong wind, which would, of course, carry it considerably to leeward.

Experience also proved, that the mortar should be laid at a low elevation, in order to ensure the certainty of the rope's falling on the weathermost part of the rigging.

This original invention, however, was obviously capable of many improvements. The first of which was to afford assistance to vessels whose crews, either from their being lashed to the rigging,

or from extreme cold and fatigue, are incapable of assisting to secure the rope to the wreck when projected over it from the mortar. This was attained by adding a quadruple barb to the shot, by means of which, when the rope is hauled tight by the people on shore, one end is firmly secured on some part of the rigging or wreck, and a boat can of course be hauled to the relief of the crew, without any assistance on their part.



The following is one of the many certificates of the practical benefits that have resulted from this improvement :

"WE, the crew of the brig, *Nancy*, of Sunderland, do hereby certify, that we were on board the said vessel, when she was stranded on the beach of Yarmouth, on Friday morning the 15th of December, 1809, and compelled to secure ourselves in the rigging, to prevent being swept away, the sea running so high over the vessel. And we do further declare and certify, that Captain Manby firing a rope with a hooked shot securely holding on the wreck, enabled a boat to be hauled from the shore over the surf to our relief, otherwise we must inevitably have perished." P. 24.

Signed by six persons.

Ships are also stranded by night more frequently than by day, and generally in dark and boisterous nights; and to wait till daylight for the application of this apparatus might of course eventually preclude all its benefits.

The weather, also, upon an open coast, during a storm, is seldom favourable for the inflammation of gunpowder; and some attempts to save the lives of the shipwrecked had actually failed from the wetness of the powder and the difficulty of keeping a portfire burning. Captain Manby at first attempted to obviate this last inconvenience by the use of a pistol lock and short barrel; but he found the following ingenious contrivance by far the most efficacious mode of securing a discharge: A short funnel-shaped tube of common writing paper is filled with a preparation of gunpowder, and stuck into the touch-hole of the mortar; and Captain Manby carries in his pocket a small phial of

liquid, with which he wets the end of his finger, and applying it to the gunpowder tube, produces instant inflammation and a discharge of the mortar, even in the wettest weather. We believe that there are several preparations known to chemists which will produce this effect; but this by no means detracts from the merit of Captain Manby's application of one of them to this specific and beneficial purpose, or weakens his claim to the merit of any advantage which the general service may derive from discharging battering artillery in the same manner. As we have had occasion more than once to observe in the case of Dr. Bell and others, it is not the mere inventor of an insulated fact, converted to no purpose of practical utility, that has a just claim upon the gratitude of mankind, but he who converts an object, but little known or little used, to new purposes—and his claim is great, exactly in proportion to the extent of the advantages derivable from the nature of those purposes.

The preservation of human life from sudden and violent termination is an object of the highest importance, both with a view to policy and humanity. But when the exertions for such a purpose are occupied on behalf of our fellow countrymen engaged in the sea service, of men who expose their lives to double risk, to the storm and to the battle, for the comfort and safety of those who sit at home—they are doubtless at least doubly interesting. And though we are far from wishing to derogate from the portion of credit due to the prosecution of science for any facilities that may be offered, we must strenuously insist that the man who *first* converts scientific discoveries to noble purposes of practical utility, not previously in the contemplation of philosophers, has a just and fair claim to the title of an original inventor.

It now remains that we explain to our readers the ingenious method by which Captain Manby contrived to extend the assistance (afforded by his first invention to ships stranded in the day-time,) to those wrecked even in the darkest nights. The requisite objects were,

1. First, to devise the means of discovering precisely where the distressed vessel lies, when the crew are not able to make their exact situation known by luminous signals.

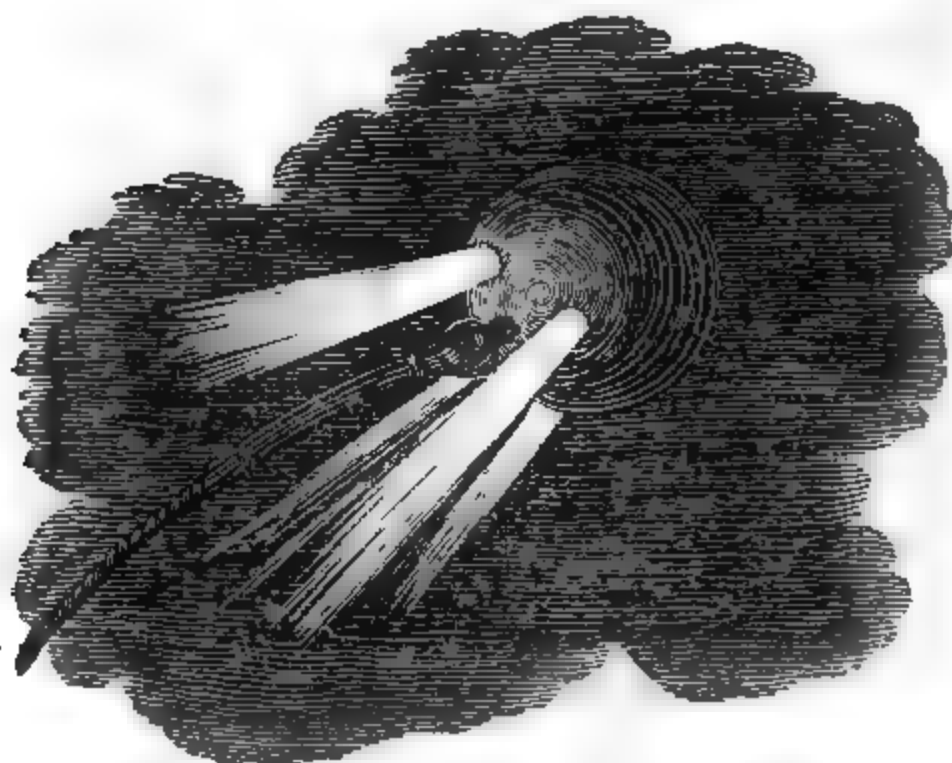
2. Secondly, to discover a method of laying the mortar for the object with as much accuracy as in the light.

3. Thirdly, to render the flight of the rope perfectly distinguishable to those who project it, and to the crew on board the vessel, so that they cannot fail of seeing on what part of the rigging it lodges, and consequently may have no difficulty in securing it.

To attain the first object, a fire ball is used, such as is often thrown up in the attack and defence of fortified places to discover the situation of an enemy by night—and such as was in fact used by the French at the late siege of Badajoz to discover the exact situation of our storming parties in front of the breaches. It consists of a hollow ball of pasteboard, having a hole at top containing a fuse, and filled with about fifty luminous balls of star composition, and a sufficient quantity of gunpowder to burst the ball and inflame the stars. The fuse is graduated so as to set fire to the bursting powder at the height of 300 yards. On the stars being released, they continue their splendour while falling for near one minute, and strongly illumine every surrounding object: ample time is therefore allowed to discover the situation of the distressed vessel.

During the period of the light, a board, with two upright sticks at each end, (painted white to render them more discernible in the dark) is pointed towards the vessel, so that the two white sticks shall meet in a direct line with it, the wreck being a fixed object. This will obviously afford an undeviating rule by which to lay the mortar, making an allowance, as by daylight, for wind, &c. Thus the second object is attained.

For the third, a shell (instead of a shot) is affixed to the rope, having four holes in it to receive fuses, and the body of the shell is filled with the fiercest and most glaring composition, which when inflamed, displays so splendid an illumination of the rope, that its flight cannot be mistaken. We insert a sketch of this contrivance, and add a certificate of the success of the whole operation in practice.



Report of experiments made thereon, before a committee of colonels and field officers of the royal artillery at Woolwich, on the 3d of May, 1809, by order of the honourable Board of Ordnance.

SIR,

Royal Arsenal, Woolwich, May 3, 1809.

“ I REQUEST you will inform the master general and the right honourable board, that in obedience to their orders, communicated in your letter of the 23th ultimo, the committee of colonels and field officers, named in the margin*, assembled on the following day, to witness the further experiments proposed by Captain Manby, with a view of obtaining a communication from the land with stranded vessels.

“ On this occasion Captain Manby exhibited his contrivance for ascertaining the position of a ship stranded during the night-time, by projecting light balls into the air, from a mortar at a high elevation, by which means obtaining a momentary view of the object, its situation is instantly and determinately marked, by placing two upright sticks, fixed on a short plank, which can be moved with the greatest facility in the exact direction, and by which the mortar can be laid with precision, in the usual manner.

“ Captain Manby then exhibited a contrivance to insure the firing of the mortar in wet or stormy weather, by means of a short pistol, the lock of which is so covered by a tin box as to exclude the effects of the wind or rain on the priming.

“ The next experiment was to prove the practicability of throwing a life rope attached to a shot from a 12-pounder carronade, and the application of a shell with several fuzes, instead of a shot for the same purpose, at night, so that the crew on board the stranded vessel, by the brilliant light of the fuzes, could not fail to see the projection of the rope to their assistance.

“ I am happy to report to his lordship and honourable board, that Captain Manby's experiments were perfectly satisfactory to the committee, and they have no doubt of their successful application to the noble purpose he has in view.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

To R. CREW, Esq.

Secretary to the Ordnance.

VAUGHAN LLOYD,

Col. Com. Lieut. Gen.” P. 64.

Such are the most prominent and interesting facts relating to Captain Manby's discoveries for the preservation of shipwrecked seamen. There are many minor points, respecting the mode of bringing the sick on shore, of carrying a boat over a surf, to reach a vessel stranded without a bar, &c. &c. to which we have not time to refer, but which are described and illustrated by wood cuts in the work before us. Among these we are particularly struck with his simple method of converting any common boat into a life-boat, at an expense of about 3*l.* by merely lash-

* Present—Lieut. General Lloyd, Colonel Ramsay, Lieut. Colonels Bothwick, Riou, and Charlton; Majors Viney, Waller, Griffith, and Dixon.

ing within the gunwhale six or seven empty and air-tight water casks, or oil casks if they are within reach—a plan that has been found so efficacious in giving buoyancy, that sailors who have tried it have no hesitation in putting to sea in such a boat with a hole bored through her bottom.

The whole expense of the apparatus invented by Captain Manby, we understand, amounts to about 10*l.*; and we have no hesitation in delivering our opinion, that sets should be deposited, at the public expense, at intervals of about ten or a dozen miles, along all the dangerous coasts of the United Kingdom; that is, along all those coasts where, from the flatness of the shore, vessels driven upon it will strike within two hundred yards of the land. Many parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland come under this description. And if, in addition to this precaution, the activity of the fishermen and villagers on the coasts was stimulated by a bounty, in the way of head money, for the life of each mariner saved out of a wreck by this process, at least in every case of difficulty and hazard, when the people concerned risk their own lives in the attempt, the provision would be a wise one, and worthy of the justice and humanity of a British board of admiralty.

It is highly creditable to Captain Manby, that he had no sooner completed his invention and carried it into operation on the coast of Norfolk, than he addressed a letter to the magistrates of that county, exhorting them by very forcible reasons to institute a “Society for the relief of shipwrecked mariners;” and specifically for providing them with such clothing and necessities as may in different cases be required, and for assisting them to their homes. It is no less creditable to the magistracy of that distinguished county, that they immediately answered the call, and instituted a society for the purposes proposed. Captain Manby calls upon the other maritime counties to follow the example in the following words, which do equal credit to his feelings and to his judgment.

“I cannot, however, feel satisfied, and leave the work of humanity half perfected. That the shipwrecked mariner, if preserved, is brought on shore, worn out with bodily fatigue, and mental horror and agitation, with limbs benumbed and swollen with wet and cold; destitute, most probably, of either linen or clothes, except those on his back, wet, drenched, and dripping; that he preserves neither money nor means to relieve himself, nor to procure those necessities and comforts, which cold, hunger, and nakedness claim; that he, perhaps, is many miles distant from his family and friends, or from a port whence he might get a passage to them; these, and such like circumstances of distress, which have been realized in many instances of shipwreck, wherein I have been con-

cerned, induce me to make one effort more in behalf of such sufferers, by recommending to the consideration of *every county* where calamities of this kind are frequently occurring, whether an alleviation of the hardships to which this valuable order of men are exposed might not be purchased at an easy rate; whether the injury of their health might not be easily repaired, or provided against, comfort administered, and themselves be helped on their way to their place of abode." P. 84.

We now take leave of this little work, which we do not scruple to own has interested us more than perhaps it consists with the apathy of mere critics to avow in its favour, by the modesty of its pretensions, the ingenuity of its contrivances, and the philanthropy of its author. The book is handsomely printed, and the wood cuts very neatly executed; the style in which it is written is perspicuous, and well suited to the object in view; and it is with great cordiality that we recommend it to the notice of those who have the same propensity with ourselves for accumulating, in a favourite corner of their library, the records of those disinterested exertions of talent in the cause of benevolence, which distinguish this age and country from any that are to be found in the history of the world.

ART. XXVI.—*Authentic Correspondence and Documents explaining the Proceedings of the Marquis Wellesley and of the Earl of Moira in the recent Negotiations for the Formation of an Administration.* London: Phillips. 1812, 1st Edition.

THE documents relating to this interesting and extraordinary subject, being now transfused through the *authentic medium* of the newspapers into the above-mentioned pamphlet, have become to us a legitimate object of attention; and we cannot possibly let the present Number pass through our hands without giving to our readers what appears to us to be the clue of these very singular proceedings. From the floating mass of information and reports, it is difficult for the generality of persons, particularly for those at a distance from the scene of action, to extract an authentic and consistent statement even for the satisfaction of their own minds. Yet there never was a period in which the opinions of leading individuals were of more practical importance to the state. It is, therefore, of the utmost moment that they should have a clear and distinct view, unblassed by the *arts of any party*, of the real results, and probable consequences of the late negotiations for office. If then we have acquired by our former ex-

ertions any credit with the public for independence of judgment, and for seeing, with some degree of clearness, what is passing under our eyes, we trust that the following explanation of the late events will not be unacceptable.

On the horrible crime from which they took their rise, we shall not detain our readers with any comments, except by remarking that the mind of the assassin appears to us to have been one of the greatest moral curiosities ever submitted to the contemplation of a philosopher;—curious, as well in the degree, as in the *nature* of the depravity which it exhibited.

We shall at once proceed to the consequences which his act has had upon the several parties in the state, and what is more important, upon the welfare and interests of the country. But in entering upon this detail, we shall not think it necessary to investigate minutely the purport and bearings of the *statement* *

* This statement not being published with the other papers in the pamphlet before us, we give it in the following note. It appeared in the newspapers a few days AFTER the assassination of Mr. Perceval.

“ Lord Wellesley expressed his intention to resign, because his general opinions, for a long time past, on various important questions, had not sufficient weight to justify him towards the public, or towards his own character, in continuing in office; and because he had no hope of obtaining from the cabinet (as then constituted) a greater portion of attention than he had already experienced.

Lord Wellesley's objections to remaining in the cabinet arose, in a great degree, from the *narrow* and imperfect scale on which the efforts in the peninsula were conducted. It was always stated to him by Mr. Perceval, that it *was impracticable* to *enlarge* that system. The cabinet followed Mr. Perceval implicitly. Lord Wellesley thought that it *was perfectly practicable* to extend the plan in the peninsula; and that it was neither safe nor honest towards this country or the allies, to continue the present contracted scheme. No hope existed of Mr. Perceval, or of any of his colleagues: no alternative, therefore, remained for Lord Wellesley but to resign, or to submit to be the instrument of a system which he never advised, and which he could not approve.

Lord Wellesley had repeatedly, with great reluctance, yielded his opinions to the cabinet on many other important points. He was sincerely convinced by experience, that in every such instance he had submitted to opinions more incorrect than his own; and had sacrificed to the object of accommodation and temporary harmony, more than he could justify in point of strict public duty. In fact, he was convinced by experience, that the cabinet neither possessed ability nor knowledge to *devise* a good plan, nor temper and discernment to *adopt* what he now thought necessary, unless Mr. Perceval should concur with Lord Wellesley. To Mr. Perceval's judgment or attainments Lord Wellesley (under the same experience) could not pay any deference, without injury to the public service.

With these views and sentiments, on the 16th of January, Lord Wellesley merely desired permission to withdraw from the cabinet; not requiring *any change* in his own situation, and imploring no other favour than the facility of resignation. This plain request was notified to the Prince Regent and to Mr. Perceval as nearly as possible at the same moment of time; with the expression of Lord Wellesley's wish, that the *precise* time of his resignation might be accommodated to the pleasure of his Royal Highness, and to the convenience of Mr. Perceval, as soon as the restrictions should expire.

The Prince Regent received this notification with many gracious expressions of

published by the friends of Marquis Wellesley, (as it now appears against his consent), though it is admitted to contain the sub-

regret; and Mr. Perceval, *in writing*, used expressions of regret, and also of *thanks* for the manner in which Lord Wellesley had signified his wish to resign.

Mr. Perceval, *without any communication* to Lord Wellesley, instantly attempted to induce the Prince Regent to remove him before the expiration of the restrictions; and repeatedly urged the attempt with great earnestness; severally proposing Lord Moira, Lord Castlereagh, and Lord Sidmouth, or some of his party, to supersede Lord Wellesley without an hour of delay. Mr. Perceval *never gave any intimation* to Lord Wellesley of these proceedings, nor even of his wish for Lord Wellesley's immediate retirement.

The Prince Regent still pressing Lord Wellesley to retain the seals, he submitted to his Royal Highness's commands; declaring, at the same time, his anxious desire to be liberated, as soon as his Royal Highness should establish his government.

When it appeared, at the expiration of the restrictions, that the Prince Regent intended to continue Mr. Perceval's government, Lord Wellesley again tendered the seals to his Royal Highness with increased earnestness. On that occasion, being informed that his Royal Highness was still at liberty, and was resolved to form his Cabinet according to his Royal Highness's own views, and being *commanded to state his opinions* on the subject, Lord Wellesley declared, that in his judgment the Cabinet ought to be formed, *first*, on an intermediary principle respecting the Roman Catholic claims, equally exempt from the extremes of instant, unqualified concession, and of peremptory, eternal exclusion; and, *secondly*, on an understanding that the war should be conducted with adequate vigour. Lord Wellesley said, that he personally was ready to serve *with* Mr. Perceval on such a basis; that he never again would serve *under* Mr. Perceval in any circumstances. He said, that he would serve under Lord Moira, or Lord Holland, on the proposed principles; but that he desired no office, and entertained no other wish than to be instrumental in forming such an administration for the Prince Regent, as should be consistent with his Royal Highness's honour, conciliatory towards Ireland, and equal to the conduct of the war on a scale of *sufficient extent*. He made no exception to any prime minister but Mr. Perceval, whom he considered to be incompetent to fill that office, although sufficiently qualified for inferior stations. He offered to act under any other person approved by his Royal Highness; but he stated, that his own views rendered him much more anxious to resign instantly.

The Prince Regent commanded Lord Wellesley to continue, until his Royal Highness should have communicated with Mr. Perceval through the Lord Chancellor. Lord Wellesley stated, that such a communication must prove useless, but submitted to his Royal Highness's earnest desire. In two days afterwards Lord Wellesley received, through the Lord Chancellor, the Prince Regent's acceptance of his resignation, and accordingly delivered the seals to his Royal Highness on the 19th of February, 1812."

Mr. Perceval's friends published an *official answer* to this statement in the Courier newspapers of May 21 and 22;—in which they observed upon the moment so ungenerously selected for the publication;—upon the improbability of any very important differences having really existed in the cabinet, without a single document for their support. They also stated, that every disposition had been manifested in the cabinet to give all possible assistance to the cause of the peninsula;—that nothing was ever denied to Lord Wellesley which was not proved even to his own satisfaction to be impracticable. Also, that Lord Wellesley *first announced* to the Prince Regent his positive determination to resign, taken upon grounds that would admit of no compromise with his colleagues;—*without saying a word on the subject to Mr. Perceval*, the head of the administration, who learned it to his great surprise from his royal master, and who was therefore bound to use his best and earliest exertions to recommend a proper successor as soon as possible. If

stance of his opinions. Neither shall we closely criticise the letters that have passed between that noble lord, Mr. Canning, the opposition, and the present ministers. These, with the exception of the *statement*, constitute "the authentic documents and correspondence" referred to at the head of our article; and we shall think it sufficient occasionally to appeal to them, if necessary, for the purpose of elucidating the opinions of their writers.

So sudden a catastrophe came down upon our politicians like a stream of lava upon the peaceful and industrious village. Each man was occupied in his particular objects for his own or his country's advantage, and could have made no arrangements for an event so much out of all human calculation. And it is very much from this circumstance that the difficulties have arisen. Could the two statesmen, to whose accession to office every one looked with confidence as the probable substitute for him whom we all deplore, could they have foreseen the contingency,—we do not think that they would either of them have pledged themselves so decidedly on the question concerning the Catholics; nor one of them on the subject relating to the currency. And we think that we are authorised by their previous conduct, and the nature of their opinions on those questions, in venturing this judgment. Their motives we presume not to investigate, but it is evident, that if they had abstained from those pledges, the formation of such a ministry as Parliament called for in its address to the Prince Regent would have been concluded in time to prevent the supposed necessity of that address.

Such a ministry, however, not having been formed, it appeared to a few honourable and independent country gentlemen, (who were said to have lately dined with another honourable gentleman pointed out in one of the abortive arrangements as *a cabinet minister expectant*, where such topics of conversation would *naturally* arise), that the government as it stood, without *further assistance*, was not so efficient with respect to personal talent as the arduous state of public affairs seemed to require;—at least, that it would be desirable, if it were possible, to add to its efficiency. The result of this impression upon the minds of many other gentlemen produced an address to the Prince Regent, of such a nature, that if it was not of *indispensable duty*, it was at least of *indispensable necessity*, that the Crown

the facts stated in this answer be correct, that man must be blind indeed, who does not see the design with which this tender of resignation was made to the Sovereign without the privity of the minister.

should pay immediate attention to it. THE TERMS, PURPORT, AND INTENTION of this address, therefore, constitute the MAIN SPRING which was to give motion to the efforts of the crown on this occasion. The prayer was for a more efficient administration;—and for what purpose?—Evidently for that of carrying into effect, with greater supposed vigour and ability, those measures of policy of which Parliament and the country had repeatedly declared their approbation. It is then supremely important to the right understanding of this question, to observe, that it was not for a *change of measures*, or (if we may be allowed the term) for a change in the *action*, but for an addition of momentum to the *agents* that the address prayed.

When the crown therefore was graciously pleased to use its best endeavours to comply with the wishes expressed in the address, these must have been the principles by which its conduct was necessarily regulated.

It must have used its sincere and unaffected endeavours to add to the efficiency of the administration, or (to use our former term) of the *agents* of government, in every possible way that would not materially *alter the course of the action*; that is to say, it must have invited the co-operation of talent from *every quarter*, and have accepted it from those who did not make a fundamental alteration in the approved policy of the state, the indispensable condition of their assistance. This is what the crown was called upon to do by the terms of the address, nor could it go a step farther without running directly counter to the repeated decisions of parliament.

Now we think it will be obvious to every man of plain intellect, upon a bare inspection of the newspapers, (which by the way are now become the most accurate authority for the curious in state-secrets,) that the duty which we have been describing has been honestly and conscientiously fulfilled; and the result has been such as every cool head must have expected. It was perfectly evident that Lords Grenville and Grey, and their friends, could not with honour become a part of the government, without a fundamental change in all the public measures of which the parliament and the country had frequently expressed its approbation. We say nothing of the specific point upon which the last treaty with those noblemen failed; the document has *appeared in the newspapers* in its *authentic shape*, and is to be found at No. 29, of the papers before us. It is only essential to the subject now under discussion, in as far as it goes to prove, that the crown, in its great anxiety to comply with the letter of the address, was even disposed to go beyond its *spirit*, and to admit of some modifications in the approved policy of the pub-

lic measures. It must have been equally obvious, that the *statement* of Marquis Wellesley's sentiments on the political character of the existing administration, though it now appears to have been incautiously published by some of his friends, evidently contained his real sentiments. And could there have been the slightest hope of a frank and sincere union between materials so discordant, not to say, so *bitterly repugnant*?

The dilemma, therefore, to which the crown was reduced, and to which the country and its parliament are also *now* reduced, is this: Is it their pleasure to support an administration formed under the auspices of the leaders of the opposition, adopting a change of policy with respect to the Peninsula, to America, to the Roman Catholics, to the Bullion Question, to the general conduct of the war against France; or do they chuse to support the present administration with a view of continuing the same course of policy, which, to say the least, has kept the English name and nation, during the last three years, at a high pitch of military and moral greatness in the eyes of Europe and of the world? This is the plain, simple, and common sense statement of the question; and we think that no sophistry can elude the justness and precision of its terms. Upon the principles then arising therefrom, it is the bounden duty of every good and honest citizen to regulate, not his conduct only, but in times like these, his strenuous exertions within the sphere of his influence. Let him chuse his ground on either side according to his conscience: but let him be firm and consistent when he has chosen it, nor tamper with his own common sense by expecting discordant councils to be the parent of active wisdom, or by looking for practical strength amidst speculative contrarieties. The *opposite* impulses of the strongest powers tend only to neutralize each other. We are ready to admit, that it requires some degree of fortitude to contemplate with firmness either side of the alternative before us. But it is in difficult and arduous situations that the energies of England have been most exercised and displayed; and, we trust, that we are not yet reduced to that impotency of dejection which must oblige us to stake our political independence and national existence upon the life of one individual, however exalted. That were indeed to invest the assassin's knife with the imprecated witchcraft of the sword of Caligula, and to empower every phrenzied villain to pierce the heart of his country through the side of its minister.

We cannot lay down our pen without adverting to one or two mischievous arguments, which the malice of disappointed ambition, or of revolutionary fanaticism, has engendered on this occasion; and which, we confess, have filled us with indignation,

because we think them calculated to injure our country in proportion as they obtain admittance into the minds of thoughtless men.

It is asserted, for example, that the signal defeat given to the hopes of the opposition in the debate of Thursday the 11th of June, affords the strongest grounds for concluding in favour of the necessity of *parliamentary reform*. Our opinions upon the general subject of parliamentary reform are well known, and we should be glad to see an argumentative reply attempted to what we have written on that subject in the last number of our Review. In the mean time we must observe, that no virtual answer whatsoever, to any one of our arguments, is to be found in the late proceedings of the House of Commons. And indeed we should be willing to rest our judgment of the *practical independence* of that house very much upon a fair review of its late conduct. What are the facts?

The crown, in an arduous and difficult crisis, appointed as its ministers a set of statesmen, who, if they did not comprize all the talents in the country, were at least as notable for talents and for the efficiency of their former measures, as any party in the state; and who, as the event has shewn, contained all the ostensible talent which at that period could be brought to act together with a perfect uniformity of principle for the public service. It was certainly also supposed that they were personally agreeable to the crown; an object which we are weak enough to think is of some consequence to the welfare of the country.

A House of Commons, therefore, without incurring the imputation of servility, might surely have supported them in the first instance, at least till some proof of inefficiency had appeared. But instead of this, on a mere surmise in the minds of its members that *a still more efficient government might possibly be formed*, the House, in the full exercise of its independence, did actually take the unprecedented step of addressing the crown to strengthen an administration before any trial of its efficiency had been made.

Thus far at least we can perceive no very flagrant proof of servility to the crown and its selected ministers. And when, after every attempt to comply with the wishes of parliament had failed, and when it was perceived that the only alternative remaining was a total *change of men*, which was neither required by parliament nor desired by the people; a change too that must necessarily have been accompanied by a total inversion of the whole policy of the state, of which the same parliament and people had repeatedly expressed their approbation;—when such, we say, was evidently the real state of affairs; it does certainly

require no little malice to invent, and impudence to assert, the position, that the House of Commons was servile, because it was consistent with itself, *and its own recorded and conscientious opinions*;—because, in fact, it would not veer round with the first blast of the storm, and point its index to a directly opposite quarter of the compass.

We have a right to say, “*its conscientious opinions*,” because malice itself cannot ascribe the preceding vote to any possible motive, except to a pure and independent wish to procure for the country, in an arduous crisis, the strongest government that could be had at any sacrifice of private feeling; nor can impudence itself deny that this patriotic object was paramount in the bosom of the parliament to any regard for the private feelings and wishes which have been presumptively imputed to the Crown. It will also, we think, be admitted, that among the *sober* part of the community, those who are favourable to our present system of policy, bear to those of opposite sentiments, a proportion at least equal to the relative majority on the 11th of June.

Such then are the *reasonable grounds* upon which the calumnies now vented in certain quarters against the House of Commons are founded;—calumnies which add but one more to the disgusting proofs already before the country of the tendency of party violence, to mix, in one odious mass of hostility, discontented politicians with revolutionary reprobates.

We venture to ask what tyranny can be so galling as that which thus presumes to erect party opinion into an instrument of despotism over men’s characters and actions? and what servility more abject than that which can induce men to submit their efforts for their country’s good to an ordeal in which they can only escape unscorched by a base and timid collusion with their self-constituted judges?

If any thing could add to our disgust at these proceedings, or to our conviction of the weakness and unpopularity of the parties that can resort to such methods of filling their ranks, it would be found in that acme of meanness and insolence, which makes a coincidence with their views and opinions, the test not only of political integrity, but even of FEMALE INNOCENCE, and of ROYAL HONOUR;—which lends itself as a pandar to the gross and calumnious imputations of the vulgar against a pretended influence, of which there exists *no proof*; and of which the *only shade of proof* is to be found in the beneficial effects upon private habits, which *may be suspected* to have resulted from it;—Finally, which can so far forget all manly feeling, decency, and candour, as to violate the respect due to a female of high rank and

virtuous life, and to found upon the slander of private innocence an endeavour to drag their Sovereign's character before the prejudiced tribunal of his people.

ART. XXVII.—*A Letter to the Right Hon. N. Vansittart, M. P. being an Answer to his second Letter on the British and Foreign Bible Society; and at the same Time an Answer to whatever is argumentative in other Pamphlets which have been lately written to the same Purpose.* By Herbert Marsh, D.D. F.R.S. Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge. London: Rivingtons; Deighton, Nicholson, and Barrett, Cambridge. Octavo. 1812. Pp. 54.

2. *An old Fable with a new Application.* Cambridge: Hodson. 1812.

ALAS for controversy! to what contradictions and inconsistencies does it lead its votaries! Is it credible that Mr. Professor Marsh, the author of the "Inquiry," reviewed in our last number, should venture to object to *his* opponents, "that as they breathe nothing but the spirit which the gospel was intended to *subdue*; they will hardly contribute to the diffusion of the precepts which the gospel was intended to *convey*?" P. 4. And that, as "they violate the laws of decorum, they are pleading, not for piety, but for power?" Ibid. Is it credible, that he who made no scruple in the first instance to affix the stigma of personal and interested motives upon the innocent and praiseworthy persons against whom he opened hostilities, should characterise as "the effusions of spleen and malice," those adventitious aids which they have brought forward in their defence, springing from proofs in their possession, that the learned professor himself might not, perhaps, have been actuated by the purest public motives? Or can he, after such a course of conduct, believe that he shall satisfy the world by pretending to treat such positions with contempt? They were indeed of such a nature, and proceed from quarters so respectable, that it does certainly behove Dr. Marsh, if he has any regard to reputation founded upon a more solid basis than mere party vociferation, not "*to take his leave of the controversy*," (see last page of his pamphlet), which he has provoked, without some explanation respecting them. But as we never brought forward any FACTS of this nature, we shall press the point no further; and shall proceed, in the very few words necessary on this occasion, to enquire how far the learned professor has fulfilled the promise held out in his title-page, and answered all that

has appeared against him, which *really* deserves the name of argument.

The three positions which he professes to defend are, 1. That the foreign operations of the Bible Society have been mistated and exaggerated.

2. That the Society's real objects are partly, at least, of a political and not of a religious nature.

3. That the Bible Society produces a disregard of the liturgy.

On the first of these points Dr. Marsh has published a long and learned pamphlet containing "a history of the translations which have been made of the Scriptures." This pamphlet requires more attention than we have yet been enabled to bestow upon it;—a circumstance which must plead our apology for having omitted to give in this number the general statement of the real merits of the Bible Society, which we announced in our last. With so many points at issue between them and their principal opponent, it would obviously have been unfair to all parties to give a hasty judgment. But we may venture even upon a cursory perusal to assert, that the principal force of his argument goes only to prove, that the Bible Society, in its gradual progress of eight years to its present flourishing state, has not been able to *complete* more *than any other* society ever performed in a century;—and that its warmest advocates may, perhaps, have a little anticipated the completion of objects which are, in fact, in rapid progress to perfection.

2. Of the second position, the professor's defence is twofold, or rather bipartite. First, that he made but *half the charge*—next, that the half which he did make is true. The arguments in support of this defence are exceedingly curious, and not unworthy of the most promising disciple of the system of Loyola. He is excessively hurt that "so respectable a writer as Mr. Vansittart should lend his aid to the diffusion of the unfounded allegation," that he had charged *all* the members of the Bible Society with being actuated by secular motives. For, "having admitted," he says, "in general terms, that the society was animated by religious zeal, I did not conceal the opinion that other objects were occasionally associated with that religious zeal."—"It provides," I said, "for temporal as well as spiritual wants." But I did not *exclude*, as your position implies, the provision for spiritual wants. I did not ascribe to *any man*, much less to the *whole body*, the mercenary motive of seeking *merely* the promotion of private interest." Pp. 9, 10. We really think that Marc. Antony could not have defended himself more *creditably* against the defamation of Brutus and the conspirators which was imputed

to him. Brutus is an *honourable man*, so are they all, *all honourable men*! But to bring the point more home to the professor's feelings;—suppose one of his adversaries had stated that many of those who argued with Dr. Marsh were, no doubt, sincere and zealous men, but that they would naturally be led to the same course of conduct, even were they merely actuated, not so much by a love of the Prayer-book, as by the hope of preferment for advocating a cause agreeable to many powerful individuals in the church. Here they certainly would not “*exclude*” the possibility of sincerity and zeal;—nor would they “*ascribe to any man*, much less to the *whole body*, the mercenary motive of seeking *merely* the promotion of private interest.” But the position would undoubtedly have amounted to a broad *insinuation* at least, of such a motive in its full extent; and the professor is too experienced a controversialist not to know the value of a little obliquity in argument.

But let this also pass; and let us proceed to that half of the allegation which Dr. Marsh acknowledges, and means to defend. “The three ways he states, p. 11, in which the Bible Society provides for temporal wants are;—it gives power to the dissenter, —popularity to the churchman,—and *interest* to the politician. But in what manner associating the dissenters in a charitable purpose, common both to them and the church, gives them power, Dr. Marsh fails to inform us, except by repeating his unfounded assertion, that such association applied to the distribution of the Bible tends to weaken the importance of the liturgy in the estimation of churchmen. Neither is it so “*obvious*” to us, that, taking the assistance of the dissenters in circulating the test of truth from which *we all derive* our several doctrines, amounts to “*courting*” the dissenters, unless it can also be proved that the church *loses* by the circulation of such test—which is obviously not the case. But it seems, that the churchman, especially if he be a *county member*, acquires *popularity*, and therefore *interest*, by advocating the cause of the Bible Society. We know something of English counties, and of English country gentlemen, and we are certain that a county member, who should adopt that course, would be a sufferer for conscience sake. What he might gain among some of the dissenters, if he gained any thing, he would lose in a twofold ratio among that large portion of the community, whom, thanks to the arguments of Dr. Marsh and his friends, which they have very naturally misunderstood, look upon a *cheap Bible* with the same vacant horror with which the Rev. Professor appears to contemplate every prospectus for a *new church* of England charity. For ourselves we must confess, that we have never

observed any thing which should induce us to suppose that the dissenters are actuated by any feelings towards the Bible Society, which are not common to the respectable and orthodox members of the church, who are so zealous in its support.

But we are really ashamed to detain our readers with any arguments to prove, that men who associated together *to give their money* for circulating the word of God to the poor, and who when they so associated, could have had no idea of the absurd controversy which was to rise up against them, were not actuated in the formation of their rules by *secular motives*. We trust, therefore, that we have said enough to prove that the passage which Dr. Marsh has done us the honour to extract from the article on the toleration bill, in our fourth number, is totally inapplicable to the subject of our present discussion;—nor can we agree with him, that it is any thing so very “remarkable” that a Review, conducted as he truly says, “by churchmen, but by churchmen who are zealous friends to the Bible Society,” should express itself in a strain of strong vituperation against those “who make use of the *dissenting interest* as a religious cloke to serve their private purposes.” But we must beg leave to disclaim the professor’s inference from this or any other passage, that we “hold the same general sentiments as were advanced in his Inquiry.” Because we reprobate the dissenters when *grasping at power in opposition to the church*, are we to be told, that we agree with those who anathematise their catholic exertions in unison with that church, and in the cause of a society, which, if the churchmen engaged in it perform their duty in their accustomed exemplary manner, cannot but redound to the glory and benefit of the establishment?

But we will endeavour to unravel Dr. Marsh’s ideas on this subject of secular motives. We will try to afford him something like a clue by which he may be led to an inference, almost amounting to certainty on such subjects. Let him watch the *conduct* of the advocates of each side respectively. If he is acquainted with anyone *FACT*, shewing the perversion of the influence of the Bible Society to party or private purposes;—or any one instance in which its exertions have not been exclusively and zealously devoted to the furtherance of the knowledge of God’s word, then we think he may begin to entertain a suspicion of their views. If, on the other hand, he should find any strong advocate against the Bible Society, on the ground that it leads to the *omission* of the Prayer-book—himself entirely and studiously omitting its distribution among the poor, from whose labour he draws his revenues, still more if he should find him substituting for the Prayer Book a treatise upon the due and

punctual payment of rents, or tithes, or other dues; then, perhaps, may he begin to suspect, with some reason, that the outcry against the omission of the Prayer-book may have been suggested by views of obtaining *power, popularity, or interest*. This, we think, is a much more certain test of sincerity than any assertion from one side or the other, that the part chosen by their opponents is calculated to recommend them to honours and preferment. We will therefore close this part of the discussion with the following quotation from the pamphlet before us, (p. 13,) simply asking Dr. Marsh's leave to apply it to the advocates as well as to the enemies of the Bible Society. "But I have obtained what depends on no man, the satisfaction of having acted from the suggestions of *duty*; whether I am mistaken or not, I have acted from my own conviction, which alone is the rule of an honest man; and I would not exchange this satisfaction for the reflections arising from a contrary conduct, though it were rewarded with rank, popularity, and power."

But these points are, as Dr. Marsh admits, connected merely with the outside of the question. Let us proceed therefore to inquire whether any thing new is brought forward on the main subject of the inquiry, *the consequences of neglecting to give the Prayer-book with the Bible*. And here we are constrained to state, that the work before us does not contain one argument in answer to the numerous ones which have been brought forward in proof, that the Bible Society does *not* (as Dr. Marsh asserts it does) discourage the circulation of the liturgy among the members of the Church of England. He contents himself with disclaiming, in common with the Bible Society, any intention of setting up the liturgy upon an equality with the Bible. Now whether his words in the "Inquiry" do or do not amount to such a claim we shall not inquire;—they have been very extensively understood in that sense. He now, however, disclaims it, and we are satisfied. But we cannot permit him to erect upon this understanding of his words an accusation of inconsistency against the advocates of the Bible Society, for denying that it does in fact impede the circulation of the Prayer-book. And we really can hardly conceive a more jesuitical piece of reasoning than the paragraph in which this accusation is made. "They conjure up," he says, "the spirits of our reformers to bear testimony to the *offence* of urging the distribution of the Bible in company with a human work, and then appeal to experience, to prove that they do not *impede* the distribution of this human work. Now if it is Popery to *object* to the distribution of the Bible alone, a genuine Protestant must regard it

as an *excellence* in your society, that it *promotes* the distribution of the Bible alone. He must value it for this very reason, that it has *no tendency* to associate 'divine perfection with human frailty.' With what consistency therefore can any man who had condemned me for *urging* the distribution of the Prayer-book in company with the Bible, now vindicate the society on the ground, that its tendency is the reverse of that which I ascribe to it?" P. 19.

Now here are various misrepresentations which can scarcely have escaped Dr. Marsh's notice:—First, he must have known that his *offence* was not *urging* the distribution of the Prayer-book in company with the Bible, but *urging* the destruction of the Bible Society, upon the *false assumption* that it *impeded* such circulation among the members of the church. Secondly, he must have known that Protestant Churchmen value the Bible Society, not because it has no tendency to associate the Prayer-book with the Bible, but because it has a direct tendency *at all events*, and among all descriptions of Christians, to circulate the Bible, the test of truth upon which the Prayer-book is founded, and no tendency whatever to preclude churchmen (as the Lancaster schools have) from associating the Prayer-book with the Bible. Yet in direct contradiction to these two known facts has he constructed the above-mentioned notable piece of argumentation, which might be thus parodied against himself. Dr. Marsh is angry with us for distributing the Bible, and then appeals to his own words that he is anxious for its distribution. Now if it is an *offence* in us to distribute the Bible, how can he be anxious for it? He must be angry with us "for this very reason," that we are doing what he must really "value himself for having no tendency to promote." "With what consistency therefore can he, who condemns us" for the distribution of the Bible, pretend "to vindicate" himself on the ground, that he is favourable to such distribution. Thus might the parody be continued to any length, merely upon the assumption that Dr. Marsh is hostile to the distribution of the Bible, which we are glad to have his authority for stating to be a false assumption;—although the *advice* he gives would, if followed, certainly have the effect which he is said to have intended to produce.

After these specimens of the style of reasoning in the pamphlet before us, we shall not trespass much longer on the patience of our readers to expose the sophistry of its remaining arguments. No new fact or arguments are brought forward in proof, that the Bible Society conduces to the neglect of the liturgy, except a solitary, though as we shall see, still a jesuitical, statement, that the printing of Prayer-books at Cam-

bridge has decreased in the last eight years ; but not so much as it has increased at Bartlett's Buildings. Now this decrease, supposing it to be real, might have arisen from various local causes, and particularly from the very large increase of stereotyped Prayer-books printed at Oxford, and from the numerous editions printed in London, by the patentees of the office of king's printer, which go by the name of Reeves's editions of the Prayer-book. But we are in fact credibly informed, that in this arithmetical calculation our ingenious controversialist, by the use of the word "*printing*" instead of "*selling*," has (*we presume with a safe conscience*) entirely obscured from public notice the FACT, that, at the commencement of his latter period of eight years, 40,000 Prayer-books, printed in the former period, were left on hand ; which, on calculating the *demand* for Prayer-books in each period respectively, should of course have been deducted from the earlier, and added to the latter, period, saving the average number *usually on hand*, which is very trifling. This piece of arithmetical justice would convert the unfavourable balance of 20,000 Prayer-books, which appears on Dr. Marsh's calculation of (what should have been) the *delivery* from the university press in the last eight years, as compared with the eight preceding years, into a *favourable* balance of no less than 60,000 Prayer-books ; which added to the two other great and increasing sources of circulation we have just mentioned, and the great increase at Bartlett's Buildings, recorded by Mr. Vansittart, would indicate on the whole a very considerable advance indeed in the general demand for the liturgy. So much for Mr. Professor Marsh's triumphant conclusions*, drawn from FACT, concerning the tendency of the Bible Society "to bring the liturgy into neglect."

Another fact is also stated by Dr. Marsh ; that a prelate, one of the Vice-presidents of the Bible Society, applied to that at Bartlett's Buildings for 2000 Prayer-books to circulate with his Bibles. P. 33. We ask, would this demand have been made had the Bible Society not existed ? or, is it *any proof* of the tendency of that society to produce a neglect of the Prayer-book ? But in the absence of such proof, the following passage is brought forward with a view to discredit Mr. Vansittart's assertion, so strongly corroborated by the fact just recited, that the natural tendency of the Bible Society is to increase the attention of churchmen to the liturgy. We the more readily insert the passage as it contains an admirable sentence from Mr. Vansittart's letter.

* See p. 26, 27, and note.

“ Having considered the *facts* which have been alleged to disprove the tendency in question, I will now consider the *arguments* which you produce for the same purpose. ‘ Instead of leading to a disregard of the liturgy, I have no doubt, that among churchmen the Bible Society tends to recommend and endear it. It is I think impossible to engage seriously in the concerns of the society, without imbibing some portion of the spirit by which it is actuated, and without acquiring a deeper sense of the inestimable value of the scriptures, and of their practical and personal importance to ourselves. We cannot be earnest in recommending the Bible to others, without applying it to our own hearts ; and we cannot do so without becoming better churchmen, because better Christians and better men.’ I perfectly agree with you in the opinion, that a man cannot ‘ engage seriously in the concerns of the society without imbibing *some portion of the spirit*, by which it is actuated ;’ but that the spirit of a society, which constitutionally *excludes* the liturgy, should have a tendency *in its favour*, appears to me a perfect paradox. If you become ‘ better churchmen, because better Christians and better men,’ what will the *dissenters* say, who are members of your society, and who feel its benign influence *without* becoming churchmen ? Is not *their* Christianity improved by the Bible Society as well as your *own* ? And if it is, might we not expect, according to your reasoning both here and elsewhere, some indications of a favourable disposition toward the liturgy, among the dissenting members of your society ? Might we not expect, as the great body of dissenters belong to it, some favourable change in the course of eight years ? Might we not expect that the number of dissenters would have diminished since the formation of the Bible Society ? But is this the *fact* ? Is it not notorious, that since that period the number of dissenters has very materially *increased* ? Is it not therefore absurd to talk of the Bible Society as having a tendency *in favour* of the liturgy ? Is it not absurd to suppose that a society, founded on the *exclusion* of the liturgy, should have a tendency to *promote* it ?” Dr. Marsh’s Letter, p. 30.

Absurd as it may appear to Dr. Marsh, the positions which he here ridicules have been very lately realized in fact, even with respect to the dissenters ; and have been thus realized, as we verily believe, in consequence of the conciliation and goodwill produced among the most respectable leaders of that body by the operation of the Bible Society. At a late meeting for the purpose of founding a society for the exclusive distribution of the Prayer-book and Homilies, a learned and eminent leader among the methodists, Dr. Adam Clarke (whose name we will not conceal, because the *fact* does him honour), rose up, and in an eloquent address, which was offered in his own name and in that of the body of which he is the head, passed a high eulogium not only on the objects of the society, but on the

liturgy itself. The same tribute to the homilies was also paid on behalf of another leader among the dissenters, for himself and his followers. Such are the effects of charity and conciliation in religious matters, such the consequences of mutual sacrifices in cases where they *can be made with safety*. Let Dr. Marsh look into his own pamphlets and those of his opponents, and into the proceedings of the persons who have advocated his late opinions, for the effects of unnecessary jealousy and controversy, on the dispositions and utility of Christian men!

Yet our professor is so little conscious of these evils, that in relinquishing one controversy, from which we must admit that he has been driven with some degree of shame, he cannot withdraw into shade without starting a fresh subject for contention. Discomfited in his attack upon the Bible Society, he now unfurls his banner against the institution for circulating the Prayer-book and Homilies; and pretends to take up the cross in opposition to the formularies of the church.

But really the grounds on which Dr. Marsh rests his new anathemas appear to us so injurious to an old and respectable society, which he affects (though in the most injudicious manner) to defend, that we cannot proceed to the conclusion of this article without first stopping to take some notice of this collateral subject.

“The Prayer-book and Homily Society” then is to be put down it seems, because it interferes with the objects of the society at Bartlett’s Buildings, for promoting Christian knowledge, and this by the advice of the Rev. Professor Marsh, who by his uniform outcry against the dispersion of Bibles without Prayer-books, or orthodox expositions, fully admitted the incapacity of the latter society to keep up the distribution of Prayer-books to a level with its own distribution of the Bible, and that of the Bible Society also. He ventures moreover to assert, that the distribution of Prayer-books by the new Society, and of Bibles by the Bible Society, will reduce that of Bartlett’s Buildings to the mere circulation of religious tracts. We insert the passage that our reader may judge whether our subsequent observations are too severe.

“If the Bible Society is to supersede our distribution of Bibles, and the Prayer-book Society our distribution of *Prayer-books*, we shall at length be reduced to a mere Society for *Religious Tracts*. And can the *real* friends of the church be expected to submit to such a division as *this*? Shall a society, of which every Bishop is a member, which has been employed above a century in supporting the church, and in providing the poor, to its utmost ability, with Bibles and Prayer-books, be at once reduced to a mere society for *Tracts*? *The very thought must excite indignation*, and rouse the dignitaries and ministers of the church, as well as that vast body

of laity, who are cordially attached to her,' to unite (in the words of your prospectus) 'under the banners of the church,' but to unite, where those banners are *really* to be found, in *the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.*" P. 47.

The professor positively ventures this assertion within two and twenty short pages of that part of his pamphlet wherein he *also* asserts, that the Bartlett's Buildings Society distributed *more than 20,000 Bibles and Testaments* in the course of last year. If then, after all the tremors and alarms, and jealousies and attempts to smother the Bible Society, such has been its effect towards *annihilating* the distribution of Bibles at Bartlett's Buildings, is there any reason whatever to suppose that the new Society would produce a more injurious consequence to the circulation of Prayer-books from the same quarter? While it is perfectly evident, that although from the cheapness of the books which it is its object to circulate, the new Society cannot be placed upon a level with the Bible Society, or with that for promoting Christian knowledge, it will yet procure, by its abstinence from a ballot, and by other means, large sums of money for a strictly orthodox and truly charitable object from a great variety of worthy persons; and it adds to the benefit conferred, that many of these persons, from causes, as we think, very just, when applied exclusively to them; do not think proper to offer themselves as candidates for admission at Bartlett's Buildings. It is undeniable also, that many new channels for doing good, and *much increased activity* in the performance, will result from the new Society.

But in fomenting these jealousies between his favourite Society, and other charitably disposed members of the establishment, in setting up for it this claim of monopoly, by patent royal, in the mode of doing good, in the means to be provided for effecting it, and in the regulation even of the private opinions of the agents,—is the learned professor at all aware of the mischief he is bringing upon the object of his regard? We sincerely feel and have often expressed a high respect and perfect good will to the Society for promoting Christian knowledge; and we have cheerfully contributed to its funds. But we protest, that if its claim of monopoly is to be brought forward upon every occasion as a *sufficient bar* to all new and more active exertions in favour of the establishment from other quarters; if, as hath lately been insinuated in a paper circulated against the new Society, all persons who will not submit their opinions, views, and characters to the ordeal of Bartlett's Buildings, (in which be it observed some of the most exemplary and enlightened members of the establishment have failed to prove their *eventual innocence*;) if, we say, such

men are to be branded as they have been only last week, (June 8th), as "unsound in their faith;" "depraved in their conduct;" persons. neither "likely to promote the honour of God or the interests of Christianity;" if petty jealousies are to extend so far that it is to be considered as an affront to the Society at Bartlett's Buildings, even to mention the Bible Society in the same paper in terms of equal praise; then we cannot help saying, that it will become very problematical with us whether the evil of the institution at Bartlett's Buildings will not outweigh its acknowledged benefits. Whether, considering the bitter and childish spirit with which its advocates are *running over*, the general effect will not be, as Dr. Marsh expresses it, to foment "the spirit which the gospel was intended to *subdue*;" and therefore that it will "hardly contribute to the diffusion of the precepts which the gospel was intended to *convey*."

We throw out these hints for the consideration of those persons who, on the suggestion of any new proposal for doing good, exercise their Christian spirit, not in mild endeavours to lend it a helping hand, but in casting about how it may be strained into a subject of controversy, or quenched in the vortex of a society, which, strong and respectable as it is, will find it difficult in the end to stand against these repeated attempts of its impolitic advocates to dechristianize its character in the world.

The wits of Cambridge have already lost all patience, as plainly appears from the little fable, whose title stands at the head of our article, partly on account of its intrinsic merit, which is considerable, but chiefly as a beacon to warn Dr. Marsh and *his friends* of the effects of their controversial spirit.

"So also, like our dog, I'm told,
An institution now grown old,
Beholds with rather greenish eyes
Another institution rise;
Waked from a ten years' sleep or more,
Scolds louder than she snored before."
"As for the good of which you're vain,
I do," she says, "as much again."
&c. &c.

P. 4, 5.

We now conclude with merely calling the attention of Dr. Marsh to a few of the arguments of one of the least worthy of his opponents, which his present "Answer to whatever is argumentative," has left without any *answer whatsoever*. He will find them upon referring to the early pages of the article on his "Inquiry," in our last number; and we intreat him when he is next disposed to quote from so unworthy a source,

that he will take those arguments that apply to the case in hand; and will condescend to answer them; rather than extract passages that relate to a totally different subject. Lastly, we would say to him, in the words of the fable before us,

“ Good brother to our prayer attend,
 Why make a rival of a friend ?”
 “ Why should not we with common ray
 O'er sin's black regions pour the day ?”
 “ May *neither* pause, till the dark poles
 Bless Britain for their rescued souls !
 Till all the nations hail the word,
 And earth's one temple of the Lord.”

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ART. XXVIII.—*Memoirs of the late Reverend George Whitefield, A. M. of Pembroke College, Oxford; Chaplain to the late Right Hon. Selina Countess Dowager of Huntingdon, &c. &c.* Compiled by the late Reverend John Gillies, D. D. Minister of the College Church of Glasgow. Revised, corrected, and republished. London: 1811; and Dublin: 1811*.

THERE are no events that more deserve the investigation of the politician and the philosopher than those great *moral movements*, by which the repose of nations is sometimes interrupted. Political changes often exert but a temporary influence upon the fortunes and character of a people; but the development of a new moral principle, or the incorporation of a new religious dogma with the popular creed, like the electric fluid, acts upon the mass, and quickens every particle into life. Indeed political revolutions, as that of 1688, in our own country, and the recent dissolution of the old monarchy of France, often originate in moral or religious causes. This being the case, it is to be lamented that political writers should have given so small a part of their attention to moral questions.

Of all the assaults upon existing opinions and habits, none has been more marked by peculiarity, and by the importance of its consequences, than the rise of methodism in the middle of the last century. Not less than 150,000 persons in this country have adopted the creed and the discipline of Mr. Wesley alone. The followers of Mr. Whitefield were never organized

* The references are made to the Dublin edition, unless expressly stated to be otherwise.

into a regular body, and now, for the most part, consist of independent congregations. It is therefore difficult to ascertain their numbers; but they are daily sending off large accessions to other bodies of separatists. The zeal of one division of this ecclesiastical army is by no means abated. The followers of Wesley erect seventy or eighty new chapels annually; and are establishing themselves by various means in every village of the land. Their zeal also and a few of their fundamental opinions have communicated themselves to many of the clergy of the establishment; and a partial change is working in the character of the church.

Can such an event as this then be contemplated without emotion? Ought not the causes and the probable consequences of a movement like this to be examined? Deeply impressed with the conviction that it should, it is our present intention to enter upon the subject. The re-publication of the *Life of Whitefield* by Mr. Gillies affords us a convenient stage for the erection of our argument; and after we shall have, by means of this work, made our readers acquainted with some of the chief facts of his eventful history, we shall conclude by adding a few observations, which, considering the moral and political magnitude of the subject, will, we think, be acceptable.

Mr. G. Whitefield was born in 1714. At school he was distinguished for his powers of elocution, and his love of theatrical amusements. It appears also that a more than ordinary seriousness on religious subjects discovered itself in his early days. In the year 1735 he became acquainted with John and Charles Wesley, and with Mr. Harvey, the author of the *Meditations*; and joined them in establishing a society for their common advancement in religion and knowledge, which, from the regularity of the scheme, soon obtained for its members the name of methodists.

In 1736 he was ordained by Bishop Benson, at an earlier age than that prelate usually appointed for ordination. He preached the first Sunday after this ceremony, and not without some of the influence which afterwards accompanied his ministry. His next measures are worth recording, as in some degree prognosticating the desultory and vagrant career of his after life. "The next week," it is said "he set out for Oxford, whither he inclined to go rather than to the parish which the bishop would have assigned him." P. 8. He next took possession of a London pulpit; returned to Oxford; went to the small village of Dummer in Hampshire; and there, his ardent spirit ill brooking the trammels of ordinary labour, and the narrow bounds of the old world, upon receiving a letter from Mr. Wesley, which

he interpreted into a call from God, he set out to take his leave of his friends at Bristol and Gloucester, previous to his voyage to Georgia. "It was in this journey," says his biographer, "that God began to bless his ministry in an uncommon manner. Wherever he preached multitudes flocked together, so that the heat of the churches was scarce supportable.—He was indefatigable in his labours, generally preaching four times on Sunday; besides reading prayers twice or thrice, and walking ten or twelve miles."

At Bristol, where he chiefly laboured, the effect was incredibly great. "Some hung upon the rails, others climbed up the leads of the church, and altogether made the church itself so hot with their breath that the steam would fall from the pillars like rain." Though he soon preached nine times in the week, thousands went away unable to obtain admission. "When the sacrament was administered early in the morning, you might see the streets filled with people going to church, with lanthorns in their hands." Having collected considerable sums in aid of certain institutions in Georgia, he embarked in 1737. On the voyage, according to the statement of our biographer, the captain, and at least half the crew, became his converts. The discharge of his ministerial functions in this first visit to Georgia indicated, that at that time, at least, his zeal was tempered by prudence. His plumage was yet incomplete. Having projected the plan of an orphan-house in Georgia, in imitation of that at Halle, he re embarked in 1738 for England. Having once more resumed his ministerial labours, he soon found some of the pulpits of the establishment shut against him, and was coldly received by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the heads of the clergy. Whilst in London a new society was formed, chiefly of the old Oxford members, with the addition of about a hundred others. He himself describes their meetings, p. 26. "It was a Pentecost season indeed. Sometimes whole nights were spent in prayer. Often have we been filled as with new wine; and often have I seen them overwhelmed with the Divine Presence, and cry out, 'Will God, indeed, dwell with man upon earth? How dreadful is this place! &c.'" Some person at this period having asked, "What need of going abroad—have we not Indians enough at home—if you have a mind to convert Indians, there are colliers enough at Kingswood?"—He immediately undertook this mission; and, finding no place for worship suited to his purpose, he here first, in his own strong language, took, "like his Lord, a mountain for his pulpit and the skies for his sounding board," and soon preached to twenty thousand people in the open air. There is something touching in the

marks by which he recognized the effect of his sermons upon the poor colliers. "The first discovery," says he, "of their being affected was to see the white gutters made by their tears, which plentifully fell down their black cheeks as they came out of their coalpits." The scene he describes was such, perhaps, as might have stimulated to excess a better regulated mind than that of Whitefield. "The open firmament above—the prospect of the adjacent fields, with the sight of thousands and thousands, some in coaches, some on horseback, and some in the trees, and at times all affected and drenched in tears together, to which sometimes was added the solemnity of the evening, was almost too much for, and quite overcame me."

From Bristol he went a second time to Wales, thence through different cities in the West of England, and at length to London. There he proclaimed his intention to preach in Moor Fields. The manner of announcing this event to his friends is descriptive of the man. "To-day my master, by his providence and spirit, compelled me to preach in the church-yard at Islington. To-morrow I am to repeat that mad trick; and on Sunday to go out into Moor Fields. The word of the Lord runs and is glorified. People's hearts seem quite broken. I preach till I sweat through and through." Letter 46.—The concourse of hearers was enormous, and the personal danger of the preacher considerable; but he was not to be daunted. Soon after he transplanted his pulpit to Kennington Common, and Blackheath; and at all these places frequently addressed twenty thousand people. He also made another voyage to America, and founded his orphan house in Georgia; having, in his rapid course, planted the standard of methodism in several provinces of that country. A curious anecdote is recorded in the journal of one of his fellow travellers at this period. "Heard of a drinking club that had a negro boy attending them, who used to mimic people for their diversion. The gentlemen bid him mimic Mr. Whitefield, which he was very unwilling to do, but they insisted upon it. He stood up and said, 'I speak the truth in Christ—I lie not—unless you repent you will all be damned.' This unexpected speech broke up the club, which has not met since." In this expedition he preached in churches, meeting-houses, and under the only canopy large enough, perhaps, either for his zeal or his ambition, the skies. One letter, written in America, and describing the effects of his preaching, says—"He preached his farewell sermon to twenty-three thousand people. Such a power and presence of God with a preacher I never saw before." Another says "His head, his heart, his hands seem to be full of his Master's business.

Every eye is fixed upon him, and every ear chained to him. Most are very much affected, and a general seriousness excited. His address, especially to the passions, is wonderful." In his written journal of this expedition, he says "It is 75 days since I arrived. I have been enabled to preach 175 times. I have travelled upwards of 800 miles, and gotten upwards of 700*l.* for the Georgian orphans.—Praise the Lord, O my soul!"

On his return to England, 1741, he found his popularity much decreased by his letter against the "Whole (which he calls the half) Duty of Man;" by his attack (wholly unwarrantable) of Archbishop Tillotson; and by his contest with Mr. Wesley, upon the controverted topic of Calvinism. The tens of thousands, who in this wise and somewhat theological age, presume to delineate the map of our national religion, and to hunt down our heresies for us, are very apt to forget that all Methodists are not Calvinists; but most of them implacable foes of Calvinism. Those five points, upon which all ages have divided, separated Wesley and Whitefield, and it will help our portrait of the latter to extract part of his address to his original master upon this occasion. Having declared that he "should sink under a dread of his impending trials without his Calvinistic supports"—having called the Arminianism of Mr. Wesley "dishonouring God,"—"blasphemy," and so forth, he concludes with the following apostrophe—"Dear, dear sir O, be not offended! For Christ's sake be not rash! Give yourself to reading—study the covenant of grace—down with your carnal reasoning!—be a little child, and then, instead of pawning your salvation as you have done, in a late hymn book, if the doctrine of universal redemption be not true, you will compose a hymn in praise of sovereign, distinguishing grace. God knows my heart—I love and honour you—and when I come to judgement will thank you before men and angels for what you have, under God, done for my soul. There I am persuaded I shall see dear Mr. Wesley convinced of election and everlasting love." *Works*, vol. 4.

His popularity, however, was eclipsed but for a moment. The Tabernacle was soon built in Moorfields; the congregation, if possible, increased; his avowed Calvinism, indeed, as he tells us, gave offence to the regular clergy. The Scotch Presbytery also condemned his invasion of all the discipline and rites behind which they, scarcely less than ourselves, have found it necessary to entrench their religion.

We extract a curious account of a sort of pitched-battle about this period between Mr. Whitefield and the Mountebanks at Bartholomew fair.

“ It had been the custom, for many years past, in the holiday seasons, to erect booths in Moorfields, for mountebanks, players, puppet-shows, &c. which were attended, from morning till night, by innumerable multitudes of the lowest sort of people. He formed a resolution to preach the gospel among them; and executed it. On Whit Monday, at six o'clock in the morning, attended by a large congregation of praying people, he began. Thousands, who were waiting there, gaping for their usual diversions, all flocked round him. His text was, John iii. 14. ‘ They gazed, they listened, they wept; and many seemed to be stung with deep conviction for their past sins.’ All was hushed and solemn. ‘ Being thus encouraged,’ says he, ‘ I ventured out again at noon, when the fields were quite full; and could scarce help smiling, to see thousands, when a merry-andrew was trumpeting to them, upon observing me mount a stand on the other side of the field, deserting him, till not so much as one was left behind, but all flocked to hear the gospel. But this, together with a complaint that they had taken near twenty or thirty pounds less that day than usual, so enraged the owners of the booths, that, when I came to preach a third time, in the evening, in the midst of the sermon, a merry-andrew got up upon a man’s shoulders, and, advancing near the pulpit, attempted to slash me, with a long heavy whip, several times. Soon afterwards they got a recruiting serjeant, with his drum, &c. to pass through the congregation. But I desired the people to make way for the king’s officer, which was quietly done. Finding these efforts to fail, a large body, quite on the opposite side, assembled together, and, having got a great pole for their standard, advanced with sound of drum, in a very threatening manner, till they came near the skirts of the congregation. Uncommon courage was given both to preacher and hearers. I prayed for support and deliverance, and was heard. For just as they approached us with looks full of resentment, I know not by what accident, they quarrelled among themselves, threw down their staff, and went their way, leaving, however, many of their company behind, who, before we had done, I trust, were brought over to join the besieged party. I think I continued in praying, preaching, and singing (for the noise was too great, at times, to preach) about three hours. We then retired to the Tabernacle, where thousands flocked—we were determined to pray down the booths; but blessed be God, more substantial work was done. At a moderate computation, I received (I believe) a thousand notes from persons under conviction; and soon after, upwards of three hundred were received into the society in one day. Some I married, that had lived together without marriage; one man had exchanged his wife for another, and given fourteen shillings in exchange. Numbers, that seemed, as it were, to have been bred up for Tyburn, were, at that time, plucked as firebrands out of the burning.

“ ‘ I cannot help adding, that several little boys and girls, who were fond of sitting round me on the pulpit, while I preached,

and handing to me people's notes, though they were often pelted with eggs, dirt, &c. thrown at me, never once gave way; but, on the contrary, every time I was struck, turned up their little weeping eyes, and seemed to wish they could receive the blows for me. God make them, in their growing years, great and living martyrs for him who, out of the mouths of babes and sucklings, perfects praise.'"—London edition, p. 101.

The fact of the thousand notes received on this occasion from persons affected by his preaching, gives no bad conception of the impression produced by the attempt.

In the year 1742 we find him in Scotland, where he describes the people as sitting "unwearied till two in the morning to hear sermons, disregarding the weather. You could scarce walk a yard without treading on some of them, either rejoicing in God for mercies received, or crying out for more." From St. Gennis in Cornwall, we find him also about this period writing thus:—"Arrows of conviction flew so thick, and so fast, and such an universal weeping prevailed from one end of the congregation to the other, that their minister could not help going from seat to seat to encourage the wounded souls." From Birmingham he writes thus:—"It is near eleven at night. I have preached five times, and weak as I am, through Christ strengthening me, I could preach five times more."

In 1744 we find him once more in America, preaching with his accustomed eagerness, and prosecuting his plan for the orphan school. Among the expedients for promoting its interests we are surprized to hear him notice the "purchase of a few negroes." How is it that the eyes of religion did not sooner open upon the profligacy of this traffic in blood?—His solicitude for the souls of men at the same period is of a less questionable nature. He writes from America—"I have omitted preaching one night to oblige my friends, that they may not charge me with murdering myself; but I hope yet to die in the pulpit, or soon after I come out of it. Weak as I was, and have been, I was enabled to travel eleven hundred miles, and preach *daily*."

Upon his return to England, in 1748, his first acquaintance with Lady Huntingdon was formed. An anecdote is recorded at this period of his life of another notable individual, so characteristic of the man, that we cannot help extracting it. The Earl of Chesterfield, with a whole circle of grandees, attended to hear him preach at Lady Huntingdon's. Having heard him once, they desired to hear him again. "I therefore preached again," he says, "in the evening, and went home never more surprized at any incident in my life. All behaved quite well, and were in a degree affected. The earl thanked me, and

said, ‘Sir, I will not tell you what I shall tell others, how I approve of you.’” Mr. Whitefield adds, “In all time of my wealth, good Lord deliver me!”

In the interval between this time and 1756 our biographer carries him through the greatest part of England, Wales, Ireland, and America. In the year 1754, he was detained for a time at Lisbon, and witnessed the solemnities of Easter in the Roman church. The effect of this pageantry upon a self-constituted reformer even of the reformed, may be conceived.—Something, he says, he did learn from the preachers at Lisbon; and the authority of, perhaps, one of the most impressive preachers that ever mounted the pulpit is upon this point worthy of attention. “The *action* of the preacher is,” he observes, “graceful.”—“Vividi oculi—vividæ manus—omnia vivida.”—Perhaps our English preachers would do well to be a little more fervent in their addresses. They have truth on their side, why should superstition and falsehood run away with all that is pathetic and affecting?—The testimony borne by Hume to the talent of Mr. Whitefield’s own pulpit addresses is stated in a note, and is too curious to be passed over. “He is,” said Mr. Hume, “the most ingenious preacher I ever heard. It is worth while to go twenty miles to hear him.” He then repeated a passage which he himself had heard. “After a solemn pause, Mr. Whitefield thus addressed his audience:—‘The attendant angel is just about to leave the threshold, and ascend to heaven. And shall he ascend and not bear with him the news of one sinner, among all this multitude, reclaimed from the error of his ways?’ To give the greater effect to his exclamation he stamped with his foot, lifted up his hands and eyes to heaven, and, with gushing eyes, cried aloud—‘Stop, Gabriel! stop!—ere you enter the sacred portals, and yet carry with you the news of one sinner converted to God.’”

In 1762, his frame appeared for a time to be sinking under his exertions, but he soon resumed his work. Upon his recovery, he writes to express his joy at being able, as he terms it, to take the field again. “Mounts,” says he, “are the best pulpits, and the heavens the best sounding boards. Oh for power equal to my will, I would fly from pole to pole publishing the everlasting gospel of the Son of God!”

In July 1769, he embarked the seventh and last time for America, and, at length, in the rapid career of his voluntary apostleship, broke down prematurely as to age, under his accumulated burthens. Reserving what we have to say upon the doctrines of Mr. Whitefield to a subsequent page, we shall dwell for a moment upon his character and qualifications.

· It is to be expected that a man so admired and condemned should have very opposite portraits presented of him to the world; and, in fact, according as prejudice has turned the glass one way, or enthusiasm the other, his virtues and talents have been diminished or magnified at pleasure.

Forty years may be supposed to have pretty much cleared the medium through which he is contemplated, and we may now hope, in some measure, to see and to paint him as he really was. He was then, we think, truly devout; a man of boundless zeal, of warm feelings, of great honesty, of singular disinterestedness; and, as to talents, of prodigal imagination, a dexterous reasoner, and a considerable orator; on the other hand, he was impatient, without foresight, sometimes high-minded, insensible of the worth of discipline, occasionally harsh, restless, coarse in his taste, enthusiastic in his judgment of events, and often in his explanation of scripture. These opposite qualities not only met together in his mind, but existed there in very large proportions. He was a man made upon a gigantic scale; his very defects were masculine and powerful. He reminds us of one of those stern figures which cross the eye in the landscapes of Salvator Rosa, extravagantly spirited, and wildly great. It is characteristic of such men to overleap difficulties, but then it is also characteristic of them to overlook consequences; and the fact is, that none have done more than Mr. Whitefield, and few have seen less what they were doing. He is gone, however, to a tribunal where, perhaps, the excesses of zeal are less severely punished than its deficiencies; and the delinquencies of the head less visited than those of the heart. While he lived, the obtrusiveness of his faults might have inclined us to a judgment disproportionately harsh. But now that he is brought before us, like the kings of Egypt, for judgment, we must take care to administer deliberate justice, without forgetting the claims of charity.

· After this slight survey of the character of the subject of the memoirs before us, we proceed to lay before our readers a series of propositions, which we confess, more than any estimate of individual character, constituted our inducement to undertake the present task. A previous statement of these propositions may supply a sort of clue to our subsequent reasonings.—These facts then appear to us to be indisputable: first, that the oracles of our church at the time in which the methodists appeared had departed in some degree from the principles of the reformation.—Secondly, that the efforts of the methodists, as to some points, were directed to the restoration of these principles. But, thirdly, that by their irregularity in discipline, and their errors in doctrine,

every reform introduced by them must be defective, and in some measure destructive of itself.—And, lastly, that this reform or restoration can, under the divine blessing, be safely and effectually accomplished only in the establishment itself.

The first of these propositions will be best established by a brief historical survey of religion in this country. Disordered states like diseased bodies are apt to have their hot and cold fits; and it might have been anticipated, that the religious heats of the usurpation would be succeeded by a proportionate languor and chill. This accordingly followed; and he who should have taken our thermometrical state at each end of a century, would find the sensitive liquid at each extreme of his instrument. The enthusiasts of the usurpation, for example, could not be charged in general with apostacy from the principles of the reformation, but rather with carrying those principles to an unwarrantable height. Their successors, on the contrary, either abandoned the principles, or neutralized them by opposite notions, or diluted their original force. But it may assist our design to examine more minutely the treatment which these fundamental principles experienced in the hands of successive religious parties. Let us cast our eyes first upon the homilies and articles of the church; those precious records by which our reformers, with the force of living orators, still address us in the language in which they spoke from the scaffold or the stake. What are the doctrines which these formularies force upon our attention? They may best answer for themselves, and they speak in every Prayer-book. The language of the homilies is equally plain and decisive. Without multiplying extracts, which every man familiar with writings, of which it is his fault or misfortune to be ignorant, knows might be done *ad libitum*, do we hazard any thing in pronouncing the first formularies of the church, her language in her best days, to teach the doctrines of original corruption;—of justification by faith alone, demonstrated by works;—of the necessity from first to last, of the aid of the spirit of God. And these doctrines, as we have said, the zealots of the rebellion, having first passed them through the fire of their own heated fancies, received. But it is worth while to observe what they suffered in the process. When the reformers spoke of the ruin occasioned by the fall, they modestly hesitated to define the precise extent of this ruin, and seemed still to recognize in some of those natural graces which survive the fall, certain relics of divinity—as the noble fragments scattered here and there in the “marble waste,” indicate the original majesty of the fallen city. When also they spoke of “justification by faith alone,” they anxiously displayed the fruits of that faith, and made it the parent of all

that is good and great in the *conduct* of man. When they spoke of the influences of the Holy Spirit, they feared to paint man as an inert mass, waiting for a ray from heaven; but urged all to seek the aid which all need. The rebellionists, on the contrary, presented a coarser exhibition of these doctrines. As to original sin, they described us not as men but as devils. As to faith, they taught its necessity, but left accident or human corruption to describe its effects. They taught the efficacy of the spirit, but would have men merely wait in passive tranquillity for the impulse of light.

Things were in this state at the crisis of the restoration. After that event the triumphant party deemed no materials so good for the re-erection of the church as the ruins of puritanism. They proceeded, therefore, to demolish all which the others had erected. Good and evil were no longer measured by a reference to their real nature, but by their correspondence with, or discrepancy from, the creed of the puritans. "All (says Burnet) ended in entertainments and drunkenness. Under the colour of drinking the king's health, there were great disorders, and much riot every where; and the pretences of religion both in those of the hypocritical sort, and of the more honest but no less pernicious enthusiasts, gave great advantages, as well as they furnished much matter to the prophane mockers of true piety. Those who had been concerned in the former transactions thought they could not redeem themselves from the censures and jealousies that were thus brought on them, by any method that was more sure and more easy than by going into the stream, and laughing at all religion. Nor was the effect on the bad the greatest evil, but the silent influence upon the good." Conscientious men, having suffered the consequences of the errors on one side, forgot there were any on the other. As the puritans had erred by confining religion to doctrine, they, on the contrary, pretended to confine it to practice. As the first had unduly degraded human nature, had over estimated faith, had abused the doctrine of the holy spirit's influence, so these almost banished the terms original sin, faith as the medium of justification and divine influence, with all the devout affections, from their vocabulary. Their whole duty of man was, in fact, the half duty of man. They made him a good subject, but left him a very indifferent Christian. And too many, with practical virtue in their *mouths*, delivered themselves over to sloth, or to all manner of profligacy.

Now, though we have some reverence for the personal characters of the early puritans, who were instrumental in creating the rebellion; yet we have no respect whatsoever for those

puritans whom the rebellion created. These last seem to us to have had very weak stomachs for a gnat, but to have made no bones of a camel. They turned pale at a surplice sleeve, but stood dauntless behind the artillery of rebellion. Still it is infinitely to be deplored, that many sound doctrines which in the midst of their absurdities were professed by them, should be brought into discredit by the mere fact of having them for their patrons: and that what these men had assumed by way of disguise to carry on their ambitious purposes, should lose with posterity the estimation due to its intrinsic worth. Laxity of principle is hardly better than hypocrisy itself, but this laxity of principle had, in fact, taken place when the methodists appeared. Religion had almost shrunk into a dry formulary of ethical maxims. The epistles especially of the New Testament were cast aside, and the matter out of which the new Christianity was to be constituted was sought for in the pagan philosophy. Seneca lectured where Paul should have preached,—and Christ gave precedence to Socrates even in his own temple. This was too much, though not altogether the real state of the church when the methodists first appeared.

The next proposition we have to submit is, that “the methodists were, in *some respects*, qualified to administer a corrective to these evils.”—It is true that both Wesley and Whitefield introduced many collateral topics into their sermons; but if the discourses of their earliest years especially be searched, if, indeed, the general tenor of their divinity be consulted, the great topics of the reformation will be found to supply the master principles of their system; these give a predominant complexion to their theology. Thus, Wesley after making copious extracts from the articles and homilies in defence of these very doctrines, replies to a charge brought against him, that “he preaches nothing but these—I plead guilty to the charge. I do make it my principal, nay, my whole employ, and that wherever I go, to instil into the people a few favourite tenets. Only, be it observed, they are not mine, but his that sent me. I frequently sum them up all in one. In Christ Jesus (i. e. according to his gospel), neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but faith which worketh by love. These are my favourite tenets: O that I could instil them into every soul throughout the land. Ought they not to be instilled with such diligence and zeal, as if the whole of Christianity depended upon them?” Whitefield also thus states the nature of his own doctrines, in a letter to the Bishop of London. “Is it not evident to all who hear them, that the favourite tenets which the itinerant teachers make it their principal employ to instil into

people's minds, wherever they go, are the great doctrines of the reformation, homilies, and articles of the church, such as man's bringing into the world with him a corruption which renders him liable to God's wrath and eternal damnation—that the condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works,—that we are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord Jesus Christ by faith and the like? These, my lord, are some of the favourite tenets of the itinerant preachers. The others are like unto them. Can these be properly called their own—or ought not these to be the principal employ of every minister? Does not a great part of Christianity depend upon them? The general negligence of these great doctrines was also the ground on which they defended their own irregularities.” “What (he asks in the same letter) if the present incumbents depart from the good old doctrines that were preached in the more early days of the reformation, and make no other use of their learning but to explain away the articles and homilies which they have subscribed? Is it not necessary in order to keep up these doctrines, and thereby the real dignity of the church, that either the clergy thus degenerated should be obliged to read the homilies, as formerly, and to preach consistently therewith, or that those who do hold the doctrines of the reformation should go about from place to place, from country to country, nay, from pole to pole, if their sphere of action extended so far, to direct poor souls, that are every where ready to perish, into the right way?” We say nothing as to the accuracy of this reasoning, but merely call the attention of our readers to the tenor of it. The pretext alleged for itinerancy is the duty of circulating the great doctrines of the reformation. And these doctrines, not indeed without some alloy, they did circulate, and almost without a figure, “from pole to pole.” In this respect, then, they were calculated to light again that “lamp” which had nearly “gone out in the temple of the Lord.”

Now, by these admissions, were no serious deductions to be subsequently made, we should be assigning to the methodists a high place as reformers in religion; for we are well convinced that their *doctrines* are exclusively the instruments by which religious reformation is to be accomplished in all ages. It was by these doctrines that Christ attacked the citadel of paganism. It was by these that St. Paul crushed the rising heresies of the new church. It was by a firm adherence to these that the holy men of the dark ages preserved the spirit of the gospel amongst the rubbish of school philosophy. It was

with these on their banners, that the Albigenses, and Waldenses, the Jeromes, and the Husses, and the Wickliffes, of many climes and ages, fought around the ark of the Lord. It was these doctrines which inspired the apostles of the reformation, which reared up a Luther, and Zuinglius, and the first fathers of our own church, and created that simultaneous movement throughout Christendom, which shook the throne of papal tyranny to its foundation. It was these principles, finally, which, though debased by an infusion of methodism and enthusiasm, found their way to the hearts of thousands in the nation,—filled our veins anew with some of the blood of our first spiritual regenerators, and strung our withered arms with their muscles. This debt to the first methodists it is ungenerous, though not unfashionable, to disavow.

But let us, now that it may be evident we “nothing extenuate,” as well as nothing “set down in malice,” proceed to state, in the *third* place, the defects and errors of methodism, by which its benefits to religion were, in a great measure, if not altogether, neutralized. Those who have considered methodism as a mere revival of puritanism, have attended little to the discriminating features of the two bodies. To identify the methodists with the worst class of puritans, is to forget that the one were a loyal body, friends in general to a rigid ecclesiastical discipline, and not avowedly hostile to the church of England; whereas the others were mostly rebels against all discipline, and murderers of their king. Neither will any accurate examiner confound them with the *early* puritans, or with those few who carried into the worst ages of puritanism the character of the best. If the methodists would lose by being confounded with the one, they would gain by being assimilated to the other. In the early puritan, there was little vehemently to condemn but his nonconformity: it is true he was occasionally absurd. The ghost of popery seemed perpetually to haunt him; he saw in the surplice, in the mark of the cross in baptism, in kneeling at the sacrament, not merely devotional practices which might assist and could not injure religion, not mere adjuncts of popery, in no wise either promoting or displaying its spirit; he saw in them the very germ of popery, from which, in some season of sunshine, it was to burst, and take a second root in our soil. He was also too metaphysical, too systematic, minute, and dogmatic in his theology—and attributed to the scriptures a precision and fulness which were never designed. But then the early puritans were distinguished by many high and solid qualities; they were devout, sober, learned, correct men. Delineated as they are by a masterly and faithful pencil, in the

highly interesting memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, they have extorted praise even from some of our critical brotherhood, certainly neither friends to panegyric, nor addicted to puritanism. In truth, the character delineated in these memoirs is singularly noble. Perhaps there is no such dignified exhibition of the old English character; none whom we should so desire to send forth as our representatives to the world. The mass of mankind, in short, exhibits no such combination of the fear of God with the independence of man; of sobriety with vigour; of valour with tenderness; of the chivalrous pursuit of great objects with domestic virtue and primitive simplicity; of the serious Christian with the perfect gentleman. Now it is obvious, we conceive, that the methodist is represented by neither of these portraits. We have already touched upon their excellencies, let us now notice their defects.

The methodists then, carrying upon their front a declaration of amity to the church, made such inroads upon church *discipline*, as were utterly incompatible with the integrity of the establishment. This kingdom is divided into a certain number of parishes, to each of which a minister is provided, who is responsible to God and to his country for the souls committed to him. Now at this system *itinerancy* aims a mortal blow. If every man is to select the sphere of his own ministry, we can have nothing but “confusion in the churches.” Itinerancy, however, is the very hinge of methodism, “O this pilgrim way of life,” says Mr. Whitefield—“to me it is life indeed—no nestling, no nestling, my dear Mrs. Brown, on this side of eternity.” And again,—“this spiritual hunting is delightful work.”—“I am sorry to hear there are yet disputes among us about brick walls.” And when C. Wesley was perplexed by the admonitions of Archbishop Potter, “Whitefield urged him to preach in the fields the next Sunday, by this step he would break down the bridge.” And again, “I look upon all the world as my parish.”—“Evangelizing is my province.”

Another signal violation of all discipline, was the appointment of *lay preachers*. Our judgment of this cannot be better expressed than in the words of Bishop Jeremy Taylor—“It were” (says he) “a great disreputation to religion, that all great and public things, and every art or profitable science, should in all the societies of men be distinguished by professors, artists, and proper ministers; and only religion should lie in common to be bruised by the hard hand of mechanics, and sullied by the ruder touch of undiscerning and undistinguished persons.” Is it said the apostles were mechanics? Yes. But they were inspired mechanics—they were men miraculously endowed to accomplish

what now in many instances can be accomplished only by study and labour. Those besides who feel the difficulty of keeping alight the lamp of devotion, even in the aisles of the temple and in the midst of spiritual ordinances, feel also that secular employments must on the whole secularize the man—and, by desecrating the minister, endanger the flock. It is true this may not be felt in the early days of a sect, when discipline is rigid, and a party spirit supplies the place of better principles. But Mr. Wesley, it has been said, saw enough of the consequences of this measure to lament that he had ever resorted to it.

There is certainly nothing in the nature of religion which absolves us from the severest care in the selection or education of its ministers. It involves the most abstruse questions, the highest interests, the most controverted topics; and therefore is of a texture which will ill bear the coarse and clumsy handling of mechanics. The church is surely in danger when, as we believe South says, those are admitted to mount pulpits who first make them. The methodists indeed did not resort by preference to lay ministers; but we decidedly think that no exigencies could have justified the employment of such instruments.

But the violations of discipline did not cease here. In the *instructions* drawn up for their different societies, and especially in America, *they did not strictly adhere either to our articles or our liturgy*. Mr. Whitefield refused to accept a charter for an American college, because it was clogged with a condition “that the head of it should be a member of the church of England, and the prayers not read extempore,” on the ground that the money collected for it had been collected from various bodies of religionists on different grounds, and for an institution professedly standing upon a more general basis. But it is obvious to ask, why did he collect it upon these terms? In another place he says, “as for the irregularities in the liturgy, &c. I think it needless to make any apology till I am called thereto by my ecclesiastical superiors.” What then! are we to offend as long and as far as we can?—Are we to offend till we suffer the penalty of offending? In Mr. Wesley’s “Service for the Methodists,” he has omitted the saints’ days—shortened the order of service—altered the burial service—banished the Nicene and Athanasian creeds—discarded the sign of the cross and sponsors in baptism—and left out some whole psalms and parts of others, as “improper for the mouths of a Christian congregation.” Now to say nothing of the alleged ground for one of these changes, can *any* change be legitimately made by a man professing to adhere to the church? The fact is, that both Whitefield and Wesley were more of partizans in religion than the first fathers of our church,

the original framers of the articles and liturgy. One asserted a more pertinacious Calvinism, and the other a more exclusive Arminianism, than either of them found in our public formularies. Had nothing else therefore in our formularies given them offence, the moderation—the Catholicism upon these controverted points—the meek deference to scripture—by which these formularies are characterized—were a yoke upon the spirits of these presumptuous luminaries, to which they felt it a degradation to submit. To this day it is found that the church minister who conceives that he most effectually follows scripture, by taking a neutral ground between the predestinarian combatants, satisfies neither;—that his “trumpet” is charged with giving an “uncertain sound”—and his march with being a progress of dubious destination. Some of the contemporaries of Wesley and Whitefield, and many of their followers, carried their animosity to our formularies and ceremonies far beyond their leaders. “O,” (says one of them, Mr. Kilham) “that God would reconcile the minds of the methodists to those alterations, (i. e. from the church) that must undoubtedly sooner or later take place—the curse of God is upon us, and we cannot prosper till the Lord pardon our having bowed in the house of Rimmon.” Amidst a large portion of the modern methodists, the use of these formularies is, we believe, unknown. It is not however without high satisfaction that we state a report which has lately reached us, that the most learned and respectable of their present leaders, in the midst of a large assembly, laudably collected to promote the dispersion of these formularies, pronounced a spirited and eloquent eulogy upon them. We hail this as a blessed note of peace and reunion. “Quoniam talis sit, utinam noster esset!”

But to return—the Methodists did not deviate more widely from the discipline and formularies of the establishment, than from the *religious character* and *temper* which the church, no less than the Bible, inculcates. Mr. Whitefield and Mr. Wesley were both *enthusiasts*. And we use the word not carelessly or irreverently—not to designate serious religion, or unusual zeal, or a bold and honest departure from worldly sentiment and practice, or the dedication of the affections to the service of the altar—our quarrel with these devout men is upon a different ground, which we shall proceed to state.

As they were much accustomed to appeal to the conduct of Christ in defence of their own conduct, and this to such an extent, that Mr. Whitefield is reported more than once irreverently to have urged, in justification of itinerancy, that “God had but one son, whom he made an itinerant preacher,”—they of all men can least refuse to have their enthusiasm estimated by a refer-

ence to the character of their Master. Christ then was signalized chiefly by the passive virtues—"Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly." Christ revered the existing authorities—"The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat." He deemed it the fulfilling all righteousness to revere the ordinances even of a corrupt church. He attended the synagogues of that church. He did not enter upon the ministry till he was thirty years of age. He refused that royal authority which the people pressed upon him. He refused, when urged by his angry disciples, to call down fire from heaven. He bid his follower put up his sword. Such was the quiet dignity of his presence, that his enemies sunk at his feet. Levity, intemperance, an unhallowed familiarity tinge no part of his instructions—his hearers said only, he speaks "as one having authority." Nothing mingles itself with his piety—no alternation of heat and cold—no hurry or suspension of the pulse of devotion. And the religion he teaches to others is of the same character—not tumultuous, but rational and quiet—not a mere ebb and flow of emotion, but an uniform plenitude of useful exertion—not the restless career of a military adventurer, but the constant vigilance of a peaceful shepherd. Contrast this picture with that presented to us even by the idolaters of Mr. Whitefield, who was by no means the least interesting or most enthusiastic of the two reformers. We take the passages almost at random, leaving our readers to apply them. "Orders were given by the minister that I should not preach in his church, which *rejoiced* me greatly—Lord, why dost thou *thus* honour me?" "Jesus is on the mount praying for *me*." "I am *as much assured* that the great head of the church hath called me by his word, providence, spirit, to act in this way, (i. e. to itinerate) as that the sun shines at noon day." "The eternal Almighty, I AM, hath sent me." "This day I intended to stay on board, but God being pleased to *shew* me it was not his will, I went on shore." "Long before I reached Gibraltar I prayed that God would direct me where I should lodge, and lo, *he has answered* me. A person I never saw has been sent to tell me he has provided a convenient lodging for me." "Tell dear Mr. — that our *Saviour will enable* me to pay him the 25l." "Prayer was made that God would withhold the rain, *which he did* immediately." "Do not condemn me for preaching extempore, or for saying I am often helped *immediately* in that exercise, when thousands can prove, as well as myself, that it has been so." "If we use the word (sensible) we do not mean that God's spirit manifests itself to our senses, but that it may be *perceived* by the soul *as really* as any sensible impression made upon the body." "As for the promises mentioned in my jour-

nal, I freely own there are some promises which *God has so strongly* impressed, and does still impress upon my heart, that I verily believe they will be fulfilled." "Cannot your lordship feel the wind? Does not your lordship know when it makes an impression upon your body? *So easy is it* for a spiritual man to *know* when the Holy Spirit makes an impression upon the soul." Add to these quotations his frequent denunciation of church ministers as "dumb dogs," "priests of Baal," and so forth; his declaration (afterwards indeed regretted by himself) that Archbishop Tillotson knew no more of religion than Mahomet; his defence of the screams, the grinding of teeth, the sensations described by his people, of "the blood of Christ running down their arms and throats,"—and, with all this to warrant the assertion, can our charge of enthusiasm be resisted? In such an impatient age as this we dare quote no more; and in so inquisitive, and, on the whole, so candid an age, we dared quote no less. If any of our readers deem our allegation to be yet unestablished, we challenge them to read any six pages of the six volumes of Mr. Whitefield's works, now frowning upon us, without finding fresh witnesses rising up in our behalf.

Here then we close the proof of the proposition concerning the unfitness of the methodists for the office of reformers, to which they had spontaneously consecrated themselves.

Our last proposition is, that "the necessary reforms, under divine grace, can be effectually and safely accomplished only in the establishment itself."—Every reform attempted by separatists, or by men (as the methodists) setting loose to the establishment, will be inefficient on several accounts. In the first place, the reformers *will not be enough agreed* to apply their force in the same direction, or to make it act upon the same point. After the separation of Wesley and Whitefield, half their force and energy spent itself in contending, not for the general cause, but their own individual opinions. Our shelves groan with the volumes of this controversy. Masters of their own weapons—but, alas! not of their own tempers; it would be difficult to find any polemics who have to a greater extent "changed their pens for truncheons." Controversy has never taken so vindictive a form. From the devout men of the establishment then can we alone look for effectual reform. The church formularies, like the altar erected by the tribes beyond Jordan, have seldom failed to remind the combatants that they were brethren. The catholic spirit of these writings has tempered the excesses of either side: and at the present moment we have, in the establishment, devout Calvinists and Arminians, whose hearers scarce know to which class they belong.

Again, the low *rank* of those who are most likely to separate from the church, will contribute to the inefficiency of any reform attempted by them. It is the higher orders who chiefly profit in a worldly way from the alliance of church and state. From them also must emanate the legislative and pecuniary assistance necessary to place the means of the establishment on a level with the spiritual wants of the people. From considerations also of temporal interest, they will be the last to desert the church for the conventicle. But the reforms effected by separatists will take effect chiefly among the lower classes; and their influence is too small to impart a new national character. Improvements in morals seldom ascend from the subject to the throne. Constantine embraced Christianity, and, at once, the cumbrous forms of heathenism vanished like an exhalation. Henry VIII. embarked in the cause of reformation, and, at once, the obedient land was peopled with reformers. We say not this in honour of human nature, or as meaning to imply that religion is a mere mode, or can be imparted to man through any other medium than a divine influence. But we urge it in proof of the position, that reforms do not, now-a-days, often travel upwards, and that the preachers and tenets of the vulgar will not reach the higher orders of society.

But we said also, that reform could be *safely* conducted only in the establishment. It is divinely recorded, that “God made man upright, but they have sought out many *inventions*.” Now it is these “inventions” which we apprehend in any reform conducted beyond the pale of the establishment. Our church, taking for granted the “*mens rerum novarum avida*” of mankind, imposes by its formularies a sort of law upon its people, like those eastern laws which were never to be changed. These check the prurient zeal of speculatists—clip the wings of ambition—and dictate improvement without innovation. When the Arabs, who are a very practical people, caught a French scavan in the wilderness, learning from himself that he had been used only to a “sedentary occupation,” and despairing of any more productive employment of his philosophical powers, they are said to have tarred and feathered him, and set him to *hatch eggs*. Now separatism (if we may be allowed the allusion) being also a very practical system, seats all whom it catches to the task of incubation; and it is difficult to say what does not spring from the process. Cicero declares that no opinion is too absurd to be held by some philosophers. And philosophers, freed from the trammels of established opinion, have much the same tendencies in all ages. Upon these grounds then, amongst others,

we venture to question the safety of all reform which does not originate in the establishment.

But we now feel it necessary to put an end to this much extended article, after briefly urging upon the classes chiefly involved in the preceding observations the practical lessons deducible from them.

To the followers of Mr. Whitefield we scarcely know how to speak. This reformer merely cast his seed into the ground, careless, so that it did but spring up, who should gather it, and in what granary it should be stored. His ambition was not to form churches, but to save souls. His societies, not being connected by any precise form of discipline, nor by any doctrine peculiar to themselves, have fallen to pieces, each fragment taking the direction which chance prescribed. Some few have attached themselves to his two chapels in the metropolis, where, however, we hear that a moiety of the duty is now discharged by regular dissenting ministers. Others have diffused themselves among the independent societies. Many have lapsed to the Antinomians. None, we fear, or scarcely any, have returned to the bosom of their mother—the Church.

—facilis descensus Averni,
Sed revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras
Hic labor, hoc opus est.

Mr. Wesley's societies, on the contrary, are changed in nothing scarcely but in their old lingering attachment to the church. Other "kings" of this Egypt have arisen, who "knew not Joseph;" and we fancy that, with the exception of a few such men as the respectable individual to whom we have alluded, modern methodism has nearly every thing of dissent but the name. Now then to these we would speak. If this paper should reach that circle where three hundred sages are convened to decide upon the movements of three hundred thousand men, we solemnly and respectfully call upon them as avowed friends of the church, to consider with impartiality what has been said. That ebullition of the spirit is over, in which you could scarcely be expected calmly to investigate your own system: you may now consider its consequences. See if, in order to repair a breach, you have not taken down the whole wall of our Zion. Mark well her bulwarks; and then behold the gradual declension of your people in true piety, in harmony, in churchmanship. Are you dissenters? then avow it, that we may no longer mistake foes for friends. Are you churchmen?—then why supply a sort of grade to dissent—a half-way house to independency—a kind of

raw regiment, where young dissent may learn to “flesh his sword,” to trail the pike, or exercise with wooden flints, and sham powder, for future conflicts with episcopacy. It is true, you may have originally meant well to the establishment. But have you no reparation to make for maiming her by the excess of correction? Was there no other process by which the pious child should have endeavoured to resuscitate the venerable parent, but by casting her into the kettle, and by herbs and incantations pretending to restore her to her ancient vigour? Still, however, a way of reconciliation is open—still the church opens wide her portals, and is ready to receive within her sanctuary those sons who may have forgotten their duty in the excess of their zeal.

The other body involved in the preceding observations is the Church Establishment. It has been shewn that here every safe and efficient attempt at reform must originate. If then our ecclesiastical teachers of the establishment will allow the British reviewers to borrow their rostrum for a moment, we would call upon them also to contemplate the state of their threatened country. We would say to them—Place yourselves under the shield of Omnipotence; and in devout prayer, cite the noble works that God hath done for us and in the old time before us;—Call upon him for the same movements of mercy which preserved this our ark amidst the struggles of the reformation: and second these prayers by sincere exertions to conciliate those who have wandered beyond the pale, and to render all further wanderings unnecessary. Inquire earnestly as to the part which you yourselves should take in the warfare: and it will be found, we think, to be that which your forefathers acted in their conflict with the powers of popery. Consult the records which they have left—correct the errors of dissent and methodism on the one hand, and of laxity of principle on the other, by the formularies of the church. The superiority of these writings to all which have succeeded them, would almost seem to prove that when the “angel” of the reformation “came down to trouble the waters,” it was only they who “*first* stepped in” that experienced their healing efficacy. With these records then in your hands, and these principles in your hearts, go forth to the spiritual contest, and the victory will be yours. It is good, says Machiavel, for states at intervals to go back to their first principles. Let the church be led back, under the grace of God, to *her* first principles, and the lesser light, if light it is to be called, of methodism will wane before the re-ascending sun of the reformation.

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